A GENERAL

HISTORY of the WORLD,

FROM THE

CREATION to the preſent Time.

INCLUDING

All the EMPIRES, KINGDOMS, and STATES; their REVOLUTIONS, FORMS of GOVERNMENT, LAWS, RELIGIONS, CUSTOMS and MANNERS; the PROGRESS of their LEARNING, ARTS, SCIENCES, COMMERCE and TRADE;

Together with

Their CHRONOLOGY, ANTIQUITIES, PUBLIC BUILDINGS, and CURIOSITIES of NATURE and ART.

By WILLIAM GUTHRIE, Eſq;
JOHN GRAY, Eſq;

And others eminent in this Branch of Literature.

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cui lecta potenter erit res
Nec facundia deſeret hunc, nec lucidus ordo. HOR.

VOLUME VII.

LONDON:

Printed for J. NEWBERY, R. BALDWIN, S. CROWDER, J. COOTE, R. WITHY, J. WILKIE, J. WILSON and J. FELL, W. NICOLL, B. COLLINS, and R. RAIKES.

MDCCLXIV.


BRITISH MUSEUM

A GENERAL HISTORY OF THE WORLD.

CHAP. V.

Al Kayen Beamrillah *the twenty ſixth califf of the houſe of* Al Abbas.

Al Kaden, before his death had nominated his ſon *Abdallah* to be his ſucceſſor in the caliſat; and he aſſumed the name *Al Kayen Beamrillah*. The diſpute, between *Janjar*, or as he is called *Abu Calijar*, and *Jalalodawla*, ſtill continued about the poſt of *Emir Al Omra*. But the latter proved victorious, and the califf, inveſting him with the robes of honour, gave him the name of *Shahenſah*, or king of kings, and ordered his name to be mentioned in the public prayers. He is ſucceeded by *Al Kayen*.

Maſud the ſon of *Mahmud Gazna* was at this time, poſſeſſed of the *Perſian Irak* in virtue of his father's will. But a rebellion breaking out in the city of *Iſpahan*, it employed his arms for ſome time, ſo that he could not immediately purſue, that vaſt career of ambition, he was meditating; which was no leſs than to dethrone his brother. The rebellion being ſuppreſſed, he left a ſtrong garriſon in *Iſpahan*, and marched towards *Koraſan*, where his brother *Mahmud* reſided, under pretext of paying him a viſit. *Mahmud* it ſeems was no ſtranger to his brother's views, and real intentions. His miniſters adviſed him to prevent any farther differences by coming

History of *Maſud*, coming to an accommodation with *Maſud*. But *Mahmud* was ill enough adviſed, to appoint his uncle *Yuſef*, and one *Ali*, another general, to obſerve *Maſud*'s motions. Both of them betrayed *Mahmud*, and voluntarily went over to *Maſud*, who deteſting them as traitors, ordered his uncle to be loaded with irons, and thrown into priſon, and *Ali* to be hanged. But this did not mitigate the fate of the unfortunate *Mahmud*, who falling into his brother's hands, had his eyes put out and was ſent priſoner to *Gazna*, his own capital. This event left *Maſud* in poſſeſſion of all his father's vaſt dominions, and he obliged the inhabitants of *Gazna*, and all his other ſubjects to take an oath of fidelity to him; he then proceeded to ſettle his governments. He made *Abu Salem* governor of the *Perſian Irak*, and gave the government of *Iſpahan*, to *Alaodawla*, the prince of *Hamadan*, after enjoining a ſtrict unanimity between thoſe two commanders. Thoſe diſpoſitions were hardly made, when *Ali Taken*, broke out into rebellion, and made himſelf maſter of *Bokhara*, and *Sarmakand*, two of the chief cities of *Maſud's* dominions. *Altun Taſh*, the ſame probably we have already named, the governor of *Kowarazin*, was appointed general, to ſuppreſs this rebellion, but being drawn into an ambuſcade, he was mortally wounded, and almoſt defeated. Notwithſtanding this, he recovered the fortune of the battle, but found himſelf obliged to compromiſe matters with the rebels, and ſoon after he died. His maſter, *Maſud*, was greatly concerned at his death, and conferred upon his ſon *Harun*, all the dignities he had poſſeſſed. The oriental hiſtorians ſay, that he was ſlain by an arrow, which entering his eye, pierced his brain.

and *Altum Taſh*.

Maſud inherited all his father's ambition, and carried his arms into *India*; but he was far from obſerving the maxims of his father in ſecuring his patrimonial territories from inſults. The *Seljugian Turks*, by this time were become formidable in the eaſt; and while *Maſud* was carrying his arms into *India*, *Togral Bek*, and *Jaafar Bek*, the two leaders of the *Seljugian Turks*, made an irruption into *Koraſan*, which they, in a manner, conquered. *Maſud* however was extremely proſperous in *India*, where he took ſeventy thouſand priſoners, killed fifty thouſand, and acquired one million of dinars. Notwithſtanding this all the province of *Kowarazm*, was overrun by the *Seljugian Turks*, and a great many cities of *India*, which had been ſubdued by the *Sultan Mahmud*, rebelled and revolted.

Hej. 427. A. D. 1037.

We are now inſenſibly arrived at the 427th year of the Hejra, about which time dyed the famous *Avicenna*. He was an eminent proof of the vaſt effects which an early initiation in literature can produce. He was born at the village of *Aſſhina*, and when he was but ten years of age, he underſtood Euclid, and Ptolemy. The *Indian* method of calculation, which *Europeans* abſurdly called the *Arabian* numerals, began

Remarkable hiſtory of *Avicenna*,

began at this time to be in great reputation amongſt the *Moſlems*; and *Avicenna* was taught them by an *Indian* gardener. When he was but nineteen years of age, he was looked upon to be the greateſt phyſician of his time; and he made himſelf maſter not only of that art, but almoſt of the whole circle of ſcience. His application was ſo great that he uſed to ſtudy for whole nights by a lamp. That he was no ſtrict *Moſlem* appears by his drinking wine to recover his ſpirits. But he was not only a great phyſician, but a great ſtateſman, being firſt miniſter to the prince of *Hamadan*. We are told however when he was advanced to the vizirſhip, in that country, the army was ſo much diſguſted with him, that they plundered his palace, and threw his perſon into priſon; and even endeavoured to prevail with *Shamſamadawla* to put him to death. That prince had ſo great a regard for him that he preſerved him. *Avicenna*, however, was ſo much out of humour with his quality of ſtateſman, that he ſhut himſelf up in an apothecary's ſhop, where he finiſhed ſome of his phyſical tracts, nor could he be prevailed upon by *Shamſamadawla*'s ſon, to reſume his vizirſhip. Notwithſtanding his great learning and acuteneſs of parts, wine and women delighted him more than any other enjoyments of life; and he went into ſuch exceſs of both, as baffled even his own ſkill in medicine. Not being formed for public life, to which he was courted by the greateſt princes of his time, he wrote a private letter, to *Aladawla*, the prince or governor of *Iſpahan*, who was, it ſeems, like himſelf a man of learning, deſiring leave to reſide with him. But this letter, being intercepted, he was confined to the caſtle near *Hamadan*, called *Berdawan*, for about four months, and there we are told, he wrote ſome pieces of poetry. When he regained his liberty, he made his eſcape to his friend *Adodawla* in diſguiſe, and was received at *Iſpahan*, as if he had been a ſovereign prince. His exceſſes however impaired his health to ſuch a degree, that by the frequent uſe of clyſters, his inteſtines were excoriated; but with all his irregularities, he never ceaſed to be admired and eſteemed, not only by *Adodawla*, but by all the princes of the eaſt, who were proud of entertaining him. When he was at the court of *Mamun*, king of *Kowarazm*, his fame reached the ears of the great *Sultan Mahmud*, who expreſſed a vaſt deſire to ſee him. By a whimſical obſtinacy, not uncommon amongſt very learned men, he declined all that prince's favours, nor could he even be perſuaded to repair to his court, which was a kind of an academy, where all the moſt learned men of the age, had riches and preferment. *Mahmud* was ſo diſguſted by his pride, that the prince of *Kowarazm*, did not think himſelf ſafe, in protecting him longer; ſo that *Avicenna*, was obliged to fly to *Jorjan*, where *Waſhmakin* reigned. Upon this, *Mahmud*, having got one of his portraits, ordered a great number of copies of it to be made, and

the famous phyſician.

diſperſed all over the eaſt, that *Avicenna* might be ſeized, and ſent to his court at *Koraſan*. He however, remained at the court of *Waſhmakin*, where we are told, he viſited the king's nephew, who laboured under a very unaccountable diſorder. *Avicenna* ſoon perceived that it was beyond his reach to cure the prince, and that his malady was love. But his art went no farther for he was ignorant of the object. The king being paſſionately fond of his nephew deſired *Avicenna* to employ the utmoſt of his art to cure him. The phyſician, laid hold of the patient's pulſe, but privately intimated to the chamberlain of the palace, that he ſhould hold him in diſcourſe, by deſcribing the apartments, where the chief beauties reſided. A particular apartment being named, it had ſuch an effect upon the patient's pulſe, that *Avicenna* declared that the ſeat of the princes diſtemper was ſhut up in that apartment. His conjecture being verified by the prince himſelf, *Waſhmakin*, who did not know that he had in his court the great *Avicenna*, had the curioſity to order him into his preſence; and he no ſooner appeared before him, than *Waſhmakin* knew him, by one of his portraits which had been ſent him by *Sultan Mahmud*. But *Waſhmakin*, who knew as well as his cotemporary princes, the value of a learned man, was far from putting *Avicenna* under any conſtraint, and entertained him, with the higheſt marks of eſteem and friendſhip; notwithſtanding the formidable power of *Sultan Mahmud*. This generous protection, enabled *Avicenna* to perſue his ſtudies, but it appears that he was too great a philoſpher to be an orthodox *Mahometan*. He had publiſhed ſeveral metaphyſical, and moral tracts, which were very ſtumbling to the *Moſlem* doctors. Thoſe at *Shiraz* had a formal meeting, in which they drew up their objections to *Avicenna*'s doctrine; and they ſent them to him, by a learned man of their own body, one *Karmani*. *Avicenna*, and *Karmani*, charmed with one another's company, ſpent moſt of the night together, but when they parted *Avicenna* retired to his ſtudy, where he prepared and finiſhed before next morning, an anſwer to the *Moſlem* doctors, and put it into the hands of *Karmani*. This performance, together with the quickneſs and facility with which it was produced raiſed *Avicenna's* character of learning higher than ever. But his attachment to pleaſure rendered the latter part of his life very uncomfortable. His diſregard of all the religions then practiſed in the eaſt, in a manner, obliged the great princes there to withdraw their patronage from him and then the ſtrict *Moſlems* took that opportunity of perſecuting him for irreligion and atheiſm. His irregularities likewiſe had rendered his life a burthen to himſelf. His works are now in great eſteem in *Europe* where they have been printed, tho' it is ſaid not all of them. He wrote an account of his own life, and we have been ſolicitous of preſerving in our hiſtory this memorial of a man whoſe, fame and ſtation were ſo eminent,

His great ſkill in medecine.

nent, but whoſe hiſtory has, hitherto, been ſo little known or, at leaſt, attended to.

We now proceed to the hiſtory of a period of great importance, but of vaſt obſcurity thro' the diſagreement of hiſtorians. The denominations of *Turks* which ſignifies, wanderers, was not local, and was given them on account of their roving unſettled ſtate at a diſtance from their native countries. Places, however, ſuch as *Turkeſtan* ſoon took their names from them. They were formed of a vaſt number of people, many of them ſtrangers to one another, and generally were headed, by the braveſt men of their clan. The *Turks*, who founded the *Seljugian* dinaſty from whence the preſent emperors of *Conſtantinople* are deſcended, were headed by one *Seljuk*, a man of great valour, and addreſs, but one whoſe origin is intirely obſcure, ſome writers making him to be of mean, and others of noble, if not royal, extraction. That he was a nobleman is moſt probable. Be this as it will, his reputation was ſo great that he was followed not only by his own clan or herd, but by many others, till, at laſt, he roſe to the dignity of a ſovereign prince. His father *Dekak*, was of that tribe whom hiſtorians have called *Ararians*, and ſerved as an officer, under *Bigu*, the prince of *Kozar*, with ſo much reputation, that according to the eaſtern, as well as the Engliſh, cuſtoms of thoſe times, he was called the ſtrong bow. His ſon *Seljuk* ſucceeded his father in his princes favour, but ſoon loſt it by his preſumption in entering as ſome ſay, the moſt retired apartments of his palace, but moſt probably by ambition; which drew the prince's diſpleaſure upon him. Having ſome intimation of his diſgrace, he aſſembled his friends, who, from the rank and reputation he held, were very numerous, and invaded *Sarmarkand*. Having defeated the governor of that city, from thence he marched to *Bokhara*, which he likewiſe made himſelf maſter of. It muſt not be forgot here, that both *Seljuk* and his father, were zealous *Moſlems*, to which they ſeemed to owe their power in a great meaſure; being joined by almoſt all the *Mahometan Turks*. They were likewiſe zealous *Sonnites*, and conſequently enemies to the *Fatemite* califfs, and friends to the califfs of *Bagdad*, whom both they and their ſucceſſors for a long time, looked upon as their natural ſovereign. In conſequence of thoſe principles, they were perpetually at war with the infidel *Turks*. Before *Saljuk's* death he ſeems to have been in poſſeſſion of great part of *Marawalnar*, and he is ſaid to have been killed in battle in the 107th year of his age.

Hiſtory of the progreſs of the *Turks*.

Riſe of *Seljuk*.

the founder of the *Seljukian* dinaſty,

who turns Mahometan.

Seljuk had ſeveral ſons, ſome ſay three, others four and ſome ſay more. According to the beſt accounts, *Mikael* was the eldeſt, and dying in his father's lifetime, he was ſucceeded by two ſons, the famous *Togrol Beg*, called by the *Greeks*, *Tangrolipix*, and *Jaffer Beg*. The promiſing virtues of thoſe princes, encreaſed the vaſt following of their

and of *Togrol Beg*.

their family, and, as we have already ſeen, they became very formidable to the great *Sultan Mahmud*; as they were, at the time we treat of, to his ſon *Maſud*. Their hiſtory, at this time, is not to be depended upon, as to particulars; becauſe, being deſtitute of the uſe of letters, as there is great reaſon to believe, we know nothing of it, but from the writings of their enemies. We know in general, however, that they ſoon became a great people, and were governed by great princes. *Mahmud* at firſt, was ſo far from being jealous of their power, that looking upon them as a ſimple, barbarous people, whom he could eaſily keep in ſubjection, and who might be uſeful againſt his enemies, ſuffered them to paſs the *Jehun*, and to ſettle in *Perſia*. It was not long, before he repented of his confidence. *Togrol Beg*, and *Jaffer Beg*, by their virtues, and the noble appearance they made, won the hearts, not only of their own followers, but of the *Koraſians* and other *Perſians*; and *Mahmud* being perpetually engaged in purſuing his *Indian* conqueſts, never could drive them out of *Perſia*.

Upon *Mahmud*'s death, the *Seljuks* ſent a deputation to his ſon *Maſud*, offering to be ſubject and obedient to him, provided he would ſuffer them to continue unmoleſted in their ſettlements. *Maſud*, elated by the late conqueſts he had gained, treated the deputies with great contempt, and ſaid, "That though he himſelf was of *Turkiſh* extraction, he never had heard any mention of the family of *Seljuk*; and that therefore, it muſt be ignoble." This anſwer was extreamly impolitic, becauſe *Maſud* was at that time upon his departure, at the head of an army, for *India*. The deputies, reporting the opprobrious reception they had met with, the whole nation of the *Seljuks* flew to arms, and taking advantage of *Maſud*'s abſence, they conquered almoſt all *Koraſan*, *Al Ray*, and *Iſpahan*; with other parts of *Perſia*. In the year of the Hejra 429, *Maſud* returning victorious from his *Indian* expedition, aſſembled a great force to drive the *Seljuks* out of his dominions; but being defeated by *Togrol Beg*, he fled to *Tus*, whence he was driven by *Togrol Beg*, who fortified that city and made it a place of arms. From thence, the conqueror poſſeſſed himſelf of *Niſabur*, and *Maſud*'s defeat having been ſo compleat, that he was no longer able to keep the field, *Togrol Beg*, was acknowledged by all the *Seljuks*, to be their ſovereign, and that of the countries they had conquered. After this, the *Seljuks* made a prodigious progreſs, all over *Perſia*; where *Togrol Beg* eſtabliſhed the ſeat of his empire, at *Koru*. *Maſud* however, having recruited his forces, once more, ſet out on an expedition, againſt the *Seljuks*; and was again defeated, as we are told, by *Jaffer Beg*, ſo entirely, that he was obliged to abandon *Koraſan*, and retire to *Gazna*, his capital. Here it is remarkable, that many of *Maſud*'s ſoldiers, and almoſt all his general officers, were *Turks*; but

Mahmud's haughtineſs to them.

Hej. 429. A. D. 1037.

Togrol Beg acknowledged ſovereign of the *Seljuks*.

but he thought himſelf ſo ill ſerved by them, that upon his return to his capital, he put great numbers of them to death. It likewiſe appears, that the *Seljuks* were, at this time, joined by ſome of *Maſud*'s own governors, particularly by *Nurtakin*, the governor of *Balk*.

The accounts we have been able to give of thoſe wars, are in the main, as authentic, and well atteſted, as thoſe given by the *Greek* hiſtorians, are vague and fabulous. For tho' the eaſtern hiſtories diſagree in many particulars, but thoſe of no great importance, yet they are almoſt unanimous, in relating the events in the ſame manner we have done. As they did not write after one another, but in different places, and at different times, without having an opportunity of hearing of one another's hiſtory, that is as ſtrong proof, as can be given of the authenticity of their relations. Notwithſtanding this obſervation, we are not to imagine when we read of all *Koraſan*, *Perſia*, and other great and rich countries being conquered by the *Turks*, or any other power, that thoſe conqueſts, remained any longer in the poſſeſſion, than the next army of their enemies, or other robbers, could take the field. Their chief towns, either had no fortifications, or very indifferent ones, and always followed the fortune of the campaign, of the week, or perhaps the day. Hence it is, that we meet with whole provinces changing their maſters, in the ſpace of a few months, and the variation of names, amongſt the *Arabs*, *Perſian*, *Turkiſh*, *Greek*, and other hiſtorians, is ſuch as introduces prodigious confuſion and glaring inconſiſtencies, into their works. Critical remark.

Togrol Beg, after his conqueſt of *Koraſan*, ſeemed to have ſeriouſly applied him to remedy the inconveniencies his government was led into, by the unſettled, wandering manner of life which his ſubjects led. He fortified cities, laid out plans for government and reformed abuſes, ſo that there is great reaſon to believe, he was educated, by the care of his grandfather, which we are told was very great, under a *Moſlem* tutor, and that ſome one, or other, of the great philoſophers and doctors, who then abounded in the Eaſt, was his inſtructor. He reaped great benefit from the paſſion which *Maſud* ſtill purſued, of continuing his conqueſts in *India*. *Togrol Beg*'s policy.

Maſud being ſtill in poſſeſſion of *Balk*, and other powerful territories, was, notwithſtanding his late defeats, in a condition to have purſued the war with effect, againſt the *Seljuks*. But being infatuated with a vaſt proſpect of wealth, that was to be acquired in *India*, he reſolved to march thither in perſon, and to leave the management of the war againſt the *Seljuks*, to his ſon *Madond*, under proper directions. At the ſame time, that he might entirely ſecure the peace of his dominions, during his abſence, he ordered his brother *Mahomed*, whoſe eyes he had put out, His wars with *Gazna*.

to be taken out of priſon, and to attend him, with all his family into *India*.

The war both in *India* and *Koraſan*, ſeems to have been carried on with various ſucceſſes. According to the beſt authorities, *Togrol Beg* was not always ſucceſsful, but was ſometimes defeated in his turn. This probably happened before the laſt of his expeditions we have mentioned, into *India*. But it is plain, upon the whole, that *Maſud* was unfortunate. His ſon, who was attended by his father's vizir, was obliged to keep upon the defenſive, againſt the *Seljuks*, who extended their conqueſts on all hands, ſo that *Maſud* was obliged to abandon his campaign in *India*, and to return with his army to cover the important city, and province of *Balk*; while his ſon acted in *Koraſan*, againſt the ſame enemy. But it was no wonder, that by this time, a powerful conſpiracy was formed againſt *Maſud*, by an eunuch, named *Bus Takin*, one of his generals; and ſome of the chief lords of the court, in favour of his brother *Mohamed*, whom he had dethroned and rendered ſightleſs. The conſpirators made uſe of *Maſud*'s impatience to return to his own dominions to carry their plot into execution. For, arriving on the banks of the *Indus*, he paſſed with ſome of his attendants, that great river, leaving his treaſures on the other ſide, with his army. *Bus Takin*, or as he is called by ſome, *Sem Takin*, made uſe of *Maſud*'s treaſures to debauch them from their duty, and producing the ſightleſs *Sultan*, he was immediately recognized as their ſovereign. This tranſaction was concealed from *Maſud*, who waited on the other ſide of the river, till a party croſſed to ſecure him. He received however, notice of what had happened, time enough, to endeavour to make his eſcape to *Gazna*; but being cloſely purſued, he was taken priſoner in his turn. Being brought before his brother, the latter ordered him to chuſe for his reſidence, any place of his dominions, and he pitched upon the caſtle of *Kabra*, to which he was ſent with his family.

in which *Maſud* is unfortunate upon thewhole.

He is dethroned.

Mahomed had no great enjoyment of the dignity that was reſtored to him. Being blind, he was obliged in a manner, to reſign the management of his affairs, into the hands of his ſon *Ahmed*, an abandoned prince; and under the direction of favourites. They perſuaded him to make uſe of the imperial ſignet, with which he was entruſted, to get admittance into the caſtle, where *Maſud* was confined, and where he was put to death, ſome ſay, in *Ahmed*'s own preſence, as well as by his direction. This aſſaſſination coming to the ears of *Mawdad*, *Maſud*'s ſon, he immediately abandoned all his operations againſt the *Seljuks*, and marched towards *Gazna*, with his army. Though *Maſud's* character ſeems to have been exceptionable, in ſome points of humanity and juſtice; yet it is on all hands acknowledged, that he was a prince of great abilities, and magnanimity; and

His ſon remounts his throne

and a moſt munificent patron of learning and learned men: ſo that we may eaſily ſuppoſe, he had ſtill a vaſt number of friends in that empire. In ſhort, *Mawdad* proved victorious in a deciſive battle, and *Mahomed*, with *Ahmed*, and his wicked counſellors, being taken priſoners, were put to death, by *Mawdad*; who, after erecting a noble monument to his father's memory, mounted the throne of *Gazna*.

The califf of *Bagdad* prayed for.

Thoſe great revolutions ſeem to have been of ſome advantage to the califf of *Bagdad*. His name was now pronounced, without that of the Fatemite califf, in all places, but *Egypt*, where the *Moſlem* religion was profeſſed. *Togrol Beg* met with no farther reſiſtance from *Mawdad*, and we are told, that he even conquered *Jorjan*, and *Tabreſtan*. Upon this, *Al Kayen*, the califf of *Bagdad*, ſent him the robes of inveſture, as being the ſupreme diſpoſer of all the places that had been conquered; with an invitation for him to become the defender of the *Moſlem* faith. About the ſame time, a partition of dominions was made between *Togrol Beg*, and his brother *Jaffer*; which was honoured with the ſanction of *Al Kayen*; and *Togrol Beg* received from him the honourable appellation of, The Support of Faith and religion; and while *Jaffer Beg*, as well as his brother, received his robes of inveſture for *Koraſan*, *Togrol Beg*, being contented with the poſſeſſion of the *Perſian Irak*, and the other conqueſts made by him and his family.

He defeats the *Gaz Turks*

Al Kayen's ſuperiority over thoſe great princes, began now to give him ſome figure. Many of the *Arabs* ſubmitted to his authority, and he was by their aſſiſtance, enabled to drive a body of *Gaz* cavalry out of his dominions, after they had ſurprized *Mawſel*, and committed great ravages, during their invaſion. Thoſe *Gaz Turks* were one of thoſe numerous herds of *Turks*, or *Turkmens*, who more than ever, ſwarmed over all *Aſia*, and ſerved as mercenaries in the army of any prince, who was willing to take them into pay. But whenever they were diſmiſſed from the ſervice, they ſubſiſted upon plundering, perhaps the territories of the very laſt prince that employed them. They therefore, as ſome authors have aſſerted, might have once belonged to *Togrol Beg*'s army; but conſidering *Togrol Beg*'s attachment to *Al Kayen*, it is by no means probable that he ſent them to plunder his dominions. There may, indeed, be ſome inaccuracy through the confuſion of titles, in this, and other events, which happened in the califat at this time; for *Jalalodawla*, who ſtill exerciſed the power of *Emir Al Omra*; is now by many authors ſtiled king of *Bagdad*. As to the extent of the califf's dominions, at this period, it is extreamly hard to diſtinguiſh between thoſe in which he had a property, and thoſe over which he had a ſuperiority. It is plain, that all the executive power in the former, was lodged in the *Emir Al Omra*; but from certain incidents, which ſometimes break out, it appears, that even *Al Kayen*'s

Account of them.

Al Kayem ſometimes conſiderable.

power

power was much more than nominal. As to *Balalodawla*, he ſeems to have been a firm and an intrepid prince. Having made a compromiſe with *Ganjar*, who was his rival in the poſt of *Emir Al Omra*, he applied himſelf to ſuppreſs, the inſolence of the *Turkiſh* guards at *Bagdad*, which had riſen to a great height. They plundered the palace of his vizir, and ſeveral times attempted to ſet the city of *Bagdad* on fire; as well as to diſpoſt and put to death *Balalodawla* himſelf; but they were as often quelled by his intrepidity and wiſdom. Upon *Balalodawla*'s death, his ſon, who was at *Waſet*, ſuppreſſing an inſurrection there, was declared *Emir Al Omra*; but not being able to ſet out inſtantly to take poſſeſſion of his new dignity, and there being an immediate neceſſity, that that high poſt ſhould be filled up, it was conferred upon *Ganjar*.

Ganjar made *Emir Al Omra.*

His adminiſtration may be ſaid to have been fortunate, through the fierce competitions of other great powers. *Madud* aſcended the throne of *Gazna*, without any oppoſition, and ſeems to have been highly applauded, for revenging his father's death as he did, upon *Mahomed*, who was ſo mean ſpirited, as to refuſe to give his brother any more than about forty pounds ſterling, for his own and family's ſubſiſtence, in priſon. *Madud*, however, was ſo juſt as to ſpare one of *Mahomed*'s ſons, who had compaſſionated *Maſud*'s diſtreſs. But *Madud* ſoon found a rival, in the perſon of his own brother, *Mayudud*, who died ſuddenly at the commencement of his rebellion. By his death *Madud* was left for ſome time in peaceable poſſeſſion of the throne of *Gazna*, and his vaſt family acquiſition in *India*, and a great part, if not the whole of the kingdom of *Mawaralnar*, but he had entirely loſt all ſuperiority over the *Seljukian Turks*, who were ſettled in *Koraſan*, and other parts of *Perſia*, under *Togrol Beg*, and his brother *Jaffar*. Notwithſtanding the bad ſucceſs of his family againſt them, he raiſed an army once more to drive them from thoſe fine provinces. But he was defeated in his attempt by the famous *Alpharſan*, the ſon of *Jaffar*, *Sultan* of *Koraſan*. He however, found means to prevent the farther inroads of freſh numbers of *Turks*, who broke out of *Turkiſtan* into his dominions. Thoſe commotions encouraged a number of the *Indian Rajas*, to take up arms and lay ſiege to *Lahor*, the chief ſeat of his power in *India*. This inſurrection might have been formidable, had it been well conducted. But during the ſiege, the *Rajas* quarrelled amongſt themſelves, and many of them declared for *Madud*, who thereby obtained time for ſending an army to ſupport his own intereſt, and the rebellion was thereby ſuppreſt.

Inſurrection in *India* ſuppreſt.

Togrol Beg befriends the califf.

While *Madud* was thus neceſſarily employed in his own dominions, the *Emir Al Omra* at *Bagdad*, entered into ſtrict connections with *Togrol Beg*, and the other princes of the houſe of *Gazna*, who ſtill owned a profound ſubmiſſion to the

the califf. In conſequence of this good underſtanding, in the year of the Hejra 439, an alliance was entered into between the two families, by *Ganjar*'s ſon marrying the niece of *Togrol Beg*, daughter to his brother *Dawd*, or *David*. Soon after, *Ganjar* died, and was ſucceeded in his poſt of *Emir Al Omra*, by the ſecond of five ſons he left behind him, called *Firuz*, who received from the califf the proper robes of inveſtiture. But his appointment was diſputed, by *Sutun* his elder brother. Both parties took the field with great armies, but that of *Firuz*, who had now taken the denomination of *Al Malec*, being compoſed chiefly of mercenary *Turks*, they deſerted him upon the eve of a general battle. This obliged *Al Malec*, to fly to *Ahwaz*, and from thence, to *Waſet*, where he found means for ſome years to make head againſt his brother. Hej. 439, A. D. 1049.

About this time, *Madud*, the *Sultan* of *Gazna*, died, during a new expedition he had undertaken againſt the *Seljuks*, and left his affairs in great diſorder. He left an infant ſon, whom the *Turks*, who compoſed his army, refuſed to obey. *Madud*'s brother *Ali*, was therefore declared *Sultan*; but he was ſoon after depoſed by *Abdalraſhid* his uncle, who found means to deliver himſelf out of priſon, where he had been thrown, and was proclaimed *Sultan*, upon which *Ali*, reſigned all his pretenſions to royalty. *Abdalraſhid* had a favourite, whoſe name was *Togrol*, whom he made governor of *Sejiſtan*, and ſuffered to exerciſe many acts of ſovereignty there, and in other parts of his dominions. This gave *Togrol* an opportunity of forming a party to dethrone *Abdalraſhid*, who was a very weak prince, and of mounting the throne of *Gazna*. *Abdalraſhid*, accordingly, ſuſpecting nothing of the matter, was ſurprized in his capital by the rebel, and obliged to retire to the citadel, which *Togrol* immediately beſieged. Finding the place impregnable by his troops, he applied to the governor the force of gold, and thereby gaining admiſſion, he put to death, the *Sultan*, and of all the royal family, only, *Feroxad*, and *Anca*, who were ſon and daughter to *Sultan Maſud*, eſcaping death; the firſt by flight, and the latter, by being reſerved for the tyrant's bed. He did not long enjoy his ill-acquired dominion. The people who had ſeen the favours heaped upon him by *Abdalraſhid*, deteſted him, and openly branded him with the appellation of Kafernamet, or the Ungrateful. One *Karkir*, was then governor of the *Gazna* family, in *India*, which he preſerved in the allegiance of the true ſovereign. Encouraged by the univerſal deteſtation *Togrol* was held in, he wrote in the moſt preſſing terms to the chief noblemen of the *Gazna* court, and even to the princeſs *Anca* herſelf, to rid themſelves of the tyrant, and to place the crown upon the head of *Feroxad*, promiſing to ſupport them in their attempt, with all his power. This letter produced the deſired

Death of *Madud* *Sultan* of *Gazna*.

Revolutions in that empire.

A tyrant murdered.

fired effect. Ten of the chiefs of the *Gaznan* court agreed to murder *Togrol*, whom they dispatched with their scimitars, on pretence of paying their obedience to him. Soon after *Karkir*, arriving with an army from *India*, *Feroxad* was declared *Sultan*.

The war still continued between the rival *Emirs Al Omra*, of the house *Buyiah*; but with what success on either side, we cannot say, and *Togrol Bg* was continuing his conquests; when a new revolution brought the califat of *Bagdad* to the very brink of ruin. The affairs of the califat were at that time, chiefly managed by a vizir. This minister had a difference with a *Turk*, called *Bassasiri*, and, by the *Greek* writers *Pissasirius*, who had been one of *Badadodawla*'s slaves; but was now arrived at a principal command amongst his countrymen. The vizir, however, maintained his ground so well, that *Bassasiri* thought proper to retire from *Bagdad*, and put himself under the protection of *Mostansar*, the Fatemite califf of *Egypt*. It appears from the complexion of the history, that he undertook to abolish the name of the califf of *Bagdad*, out of the public prayers, and to oblige all the subjects of the *Arabian Irak*, to substitute in its place, *Mostansar*'s name. *Mostansar* accepted of his proposal, and furnished him with men and money; with which he made so good a use, that he soon become master of the chief places of the *Arabian Irak*, and continued his incursions to the very gates of *Bagdad*. In this distress, the califf, deprived of all protection, through the dissentions between his *Emirs Al Omra*, wrote in the most moving terms to *Togrol Beg*, whose sister he had lately married, for assistance. The lights of history, at this period, are extreamly confused, through the inattention of the eastern historians to chronology; we shall however, endeavour from a review of what has been said, by different authors, and comparing them together, to be able to exhibit the great lines of history in the amazing revolutions that succeeded.

Distress of the califat by *Bassasiri*.

Matters seem, at the time we now treat of, to have been compromised, between the two rival brothers, *Malec*, and his elder brother *Sutun*, and the latter remained in the possession of the post of *Emir Al Omra*, or, as he is called, King of *Bagdad*. But his power, like that of his master the califf, was no more than nominal, through the vast progress of *Bassasiri*'s arms; who declared himself *Emir Al Omra*, and caused himself with the *Egyptian* califf, to be mentioned in all public prayers, throughout the *Arabian Irak*. This conduct was extreamly disagreeable to *Togrol Beg*, who immediately resolved to employ his arms against *Bassasiri*. He accordingly advanced towards *Bagdad*, at the head of a great army, in which were eighteen elephants. But by all that we can collect from history, (unless he took *Bagdad* twice, which is by no means probable) during his march,

Togrol Beg declares against him in the califf's favour.

Bassasiri,

Baſſaſiri, found means to engage *Ibrahim*, one of *Togrol Beg*'s brothers, to rebel, in hopes of a crown. *Ibrahim*, accordingly prevailed with that part of his brother's army, which he commanded, to ſwear allegiance to him; marched to *Al Ray*, and took poſſeſſion of *Hamadan*. This obliged *Togrol Beg*, to divert his arms from *Baſſaſiri*, and to turn them againſt his brother. *Baſſaſiri* availing himſelf of this event, immediately advanced againſt *Bagdad*; and made himſelf maſter of the weſtern part of it; while the califf found means to eſcape over the *Tygris* to the eaſtern, where he had ſtill on foot a body of troops. Some writers ſay, on the other hand, that he was made priſoner, and even put in chains by *Baſſaſiri*. But we rather incline to the former opinion, and that he put himſelf into the cuſtody of the governor of *Haditha*; who kept him as a pledge for his own ſafety, till he could ſee what turn the diſpute between *Baſſaſiri*, and *Togrol Beg* might take.

Bagdad taken by *Baſſaſiri*, for the *Egyptian* califf;

Whatever may be in this, it is certain, that *Baſſaſiri* entered *Bagdad*, in a triumphal manner, as the general of the *Egyptian* califf, whoſe ſtandards and titles, were carried in pomp before him, and ſending for the chief judges, and noblemen of *Bagdad*, he formally depoſed the califf *Kayen*, and obliged them to ſwear allegiance to *Moſtanſar*, and himſelf. He then gave the plunder of the califf's palace, which was very rich to the populace of his army; and it is remarked, that there was now a total ceſſation of prayers for *Al Kayen*, through all the califat of *Bagdad*; the public worſhip being performed in the names of the Fatemite califf, and of *Baſſaſiri*. To add to the diſgrace of *Al Kayen*'s government, his vizir *Moſlema* was whipt on a camel's back, dreſt in the moſt deſpicable habit, through all *Bagdad*; and being ſewed up in a bull's hide, was beaten 'till he died. This extinction of *Al Kayen*'s authority, appears to have continued for ſeveral months; but we cannot think with ſome authors, that his perſon ever was in the power of *Baſſaſiri*; becauſe if it had, we can ſcarcely imagine, that that barbarian would have failed to have put him to death.

but is retaken by *Togrol Beg*

Togrol Beg, was fortunate enough to ſuppreſs the rebellion under his brother *Ibrahim*, in the moſt glorious manner; and he immediately directed the march of his great armaments, to the relief of *Bagdad*. His approach intimidated *Baſſaſiri* ſo much that he retreated to *Al Rabah*, a city upon the *Euphrates*; ſo that *Togrol Beg* met with no oppoſition in his march to *Bagdad*. That *Al Kayen* was not at this time in priſon or in chains, appears pretty plain from *Togrol Beg*, ſending a preſent of a conſiderable ſum of money, and ſixty five changes of raiment, for his wife. When *Togrol Beg* drew near to *Bagdad*, he was informed, that the califf of *Bagdad* attended by *Maras* the governor of *Haditha*, was on his way to meet him. Upon this intelligence, *Togrol Beg* ordered a moſt magnificent tent to be erected for the califf's reception, 'till

till a ſuitable diſpoſition could be made, for his entering *Bagdad*. In the mean while *Togrol Beg's* troops, had already entered that capital; which it is ſaid they plundered, but that perhaps may be only mentioned with regard to the houſes, and adherents of *Baſſaſiri*, for *Togrol Beg's* officers, ſent to the califf all his magnificent equipages and movables; with his principal favourites. This enabled the califf to re-enter *Bagdad* in a very ſplendid manner, and the reader may judge of the reſpect that was paid him, when he is informed that the great *Togrol Beg* himſelf held ſometimes the califf's ſtirrup and ſometimes the bridle of his mule, and walked before him on foot till entering the gate of the city, the califf was moſt graciouſly pleaſed to ſay to him in *Arabic*, "mount on horſeback thou defender of the faith."

who highly honours the califf.

This mark of reſpect is however, no more than an ambiguous proof of the califf's authority over *Togrol Beg*. It is plain that the latter, as well as the more modern *European* princes, could make very convenient diſtinctions, between the ſpiritual and temporal power. In the firſt capacity, he was all ſubmiſſion, and humility itſelf; but in the latter, he conſulted his own intereſt. His *Turkiſh* ſoldiers, who knew no difference between friend and foe, when objects of plunder were in their view, ſeeing the riches of *Bagdad*, fell immediately to plundering. *Togrol Beg* with all his ſubmiſſion to the califf, made no ſecret that he aſpired to the place of *Emir Al Omra*, and therefore we may eaſily ſuppoſe, that all *Malec's* intereſt in *Bagdad* was directed againſt him. Accordingly vaſt numbers of the inhabitants of that capital, roſe upon *Togrol Beg's* ſoldiers, and committed a great number of outrages upon them, and ſeemed even averſe to their ſovereign's being reſtored by *Seljuks*. *Togrol Beg*, tho' he ſtill retained the moſt profound veneration for the califfs religious character, made this a pretext for his eſtabliſhing his own political intereſts. He ordered his ſoldiers to make ſevere repriſals, which we may eaſily ſuppoſe they did, upon the inhabitants of *Bagdad*. He then repaired to the califf himſelf; and informed him, that if *Malec* was innocent, of the outrages that had been offered to his troops, he might ſafely appear in public. This was an inſidious propoſal. For *Malec*, before *Togrol Beg's* expedition to *Bagdad*, had diſpoſſeſs'd him of *Shiraz*, which *Togrol Beg* had conquered. *Al Kayen*, who knew the true ſources, of *Togrol Beg's* animoſity, againſt *Malec*, endeavoured to be a mediator between them; and even endeavoured to ſhelter him in his palace. But *Togrol Beg* pretending that his abſconding was a ſign of his guilt, *Malec* was obliged to ſurrender himſelf, and he was by *Togrol Beg's* orders ſent a priſoner to *Kondemir* where he died.

But his ſoldiers plundered *Bagdad*.

He puts *Melec* to death.

By this time, *Togrol Beg* had aſſumed the title and poſt of *Emir Al Omra*, and that dignity paſt from the houſe of *Buya*,

And declares himſelf *Emir Al Omra*.

Buya, who had held it for 127 years, to that of *Seljuk*. Both thoſe families were founded by great men and like others in thoſe days, made a very rapid progreſs, but fell as ſoon as the ſons ceaſed to inherit the virtues of their fathers. *Togrol Beg* now lived in the palace of the *Emirs Al Omra*, and exerciſed all their functions. He ordered his own name to be mentioned in all public prayers along with that of the califf, who even crowned him king of *Bagdad*, and adorned him with an imperial collar, bracelets, robes, and other enſigns of majeſty. But *Togrol Beg* was far from repreſſing the rage of plunder that poſſeſſed his troops even in the city of which he was now inveſted with the royalty; for it went ſo far, that not ſatisfied with what they could rob from the living, they broke open the ſepulchres of the dead that they might ſtrip them even of the ſhrouds and ornaments in which they were buried. Thoſe exceſſes occaſioned great commotions at *Bagdad* which encouraged *Baſſaſiri*, who mantained his ground at *Waſet*, to advance as far as *Nomania* at the head of an army to repoſſeſs himſelf of *Bagdad*. But he was met, defeated and killed by *Togrol Beg's* generals, and his head was publicly carried about on the point of a lance.

He defeats and kills *Baſſaſiri*,

This victory left *Togrol Beg* without a rival in the *Arabian Irak*. The califf heaped new favours upon him; he made him the maſter of his houſhold, ordered money to be coined in his name, and renewed to him the appellation of *Rucnoddin*, "or defender of the faith." As we write the hiſtory of *Togrol Beg* only as it has a connection with that of the califf, we ſhall defer, to another part of this work, a detail of the many great exploits and conqueſts he atchieved after he was made king of *Bagdad*. It is ſufficient to ſay here that he gave the califf great appointments and many valuable preſents, and at laſt he arrived at ſuch a pitch of greatneſs and glory that he aſpired to the honour of having the blood of the *Seljuks* mingled with that of *Al Abbas*; that is, of marrying the daughter of the califf, the man who depended upon him for his daily bread, and who owed to him his liberty, if not his life.

and is made king of *Bagdad*.

He courts the califf for his daughter,

Al Kayen could not, notwithſtanding his own impotence and all the obligations he lay under to *Togrol Beg*, hear of this propoſal without indignation, and repeated it with ſo much firmneſs, that all *Togrol Beg's* ſubmiſſions and obliging generoſity could not reconcile him to the thoughts of it. At laſt, he had recourſe to menaces, but the califf was even proof againſt them. The affairs of ſtate and war, obliged *Togrol Beg*, to leave *Bagdad*, which he prepared to do with deſpondency, in not being able to arrive at the ſummit of his wiſhes. He could not help bewailing his misfortune to his favourite *Amid*, whom he had made his vizir, and governor of *Bagdad*. That miniſter who appears to have been well acquainted with the genius of a proud and a poor court,

but is rejected,

court, ſaid, that if he would commit the management of his courtſhip to him, he did not doubt of ſucceſs. He then explained the manner in which he intended to proceed, which was, gradually to withdraw the califf's appointments. *Togrol Beg* conſented to this expedient, and gave orders, that none but his vizir ſhould pay the califf his income, and then he left *Bagdad*. *Amid*'s expedient proved ſucceſsful. For the califf, finding his allowance daily diminiſhed, till at laſt it was reduced to nothing, gave *Amid* leave to inform his maſter, that he might have the princeſs in marriage.

and ſucceeds thro' the addreſs of his vizir.

Togrol Beg was then at *Tauris*, and received *Amid*'s diſpatches with the utmoſt tranſports of joy. He immediately ordered, that the califf ſhould be reinſtated in his appointments, and that *Amid* ſhould conduct his bride, with the utmoſt ſplendor to *Tauris*, which he accordingly did. There is ſome reaſon for believing, that the glory of being allied to the houſe of *Al Abbas*, more than any love for the princeſs, influenced *Togrol Beg* upon this occaſion. For, tho' he received his bride with a profuſion of pomp and expence, and though the contract was there ſigned; yet *Togrol Beg* was ſo little of an impatient lover, that he delayed the conſummation of his marriage, 'till he could do it at *Al Ray*, the capital of the *Perſian Irak*. After making very rich preſents to the bride, he went in perſon to that city, to prepare every thing for her reception, with all the eaſtern magnificence of luxury. The weather being then very hot, he retired from *Ray* to *Rudbar*, where he had a palace, and where he thought he could be more cool. But here a bloody-flux put an end to his life, about ſix months after his marriage had been concluded with *Seyda*, for ſo the califf's daughter was called, whom he left a virgin-wife. But this may be the better accounted for, when we inform the reader, that the bridegroom was in the ſeventieth year of his age when he was married, and in the twenty-ſixth of a buſy, active, and fatiguing reign.

He dies before he conſummates his marriage.

There is ſomething ſo generous, and ſo noble, in the conduct and character of this prince, particularly, with regard to *Al Kayen*, that we cannot reckon him amongſt the number of barbarians. He was ſometimes unſucceſsful; but in the end he vanquiſhed all his enemies; and died, full of glory; we ſhall mention his character in another part of this hiſtory. As he left no iſſue of his own body, *Alp Arſlan*, the ſon of his deceaſed brother *Jaffar*, was his heir; and by uniting the two empires together, he was, by far, the moſt powerful prince of his age. *Alp Arſlan*, as heir to his uncle, ſucceeded to the poſt of *Emir Al Omra*, of *Bagdad*, and enjoyed all the honours of that dignity. Amongſt the firſt acts of his ſovereignty, was his ordering the late *Sultan*'s vizir, *Amid*, to be put to death for malverſations in his office. He was ſucceeded in his vizirſhip, by *Nadham*, who is celebrated by hiſtorians, as the moſt accompliſhed

He is ſucceeded by *Alp Arſlan*.

accompliſhed ſtateſman of his age. *Alp Arſlan* and his predeceſſors had greatly reduced the power of the houſe of *Gazna*, the head of which at this time was *Ibrahim*. This prince finding it impoſſible to recover the dominions that had been diſmembered from his family, ſought to indemnify himſelf, by extending his conqueſts in *India*. Before he ſet out from thence, he made a ſolemn treaty with *Alp Arſlan*, one of the chief articles of which was, that neither of their ſubjects ſhould moleſt the others; which was inviolably obſerved on both ſides. This gave *Ibrahim* an opportunity of puſhing his conqueſts in *India*, where he gained ſo many victories, that he obtained the appellation of *Almanſur*, or the Triumphant.

The wars of the *Gazna Sultans* in *India*.

The beginning of *Alp Arſlan's* reign was troubled with ſeveral rebellions. The firſt was under one of his own relations, called *Kotolmiſh*, who rebelled againſt him in the province of *Dabegan*; and got together a very fine army. But as he was advancing to give battle to the *Sultan's* troops, he happened to fall from his horſe, and break his neck. This rebellion was followed by another under *Kara Arſlan* in *Karman*, which was quickly ſuppreſſed by *Fadluyah*, a general of great abilities, who, for the ſervices he did his maſter, was made governor of *Fars*. We have often obſerved that the governors of provinces in the eaſt, were, as to the exerciſe of their power, very little leſs than independent princes; being left at liberty to act as they pleaſed in all matters, in which they were not particularly inſtructed by their maſters, and that ſeldom happened with regard to the internal part of their government. *Fadluyah* ſoon felt his own power, and throwing off his allegience to his maſter, he bad him defiance. Upon this *Alp Arſlan*, ordered his vizir *Nadham* to advance with an army againſt the rebels. But *Fadluyah*, not chuſing to ſtand an engagement, retired to a fort, ſo advantageouſly ſituated, as to be deemed impregnable. Here he and his army ſhut themſelves up, having ſtored themſelves ſo well with proviſions, as to be under no apprehenſion of their being obliged to ſurrender thro' famine.

Wars of *Alp Arſlan*

Nadham is univerſally allowed to be a great genius, but choſe to ſupport his character, by a manner of living and acting, that tho' extreamly well adapted to the eaſtern people, appears very odd and uncouth to *Europeans*, who do not reflect upon the great effects, which hypocriſy and pretenſions to a ſanctity, have had in *Europe* itſelf. *Alp Arſlan*, was ſo much enraged at *Fadluyah's* defection, that he ſent orders to *Nadham*, not to riſe from before the place without taking it. *Nadham*, accordingly inveſted it, and made ſeveral attacks, but all to no purpoſe. His officers were perpetually remonſtrating to him the impoſſibility of his ſucceeding, and he appeared ſometimes inclined to hazard his ſovereign's diſpleaſure, by raiſing the ſiege. He

Character of *Nadham* and remarkable hiſtory of the reduction of a fortreſs.

turned it however into a blockade, and affecting an intire indifference, as to the event, which he ſaid he left wholly to God, he betook himſelf to faſting, praying, and repeating moral ſentences, to fortify his own, and his officers patience. As to the enemy, they were ſo ſecure that not a man of them appeared upon the walls; nor did they ſeem to keep any guard, which, tho' *Nadham* looked upon to be the greateſt inſult they could offer to him as a general, was obliged to bear with. But one morning, when he leaſt expected any ſuch thing, he was agreeably ſurprized to hear the enemy beating the *Shamad*, as a ſign that they were willing to ſurrender upon articles. Theſe were ſoon ſettled; for *Nadham*, who knew the importance of the conqueſt, granted them honourable ones. It was ſtipulated, that *Fadluyah* ſhould return to his allegiance to his *Sultan*, and pay him the uſual tribute in preſents, and that he ſhould remain governor of that place. *Nadham*, upon enquiry, found the cauſe of this ſo unexpected ſurrender, to be owing to the ſprings and fountains, in the place, being ſuddenly dried up, thro' the heat of the ſeaſon and climate. Tho' nothing in war is more common, and natural than ſuch events, yet *Nadham* attributed this to the miraculous effect of his prayers and faſting; and it was ſo repreſented and ſo believed by the army.

and of an army being ſaved from periſhing.

But this was not the only miracle of that kind, that was wrought under the ſanctity of *Nadham's* adminiſtration. A rebellion breaking out in *Karman*, it was neceſſary for him to march his army thro' the vaſt deſerts of *Nubandijan*; which the ſoldiers ſeemed extreamly unwilling to enter; becauſe they afforded nothing for the ſupport of life. After ſeveral days march, finding their proviſions run ſhort, they gave themſelves over for loſt, and many of them murmured. But, when they came to this critical point of diſtreſs, they eſpied the ruins of a caſtle, which ſeemed to be the reſidence of wolves and batts, but here they found a magazine of corn, which ſufficiently appeaſed their hunger, and a plentiful ſhower of rain fell, which quench'd their thirſt. Tho' this deliverance is looked upon by the *Moſlem* hiſtorians, as a ſtriking miracle, yet nothing could be better judged by *Nadham*, or by the *Sultan* himſelf, when they foreſaw ſuch a march, than to lay up ſuch a magazine for the relief of their troops, and then to give it the turn of a miracle. This proved the juſtice of their cauſe, and their aſſurance of divine protection. As to the ſhower that fell, admitting the thing to be true, it was indeed providential; but when we reflect, that rain in many of thoſe deſarts is generally periodical, it is highly abſurd to ſwell it into a miracle. The whole of the expedition, however, ſeems to have been introduced for the ſake of this miracle; for we are not told the event of it, tho' it probably was in favour of the *Sultan*.

Reflection

The

The next expedition we find undertaken by *Alp Arſlan* was againſt *Kazan*, who had rebelled in the province of *Kowarazm*, at the head of thirty thouſand men. He was ſoon defeated, and moſt of his troops cut in pieces, and *Alp Arſlan* put the province under the government of his ſon *Mahec Shah*; whom he ſoon after, in a ſolemn aſſembly of all the grandees of the empire, placed upon a golden throne; and obliged all preſent to recognize him as his heir and ſucceſſor. *Kazan* defeated.

We now come to a period, where there is a very extraordinary agreement, between the chronology of the *Greek*, and *Moſlem* writers, and likewiſe a more than ordinary agreement as to facts; but not in perſons, or rather, in names. The *Greek* emperor, *Conſtantine Ducas*, after a ſhort and unfortunate reign, finding his latter end approach, gave the guardianſhip of his three ſons, to whom he bequeathed his empire, to his wife *Eudocia*, but obliged her to take a ſolemn oath never to marry again. This encouraged the *Turks*, who had no idea of a female government, to break with vaſt fury into the empire, and threatened the deſtruction of *Conſtantinople* itſelf. The late emperor, from an unſeaſonable frugality, having left his dominions diſfurniſhed of troops, the empreſs, had but a ſmall number to oppoſe this invaſion; nor had ſhe a general, whom ſhe could truſt with the command of thoſe ſhe had. In this diſtreſs, ſhe threw her eyes upon *Romanus Diogenes*, who was then in priſon, for his ambitious practices, but who was univerſally acknowledged to be the braveſt, and beſt commander in the empire. Him ſhe married, being firſt abſolved from her oath by the patriarch; and he was proclaimed emperor. His great reputation ſoon placed him at the head of an army, and obliged the *Turks* to retreat. They had taken and plundered *Neocæſaria*, and *Aleppo*, and they were retiring from *Neocæſaria*, with a prodigious booty, when the emperor, overtaking them with a body of light horſe, put great numbers of them to the ſword; and recovered the whole prey. He then retook *Neocæſaria*, and *Aleppo*, and built a ſtrong fortreſs at *Hierapolis*, the *Bambyce* of the antients. Agreement between the *Greek* and *Moſlem* authors. Hej. 458. A. D. 1095. Hiſtory of the empreſs *Eudocia*; who marries *Romanus*.

While thoſe events, ſo diſagreeable to the *Seljuks* were happening, *Alp Arſlan* with the true ſpirit of ambition, declared in a full meeting of his grandees, and general officers, that he was determined, to conquer the country of *Turkiſtan*, from which he ſaid he derived his original, and therefore, it undoubtedly was underſtood, that it belonged to him of right. He accordingly gave orders for vaſt preparations to be made for that purpoſe, and had actually made ſome progreſs in his expedition, when he had notice of a freſh irruption, which had been made by the emperor *Romanus* into the *Moſlem* territories. This expedition proved as fortunate as the laſt; but if we are to judge by the *Moſlem* authors, Hej. 462. He invades the *Moſlem* territories.

hors, he had during this abſence, loſt all the conqueſts he had made during the preceeding campaign; for we are told, that he beſieged *Manbij*, which is no other than the *Heirapolis*, already mentioned, for ſixteen days: we are therefore inclined to think, that this ſiege muſt have happened the preceeding campaign. It is however certain, that he defeated a great body of *Seljuks*, and other *Moſlems*, in this campaign, and that he might have made a very formidable progreſs, had not proviſions fallen ſhort in his camp, by his army being ſurrounded, on all hands, with flying bodies of *Moſlems* or *Turks*. He therefore made diſpoſitions for returning to *Conſtantinople*; but the *Moſlems* uniting in one great army, endeavoured to cut off his retreat, and *Romanus*, appearing to accelerate it more, the *Turks* imagined him to be flying, perſued him with ſo little caution, that *Romanus*, making a judicious ſtand, gave them a total defeat. This obliged the *Turks* to abandon a great number of their towns and fortreſſes on their frontiers; but the ſeaſon of the year not permitting the emperor to purſue his conqueſts, he returned through *Cilicia*, and entered his capital in triumph, carrying with him, an immenſe booty, which he had taken, or rather re-taken from the *Turks*, with a vaſt number of priſoners.

and defeats the *Seljuks*.

Hej. 463. A. D. 1070. Diſtreſſes of *Egypt*.

During thoſe tranſactions, *Al Kayen* having received his daughter *Syda* back from *Tauris*, with great ſums of money beſtowed upon him, was ſpending his life in ſanctimonious indolence at *Bagdad*; void of ambition, and void of care. About this time, earthquakes, peſtilence, and at laſt famine, had almoſt depopulated *Egypt*; where *Al Moſtanſar* ſtill continued to reign. Human fleſh, was publicly ſold in the ſhambles; and the Grand Vizir himſelf, when he came to the palace, was attended only by one ſervant, and had but one horſe; the reſt of his ſervants, being through famine, unable to walk abroad. We are told, that this horſe, being one day unluckily left at the palace gate, the vizir, on his return, could not find him; and was informed, that he had been devoured by the populace; ſeveral of whom were for that fact, hung upon gibbets, where their bodies afforded a repaſt to their countrymen, nothing of them being ſeen next day, but their bones. Other ſhocking particulars are mentioned, concerning this famine; which obliged *Moſtanſar* himſelf, who had ten thouſand two hundred horſes, mules, and camels, in his own ſtables to part with them all but three. To compleat his calamity, he was beſieged in his palace by *Nacerodawla*, of the houſe of *Boyiah*, who obliged him to part with the ſmall portion of money, and rich effects he had ſtill left.

A ſevere famine.

Of great ſervice to the califf of *Bagdad*,

Thoſe and other diſtreſſes, which happened at this time to the califf of *Egypt*, but above all, the powerful protection of *Alp Arſlan*, were of infinite ſervice to the califf of *Bagdad*. Many of the inhabitants, even of *Damaſcus*, where

where a civil war broke out on his account, preferred his authority to that of *Al Montanſar*, and *Aradawla*, the prince of *Aleppo*, which, by a ſtrange revolution, had again fallen under *Moſlem* dominion, was conſtrained to order prayers to be offered up, through all his dominions, for the califf of *Bagdad*; and to acknowledge *Alp Arſlan* to be his ſovereign and maſter.

Alp Arſlan appears to have been much alarmed at the ſucceſſes of the emperor *Romanus*; and having now laid aſide all thoughts of any other expedition, at leaſt for ſome time, he aſſembled an army of forty thouſand horſe, with which he marched to *Aklat*, formerly the capital of *Armenia*; ſituated upon the *Euphrates*, where he underſtood a great army of the *Greeks* lay, under the command of a general called *Philaretus*. Theſe were ſo vigorouſly attacked by *Alp Arſlan*, that they were entirely defeated, and their general being taken priſoner, had his noſe cut off, by that *Sultan*'s order: a barbarity ſo little conformable to *Alp Arſlan*'s character, that it is reaſonable to conclude, the *Greek* muſt have been guilty of ſomewhat to deſerve it. After this victory, a party of the *Seljuks* ſpread themſelves in *Silicia*, where they plundered *Iconium*; but underſtanding that the emperor was drawing near with the main body of his army, they retired with precipitation, loaded with plunder. This gave an opportunity to the *Armenians*, and inhabitants of the country, to attack them in the plains of *Tarſus*, where the *Turks* loſt all their plunder; and many of them were put to the ſword. As we are writing at preſent the hiſtory of the *Moſlems*, and not that of the *Greeks*, whoſe relations are by no means to be depended on, we think ourſelves obliged to follow the Moſlem authors, in our relation of the great event that is to follow; but we ſhall not fail to avail ourſelves of the *Greek* hiſtorians, where ever their relations throw any light upon the others, or where they are probable, and not abſolutely contradictory to the more unqueſtionable authorities of the *Moſlems*.

Alp Arſlan marches and defeats the *Greeks*.

who in their turn defeats the *Seljuks*.

The check the *Seljuks* had met with upon the plains of *Tarſus*, did not diſcourage *Alp Arſlan*, from purſuing the operation he intended. For we are told, that next ſpring, *Romanus* marched at the head of one hundred thouſand men, into *Armenia*, where the *Seljuks* ſtill kept their footing. He was counſelled by his ableſt generals, to attend the motions of the *Turks* in *Capadocia*, but he divided his army into two bodies. He ſent one of them againſt *Aklat*, and with the other he marched to *Malazkerd*, appointing the laſt to be the general place of rendezvous. According to ſome hiſtorians, *Alp Arſlan* was then beſieging *Edeſſa*, where the garriſon made ſo vigorous a defence, that he was forced to abandon the ſiege, in order to draw his troops together, to oppoſe *Romanus*, who, he underſtood was making diſpoſitions for a general battle. When the *Greeks* came

Progreſs of the war.

before *Malazkerd*, the *Seljuk* garriſon abandoned it; but the *Greeks* left in the place, obſerving no ſtrict diſcipline, and roving about in parties for forage, were many of them put to the ſword, by the *Seljuks*; who, in their turn, beſieged the town. The emperor, to relieve it, ſent *Bryennius*, one of his beſt generals, with a party, which proving too weak, he was re-inforced by *Baſilacius*, and with great difficulty, they repulſed the *Seljuks*, though *Bryennius* was taken priſoner. By this time, the diviſion of the emperor's army ſent againſt *Malazkerd*, had taken poſt at *Zahra*; ſo that *Alp Arſlan*, found a battle was inevitable; but he had not with him then above fifteen thouſand horſe. With them however, he made ſuch ſkilful diſpoſitions, that, by calling in his detachments, his army ſoon increaſed to above forty thouſand; and it is on all hands allowed, that a vaſt number of *Greek* deſerters, came over to him. It ſeems however, to be certain, that the ſtrength of his army was inferior to that of the emperor, whom upon this occaſion, he far out did in generalſhip. For the diviſion of the *Greeks* that had been ſent to *Aklat*, under *Ruſilius*, was at a great diſtance from that under the emperor; and indeed, *Alp Arſlan*, appears to have taken his meaſures ſo well, that he had cut off all communication between them. It was therefore in vain for the emperor to ſend, as he did, diſpatch after diſpatch, to haſten the march of *Ruſilius* to his aſſiſtance; for that general, inſtead of advancing had fallen back; ſo that the emperor was left to fight the battle with his own diviſion. Both armies being drawn up in order of battle, *Alp Arſlan*, with a moderation uncommon to his country, ſent a deputation to *Romanus*, to treat of peace. But that emperor, conſcious that he had a ſuperiority of numbers on his ſide; and truſting to the valour and diſcipline of his troops, interpreting ſuch an offer from a barbarian, to be the effect of fear, haughtily anſwered, that he would treat of no peace, till he was put in poſſeſſion of *Al Ray*, the *Sultan*'s capital.

Strength of the two armies.

Haughtineſs of *Romanus*.

This anſwer, which was declared in the hearing of the whole army, raiſed in them, the utmoſt indignation, which proved fatal to the *Greeks*. The *Sultan* himſelf, at the head of his troops, threw himſelf upon his knees, and with tears, in which he was joined by all about him, called heaven to witneſs, how earneſtly he had laboured for peace; and continued ſometime in the moſt fervent prayer for ſucceſs. Riſing from his devotions, he called for a white habit, in which he dreſt himſelf, and in the Moſlem manner, ſprinkling it with perfumes, he ſaid, that, if he fell in battle that day, his robe would ſerve him for a winding ſheet. He then mounted his horſe, and addreſſing himſelf to his troops, he offered every man, who had a mind to leave him his liberty to do it. Then riding through the ranks to review them, obſerving one horſeman, of a very unpromiſing

Hiſtory of the famous battle of *Zahra*.

promiſing appearance, he deſired the officer who commanded the ſquadron, to diſmiſs him the ſervice. But the officer replying, he was ſo brave a fellow, that no man in the army was more likely than he was, to take the *Greek* emperor priſoner, the *Sultan* commanded, that he ſhould continue in his rank. He then returned to the head of his army, where he threw away his bow and his quiver, drew his ſword with one hand, and graſped a ſceptre, which was made of iron, and as ſome ſay, but with what propriety we cannot ſee, the tail of his horſe in the other. In the mean while, the *Greeks* under their emperor, advanced in excellent order to the charge, which they made with ſuch impetuoſity, that the *Seljuks* retreated. According to *Bryennius*, who was preſent in this battle, *Alp Arſlan*'s general was *Tarang* one of his eunuchs. He acted in the nature of Aid de Camp to the *Sultan*, who gave orders for all the motions that were made. The *Seljuks* continued to retire, but with no conſiderable loſs. At laſt, the emperor being apprehenſive, that their intention was to get between him and his camp, by means of their cavalry, he ordered a retreat. Upon this the *Seljuks*, by the *Sultan*'s orders, faced ſuddenly about, and in their turn, gave a moſt furious charge to the enemy. It began now to be duſkiſh, and the rear of the *Greeks* which was commanded by *Adronicus Ducas*, who ſecretly hated *Romanus*, ſeeing the imperialiſts retreat, thought they had been routed. In this notion they were encouraged by *Adronicus*, who, inſtead of ſupporting the emperor, was the firſt to fly back to the camp, into which he was followed by all his diviſion. The emperor now found himſelf ſurrounded, and overpowered by the *Seljuks*, who made a moſt dreadful ſlaughter of his troops. He acted however, with great intrepidity, till ſeeing all about him cut in pieces, and being himſelf moſt deſperately wounded, and his horſe killed under him, he was forced to ſurrender himſelf priſoner; as ſome hiſtorians ſay, to the ill-looking trooper we have already mentioned, whoſe name was *Shaid*; who at firſt was ignorant of the quality of his priſoner. But being convinced from the reſpect paid by the other *Greek* priſoners, that it was the emperor, he immediately threw himſelf from his horſe; and paying him the proper reverences, conducted him to the *Sultan*.

In which the *Greek* emperor is taken priſoner.

This was one of thoſe illuſtrious interviews in hiſtory, which is much better to be expreſſed in painting than in writing. The *Sultan*, who at firſt was doubtful of his priſoner's quality, being ſatisfied who he was, far from inſulting him, advanced towards him, with an air of affability, and familiarly tapping him three times with his hand upon the ſhoulder, "Did I not ſend to you, ſaid he, propoſals of peace, and did you not reject them." The emperor replied, with ſome fierceneſs, "That he had, and bade him do his worſt, but not to reproach him." "Do my worſt,

Remarkable interview between him and *Togrol Beg*.

replied the *Sultan*, and what would you have done to me, had I been in the condition I now ſee you." "I ſhould, ſaid the emperor, have inflicted upon you, ſome infamous puniſhment. And how, continues the *Sultan*, do you imagine, I am to behave to you." "I ſuppoſe, ſaid the other, you will either put me to death, or expoſe me thro' your dominions; or what I cannot well ſuppoſe, you will ſet me at liberty, upon my paying a ranſom, and that you will ſuffer me to reign under you." You have, in your laſt ſuppoſition, rejoins the *Sultan*, hit upon the very thing I intend to do." He then conducted him to a moſt magnificent pavillion, where he found every thing ſuitable to his dignity was prepared for his entertainment.

The generoſity of the latter,

The above relation of this celebrated interview, is not only much more natural, but more agreeable to what happened afterwards, than the trite compliments which the *Greek* writers have put in the *Sultan*'s mouth, when he tells the emperor, that he would treat him, not as a captive, but as a ſovereign. For, though it muſt be admitted, that *Alp Arſlan*, upon this occaſion, behaved with a magnanimity and politeneſs, ſcarcely to be paralelled in hiſtory; yet it was in ſome meaſure out of his power, to diſmiſs the emperor, without a ranſom: becauſe it would have been directly contrary to the fundamental principles of religion, to which he was ſo much attached. In fact therefore, when they treated together, the *Sultan* inſiſted upon a ranſom, and likewiſe for the payment of an annual tribute; but he ſhewed a true magnanimity, in requiring no other ſecurity for the payment of either, than the emperor's own word: which is a demonſtrable proof, that in point of generoſity, the *Sultan* went as far as the laws of his religion, which indeed, were the laws of his country, gave him leave. As ſoon as the anguiſh of the emperor's wounds permitted him, a perpetual peace was concluded between them. It was ſtipulated, according to the Moſlem hiſtorians, that the emperor ſhould pay for his ranſom about ſeven hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, and that he ſhould remit to *Al Ray*, an annual tribute of about a hundred and forty thouſand. This laſt is likewiſe a circumſtance that is indiſpenſable, by the law of *Mahomet*, when the conquered party does not embrace his religion. It was farther agreed, that the emperor ſhould order all the *Moſlem* priſoners throughout his dominions, to be releaſed. This was a condition which common humanity, as well as policy, dictated. And laſtly, the emperor was to give his daughter in marriage, to the *Sultan*'s ſon; a circumſtance mentioned by the *Greek* hiſtorians, and as we are told, by *Mirkond*, one of the beſt of the eaſtern ones, to have been punctually performed.

who makes peace with and ſets free *Romanus*.

Togrul Beg's politeneſs and humanity,

During the dependence of this treaty, the emperor always ſat on the ſame throne with the *Sultan*, and was preſented by him, not only with ten thouſand pieces of gold,

for

for his preſent exigencies, but with the liberty of ſome illuſtrious priſoners, whom he inveſted, as he did the emperor, with robes of honour; and when the two monarchs parted, the emperor received a noble guard, to conduct him in ſafety, to the place of his deſtination. As the emperor was now the ally, and tributary of the califf of *Bagdad's Emir Al Omra*, it is proper here, to follow that prince, through the following unhappy ſcenes of his life.

Diſtreſſes and death of *Romanus*.

No ſooner was it known at *Conſtantinople*, that he was a captive, than *John Ducas*, brother to the late emperor, formed a party, which placed his nephew *Michael*, upon the throne of *Conſtantinople*, and ſhut the empreſs *Eudocia* up in a monaſtry. The emperor *Romanus* knew nothing of this revolution when he took leave of the *Sultan*, and ſet out for *Conſtantinople*, where the treaty, he had lately concluded, was to be ratified, attended by *Alp Arſlan's* ambaſſadors. He therefore proceeded to *Theodoſiopolis*, where he repoſed for ſome time, and had his wounds dreſt. It was here he received the firſt intelligence of the cataſtrophe that had happened in his capital. He therefore retired to a ſtrong fortreſs, called *Docia*, which he propoſed to keep, till he was joined by ſuch a number of his faithful ſubjects, as ſhould enable him to take the field, but he was deceived in his expectation. For *Adronicus*, the ſon of *John Ducas*, the ſame who had betrayed him at the battle of *Zahra*, being ſent againſt him, with a force far ſuperior to his, ſoon diſſipated the few troops he had got together, and purſuing him into *Silicia*, made him priſoner. His eyes were then put out, and being ſent in exile to the iſland of *Protan*, he there died of grief and anguiſh.

His character.

Romanus and *Alp Arſlan*, are ſaid by ſeveral hiſtorians, to have been the two handſomeſt men in their dominions, and to have excelled all others, in the perſonal exerciſe of arms. It was therefore, no wonder, that a friendſhip grew between them. Neither was *Romanus* unworthy to reign, in other reſpects, beſides valour, and military accompliſhments. Notwithſtanding his diſtreſſed circumſtances, he remitted to the *Sultan* about one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds of his ranſom, with a jewel, eſteemed worth fifty thouſand pound more; with an appology, that it was all the money he could raiſe. This generous proceeding ſo touched the *Sultan*, that hearing of the emperor's diſtreſſes, he ſwore he would take the firſt opportunity to relieve him.

Glory of *Alp Arſlan*. Hej. 464. A. D. 1071.

Alp Arſlan was now at a ſummit of glory, which none of the *Moſlem* princes, had ever known, and to which the greateſt of them had moſt ardently aſpired; by having conquered, taken, and ſet at liberty, the ſucceſſor of the *Roman Cæſars*. He therefore bent his mind to the expedition on which it had been ſo long ſet, the conqueſt of *Turkeſtan*. Certain reaſons however, determined him to begin with *Georgia*, into which country

He conquers the plains of *Georgia*.

country he marched an immenſe army; and he ſoon conquered all the flat part of it. As the inhabitants were chriſtians, amongſt other hardſhips he impoſed upon them, he obliged the nobility to wear rings of iron in their ears; in token that he had deprived them of their liberty, and reduced them to the condition of ſlaves. Many of the *Georgians*, tho' greatly attached to chriſtianity, to avoid this ignominy, made an outward profeſſion of mahometiſm. The *Sultan* perceiving that he muſt be too long diverted from his favourite expedition, ſhould he attempt to penetrate into the mountanous parts of the country, committed the reduction of them, to his ſon *Mahec*, a ſon, who was well worthy of ſuch a father. *Mahec* choſe to begin with the ſtrongeſt of the fortreſſes near *Mount Caucaſus*, which was that of *Meriam Niſhin*. This fortreſs, being ſituated in the middle of a lake, was by the *Georgians* deemed to be impregnable, and it received its name, by its containing a monaſtry, and church, dedicated to the virgin mary, which was reſorted to by all the chriſtians of thoſe parts, with uncommon veneration. The difficulty of the attempt, did not diſcourage *Mahec*. He put the beſt of his troops, furniſhed with hooks, ladders, and grapling irons, on board boards and rafts; intending to ſcale the walls. But juſt as he was going to give the attack, a tempeſt roſe, followed by ſo dreadful an earthquake, that all the elements ſeemed to conſpire in the deſtruction, both of *Turks*, and chriſtians. It was however plain, that heaven did not thereby intereſt itſelf in favour of the chriſtians. For ſo great a part of the walls of the place, were thrown down by the earthquake, that when the ſtorm was over, *Mahec* carried the place, and levelled the church and monaſtry to the ground.

Severe uſage of the greatlords there.

His expedition into *Turkeſtan*.

In the mean while, the *Sultan* repaired to *Bagdad*, and continued his preparations with ſo much vigour, that he entered *Turkiſtan* at the head of twenty thouſand troops. This was ſo early as the month of February. He pointed his march towards *Mawaralnar*, but finding the *Jehun*, impaſſable by his vaſt armaments, he ſpent twenty days in throwing a bridge over it. The bridge being finiſhed, he found it abſolutely neceſſary for the ſafety of his troops, and the ſucceſs of his expedition, to reduce certain forts, that lay on the oppoſite banks. The firſt of thoſe he attacked called *Barza* was defended by *Yuſef Kothual*, a brave *Karazmian* lord, and tho' it was certain the place was not tenable againſt ſo great an army; yet he defended it for ſeveral days, with amazing intrepidity. At laſt the fort being carried, and he made priſoner, the *Sultan* ordered him to be brought before him; and repremanded him ſeverely for being ſo madly preſumptuous, as to defend ſuch a place againſt ſuch a force. The *Karazmian*, who it is plain could not diſtinguiſh, between valour, and madneſs, anſwered at firſt fiercely

and the remarkable manner of his death.

fiercely and even proceeded to the moſt outrageous diſreſpect. The *Sultan* threatened him with a cruel death. Upon which, the *Karazmian* plucking from his boot, a concealed dagger. Villain ſaid he, is a man, like me, to be thus treated. The *Sultan's* guards would inſtantly have interpoſed, but he hindred them with a motion of his hand, and let fly an arrow which miſſed the *Karazmian*, who, immediately run with his dagger towards the *Sultan*. The latter thinking he had no equal in arms, ſprung from his throne, but his foot ſliping, before he could recover himſelf, the *Karazmian* gave him a mortal wound with his dagger. He had ſtrength, however, to go into another tent, while the *Karazmian* not only defended himſelf bravely againſt all the *Sultan's* guards, but wounded ſeveral of them, and would have made his eſcape had not one of the court pages knocked him down with a ſtone, ſome ſay a hammer, and then he was diſpatched.

His laſt ſpeech,

As to *Alp Arſlan*, his death was edifying. Before he expired, he told his atttendants that two things were formerly recommended to him, and that he had neglected them both. That he never ſhould have too mean an opinion of another, or too high a one of himſelf, "yeſterday continued he," obſerving the ſtrength of my army from yonder eminence, I "imagined myſelf invinciable by any power on earth: and "to day I depended ſo much on my own ſtrength and "ſkill in arms, that I forbad my guard to interpoſe bet-"ween me and the man who has given me my death "wound. I now perceive that there is no warding off deſ-"tiny."

Such were the dying ſentiments of this great man. His vizir *Nadham* perceiving that his death was approaching, hinted to him that it would be proper to oblige the chief officers of his ſtate and army to renew their oaths of fidelity to *Mahec Shah*, which was accordingly done; becauſe *Mahec* tho' the moſt deſerving, was not the eldeſt ſon of the *Sultan*. Thus died the then greateſt monarch in the world; a term we are often obliged to repeat; becauſe of the many great princes which aroſe in the eaſt at this time, in ſucceſſion; the ſplendor of the latter always rendering dim that of the former; for we ſhall ſome years hence exhibit one who is to eclipſe the luſtre of all we have yet mentioned. *Alp Arſlan* was in the prime of his life at the time of his death; being but forty four years of age; of which he reigned near ten. The epitaph inſcribed upon his tomb at *Maru*, in *Koraſan*, where he was buried, is beautifully ſimple, and more in the old *Greek*, than in the eaſtern, manner. "All ye who have beheld the glory of *Alp Arſlan* raiſed to the ſtars approach and ſee his perſon mingled with the duſt.

and epitaph.

As to this great monarchs character, he ſeems by the generous manner in which he behaved to the emperor of *Conſtantinople*

His character,

ſtantinople, to have poſſeſt a magnanimity that diſtinguiſhes him from all the other great men (numerous as they are) of the like rank, that we have exhibited in the courſe of this hiſtory. In other reſpects they are ſimilar. The *Perſian* hiſtorian gives us perhaps too extravagant an idea of his power when he ſays that no fewer than twelve thouſand princes or ſons of princes have been ſeen attending his throne. We have already mentioned the form of his perſon which is ſaid to have been ſo majeſtic that it impreſt all who beheld him with awe and affection. He wore his whiſkers very long, and his turban was very high and done up in form of a crown, to encreaſe the majeſty of his perſon which was of the largeſt ſize.

and greatneſs.

The title of "*Emir Al Omra* to the *Sultan* of *Bagdad*," was amongſt the grandeſt of thoſe which adorned the name of the new *Sultan Malec*. This prince mounted the *Seljuk* throne with ſuch prepoſſeſſions in his favour, that the califf *Al Kayen*, not only ſent him a confirmation of all his titles but added to them that of *Emir Al Munemin* or commander of the faithful, an appellation that the califfs had hitherto reſerved to themſelves alone. Upon *Malec*'s acceſſion to the *Seljuk* throne, he was proclaimed by the title of "*Jalal*" or "the glory of the ſtate and religion." But he ſoon met with a rival in the perſon of *Marubel*, the ſon of *Jaffar Beg* to whom the reader may remember the kingdom of *Koraſan* had been allotted. But *Malec* ſoon extinguiſhed that diſpute by giving his rival a total defeat near *Hamadan*. *Kaderd* another of his couſin-germans, who then governed *Kerman*, or rather was ſovereign of it, proved a more powerful competitor, for to ſay the truth, it is not clear upon what principles of ſucceſſion or juſtice, the great monarchy of *Koraſan* came at this time, as it certainly was, to be in *Malec's* poſſeſſion. *Kaderd* was at the head of a powerful army, and had advanced as far as *Kurge* when he was oppoſed by a numerous army of veteran *Koraſan Seljuks*, who were deemed to be invincible. The two armies, for ſome days, ſtrove by marches and counter marches for the advantage of the ground, and at laſt a general engagement, which proved one of the moſt bloody that ever had been known in *Perſia* decided the conteſt in favour of *Sultan Malec*. This victory rendered the troops who had gained it ſo inſolent, that they threatened if their pay was not doubled, to ſet at liberty *Kaderd*, who had been taken in the late engagement, and to place him at their head. Upon this, it is ſaid, that *Kaderd* was poiſoned in the night, by *Malec's* order; and it is certain that, in the morning, he was found dead with ſymptoms of poiſon upon his body. *Malec* declared that he had out of deſpair taken the poiſon which, as was the cuſtom of many of the eaſtern princes, he always carried about him in a ring. The heads of the mutiny, who the night before had left their petition or rather

Succeeded by his ſon *Malec*.

who is made *Emir Al Munemin*.

Death of *Kaderd*.

rather their demands, with the vizir in writing, appeared next morning at the palace to renew the *Sultan's* anſwer; but were told with a melancholy aſpect, by the vizir, that he had no opportunity of preſenting, to his majeſty, their paper, becauſe of the extream affliction he was under on account of his kinſman *Kaderd's* death; who had poiſoned himſelf the night before. As the chief hopes of the mutineers conſiſted in *Kaderd's* perſon, and pretenſions, they were ſo much diſconcerted and confounded, when they heard of his death, that they quietly returned to their duty.

Death of *Al Kayen* and his character

In the mean while, the califf *Al Kayen*, who was now above ſeventy ſix years of age, and in the forty fifth of his califfat died. A little time before his death, an accident happened which perhaps haſtened it. For the Tigris overflowing, the inundation was ſo great and ſo rapid that it ſurrounded even the throne of the califf, who muſt have periſhed in the water had he not been reſcued by a ſlave who carried him out upon his ſhoulders. We have very little to ſay with regard to this califf. The political character of all califfs had been extinguiſhed ſoon after the erection of the poſt, or rather tyranny of the *Emirs Al Omra*. They were encloſed like breathing ſtatues within a ſhrine, and were fed at the expence of the public. If they were of importance, it was when the party to which they lent their name found it of ſervice to them, which ſeldom had happened after the *Sultans* of *Seljuk* were their keepers. It is however admitted that *Al Kayen* lived more at eaſe under them than either he or his predeceſſor had lived under their predeceſſors. The reader may eaſily perceive from the circumſtance of his refuſing his daughter to the great *Togrol Beg* in marriage, to what a pitch of pride he had dozed his life away. It would however be doing in juſtice to his memory, not to mention that he is ſaid by hiſtorians to have poſſeſt, in an eminent degree, all the private virtues, and that he has left behind him ſome ſpecimens of his poetry which have deſcended to latter times.

Al Moktadi, *the* 27th *califf of the houſe of* Al Abbas.

Succeeded by *Al Moktadi.*

THIS califf was grandſon to the late califf by his ſon *Mohannerd*, and immediately upon the death of his grandfather was recognized as califf by all the great officers of his houſehold. He ſaid the funeral ſervice over his predeceſſor; a ceremony which all califfs performed to their predeceſſors with whom they died in good underſtanding, if preſent

preſent on the ſpot. The family of *Al Kayen*, at the time of his ſucceſſion, was ſo weak, that he was the only male heir remaining. About the time of, or a little before, his acceſſion, *Naſerodawla*, who had been the ſcourge of *Egypt* under *Moſtanſur* was after a long and ſucceſsful reign of rebellion defeated and put to death by *Begdukur* a *Tark* in the city of *Meſer*. After his defeat and death, plenty and peace returned to *Egypt*, whoſe calamities had been in a great meaſure owing to the ravages of that rebel. The *Egyptian* califfs however were reduced to the ſame ſtate as thoſe of *Bagdad* by falling under the power of their vizirs, who acted as *Emirs Al Omra*, and who ſupported themſelves by the power of the army. The *Emir Al Omra* of *Bagdad*, this year found means to reduce great part of *Syria*, and carried the important point of having the new califf of *Bagdad's* name, inſtead of that of the *Egyptian* califf, mentioned in the public prayers. *Malec* carried his reſpects ſtill farther, for after this expedition, he paid a formal viſit to the califf of *Bagdad*, and gave him ſignal marks of veneration and reſpect. The name of *Malec's* general, who had been ſo proſperous in *Syria*, was *Aſſis*. He even puſhed his arms into *Egypt*, and obliged the *Fatemite* califf to fly from his capital, but at laſt *Aſſis* received a ſignal defeat, from the inhabitants of *Cairo*, and other cities of *Egypt*; by which he was obliged to return to *Damaſcus*. Upon his march back we are told that he ſlaughtered great numbers of people at *Ramla*, and *Jeruſalem*. The dependance of a general upon his ſovereign, in that age and country, was always a proportion to the power and weakneſs of both; and after an expedition was finiſhed, there was very little correſpondence between them. The caſe of *Aſſis* was a ſtrong proof of this; for tho' he returned ſafe to *Damaſcus* of which he was governor, *Malec* knew nothing of the matter, and actually imagined that he had been cut off in his expedition to *Egypt*. *Malec* therefore gave a commiſſion to his own brother *Tataſh*, to reconquer *Syria*; and put him at the head of an army for that purpoſe. But when *Tataſh* was drawing near *Damaſcus*, he found that its governor, *Aſſis*, was reigning there in great peace and proſperity. *Aſſis* however underſtanding that the *Sultan's* army was approaching, offered to pay a tribute for his government; which *Malec* immediately accepted of, having much more important conqueſts in his view.

State of the *Egyptian* califfs.

Hej. 468. A. D. 1075.

Tribute payed to *Malec*.

Malec, by the concurring teſtimony of all the eaſtern hiſtorians, was not only a more powerful, but if poſſible, a more amiable prince than his father, or any of the *Seljukian* line. But the greateſt glory perhaps, and the greateſt blemiſh of his reign, was his having ſuch a vizir, as *Nadham*; or as he is called by other writers *Nazam Al Molk*, whom we have already taken notice of, as being the beſt ſtateſman of his age and country. This miniſter from being no better

Character of *Malec*.

than

than the ſon of a peaſant, eclipſed not only all the ſtateſmen, but many princes, that went before him, in his munificence to men of letters. Not contented with taking under his patronage and protection all the learned men who repaired to his palace, he founded ſeminaries of learning, which he endowed with large revenues, in all the principal cities of his maſter's dominions, and particularly, a very noble college at *Bagdad*. About the time we now treat of, *Nadham* was near ninety years of age, and having been the tutor of *Alp Arſlan*, we can eaſily account for the many amiable virtues, of that great conqueror. His age gave him a right to be the father of learning, as his munificence had made him the patron of it, and the ſcholars throughout all the *Moſlem* dominions looked upon themſelves as his ſubjects, and children. When the *Sultan Malec* about the time we now treat of, repaired to *Bagdad* to be crowned, *Nadham* added luſtre to that ſolemnity, by a noble, and perhaps, unparrelled magnificence. For he ſent circular letters to all the moſt eminent learned men in the *Moſlem* dominions to attend him by a certain day. Being aſſembled, he put himſelf at their head, and they ſet out, in a formal regular proceſſion, from the vizir's palace, in the weſtern, to the califf's palace, in the eaſtern, part of that capital. An account of this venerable appearance, reaching the califf, he ſent the principal officers of the court to meet them upon their proceſſion, and a horſe richly capariſoned, for *Nadham*, who ſtill continued walking at their head. Being arrived in the califf's preſence, the learned body ranged themſelves in order to the right and left, of the califf's throne. But *Nadham* was admitted to ſit along with him upon it; and was honoured, not only with a rich robe of ſtate, but with many high titles, in praiſe of his wiſdom and learning. He was equally charitable to the poor as he was liberal to the learned; for it is ſaid that he diſtributed out of his own private purſe, no leſs than two hundred and eighty thouſand dinars, during the firſt progreſs that *Malec* made thro' his dominions.

Magnificence of *Nadham*.

The firſt conqueſt of great importance atchived by *Malec*, was in the year of the Hejra 471, when he made an expedition againſt *Solymon*, the ſovereign of the country on the other ſide of the *Jehun*, or the *Oxus*. This prince was defeated, and being taken priſoner, was ſent by *Malec* to *Iſpahan*, which was then the capital of his empire. An incident happened in this expedition, which may ſerve to diſplay *Nadham's* refined notions of grandeur. The expence of carrying the *Sultan's* forces over the *Jehun*, was very conſiderable; and when the ferry men brought in their accounts to the vizir, he payed them in bills drawn upon *Antioch*. The poor boat-men conſidered this as an off-put, and in a body complained of it to the *Sultan*, who ſpoke of it to his vizir." "It is not ſir, anſwered the latter with a view of delaying

Malec's conqueſts.

"payment

Nadham's magnificence.

" payment I have given thoſe drafts, but that the world, " and poſterity may know, the extent of your majeſty's " dominions, when they hear that your revenues at *Antioch*, " paid the ferry-men upon the *Jehun*, and the ſailors " upon the *Caſpian* ſea." At the ſame time, the vizir ordered the bills to be paid without the leaſt diſcount.

This expedition being over, the *Sultan* made preparations for a war againſt *Ibrahim* the ſon of *Maſud*, the *Sultan* of *Gazna*. That prince had been very ſucceſsful in *India*, which ſeems to have raiſed *Malec's* jealouſy; but *Ibrahim* prudently tryed the way of negotiation, to compromiſe matters between them, which ſucceeded ſo well, that a peace was concluded, and ſealed by a marriage, between *Ibrahim's* ſon, and *Malec's* daughter. At the ſame time, *Malec* married the daughter of *Bagra Khan*, who is called king of the *Turks*, and perhaps then reigned at *Turkiſtan*. This princeſs ſoon after bore him a ſon, who from the place of his birth was called *Sanjar*.

History of *Aſſis*.

Aſſis ſtill continued to reign under the califf of *Bagdad*, or rather under *Malec*, his *Emir Al Omra*, at *Damaſcus*. This city had long been the bone of contention, between the *Sultan's* of *Bagdad* and *Egypt*. *Aſſis* apprehending he was too weak to reſiſt his adverſary, ſent to *Tataſh*, *Melec's* brother, for aſſiſtance. *Tataſh*, who ſeems to have been a ſoldier of fortune, was ſtill at the head of his army, without having been able to eſtabliſh himſelf in any ſovereignty, and he moved towards *Damaſcus*. Upon this, the *Egyptians* retreated to their own country. *Aſſis*, as the reader may remember, was no other than a tributary to *Malec*, and had been ſo ſevere in his government, that great numbers of his ſubjects had withdrawn themſelves, with their effects, from their country to avoid his tyranny. Pleaſed however with his advantage, he paid a viſit to *Tataſh*, in his camp, and was there put to death. *Tataſh* then took poſſeſſion of *Damaſcus*, and all the vaſt treaſures of the late governor, and invited all the fugitive *Damaſceens*, to return to *Damaſcus*, which they accordingly did: Dominion at this time, was an actual traffic amongſt the *Moſlem* princes. All the monarchs of the antient califat, (excepting the califf of *Egypt*) acknowledged ſome kind of ſuperiority, to be veſted in the califf of *Bagdad*. This ſuperiority was by him tranſferred to his *Emir Al Omra*, and in virtue of that transference, the *Emir* farmed it out in parcels. Sometimes, he beſtowed the government of a rich province, upon the payment of a ſtipulated ſum. Sometimes he gave a province up to be conquered, when its poſſeſſor grew too powerful to be longer dependent; and the conqueror was to hold his acquiſition, upon perhaps eaſier terms. Thus the governor of *Mawſel* had leave from *Malec*, to conquer *Aleppo*, and its rich diſtrict at this time, upon his paying a tribute

tribute paid for *Mawſel*

of

of three hundred thouſand dinars a year. The ſame was the caſe of many other of the fineſt provinces of the Eaſt. By this ſcheme of policy, *Malec*, for ſome years, preſerved ſuch a tranquillity of government, that no remarkable events happened for ſome years of the califf's reign. At laſt, his brother *Tataſh*, the ſame who had acquired the ſovereignty of *Damaſcus*, rebelled againſt him. This ſeems to have been the reaſon, why *Malec* appointed *Kaſtakar* to govern *Bagdad* in his abſence, while he marched againſt his brother; who had made himſelf maſter of *Meru*. This was a city which abounded in all the riches and luxury of the Eaſt; and *Tataſh* was ſo voluptuous a prince, that ordering his army to keep without the walls, he and his favourites entered it, indulged themſelves in all kind of pleaſure, by drinking wine, lying with women, and committing other enormities, forbidden by the Moſlem faith. Upon the approach of *Malec*, with a ſuperior army, *Tataſh* retired to the caſtle of *Berjes*, where being taken, he was thrown into priſon. Such is the relation given by ſome of the Eaſtern hiſtorians of this prince *Tataſh*; but there is ſome reaſon for believing, that it is not perfect. For the prince of *Aleppo*, being defeated by *Kotelmiſh*, the governor of *Antioch*, we are told that *Aleppo* was taken poſſeſſion of by *Tataſh*; and that the ſame prince ſoon after made himſelf maſter of a great part of *Syria*. It likewiſe appears, that, even after his being taken at *Berjes*, he was ſo formidable to *Malec*, that the latter, to ballance his power, propoſed to marry his ſon to a daughter of *Alexis*, the *Greek* emperor. Thus very little dependence can be had upon this period of the Moſlem hiſtory; we ſhall therefore proceed to ſomething that is more certain.

Defects of the hiſtory

We have already mentioned the ſects of the *Bowendians*, the *Karmatians*, and many other enthuſiaſts, who being all of them of the ſame ſpirit, ſeem, ſome time before this, to have all united together, and to have appeared under the name of *Bataniſts*. The prodigious extent and fertility of the eaſtern countries, had afforded them the means of ſheltering and ſubſiſting themſelves, undiſcovered, in the *Perſian Irak*, *Deylam*, and other diſtricts, till they found themſelves powerful enough to appear abroad, which they did in the 480th year of the Hejra. At this time, they were headed by one *Haſan*, a native of *Meru*, of ſome conſideration. Were not the facts atteſted by *European* as well as Eaſtern authors, thoſe delivered concerning this ſect and leader, would appear incredible. He brought his followers to a greater conformity to his will, than even *Mahomet* himſelf ever brought his. Finding himſelf ſtrong enough to appear abroad, they rendezvous'd at a caſtle called, *Rudbar*, in *Deylem*, belonging to one *Kamak*, who was tributary to *Malec*. But he was heated with the enthuſiaſm of the *Bataniſts* ſo ſtrongly, as to become

Hiſtory and riſe of the *Aſſaſſins*.

become one of their ſect, and to deliver up his caſtle to them upon the payment of twelve thouſand dinars. Soon after this, their numbers became conſiderable and at laſt formidable; even to the great *Malec*. He ſent *Haſan*, from whoſe name the word aſſaſſin (or murderer) takes its riſe, a meſſage, requiring him to ſubmit himſelf and diſmiſs his followers. *Haſan* read the *Sultan*'s letter, without diſcovering the leaſt emotion, but pointing at a young man, one of his followers, he ordered the youth to ſtab himſelf, which he inſtantly did and dropt down on the ſpot. Giving his order to another, he inſtantly went to the top of a tower, from whence he threw himſelf and beat out his brains. The chief then turning to the *Sultan*'s meſſengers, Tell your maſter, ſaid he, what you have ſeen, and that I am at the head of ſeventy thouſand men, who at my command will do as thoſe have done. It was no wonder, after this report was made to *Malec*, that he was extreamly cautious, as to his proceedings againſt ſuch a deſperate crew, eſpecially as he had then a great number of other powerful enemies upon his hands. *Haſan* ſeems to have been aware of this, and availed himſelf of *Malec*'s caution. For, in a very ſhort time, he reduced other fortreſſes, and particularly one called *Al Maut*, or Death, from its impregnable ſituation amongſt the mountains of *Jebab*; for which reaſon *Haſan* made it the ſeat of his government.

Their enthuſiaſm.

It may not be improper here, to acquaint the reader that thoſe *Bataniſts* took their name from a hidden light, which they pretended to poſſeſs; and that the appellation of their prince, when properly tranſlated, is no other than the old man of the mountain, which is ſo celebrated in the *European* hiſtories. In a ſhort time, they made themſelves maſters of *Al Jebal*, which comprehends the mountainous part of the *Perſian Irak*. How ſuch monſters of ſociety, were ſuffered to exiſt, would be extreamly hard to be accounted for, did we not reflect that the whole Eaſt at this time was a ſcene of barbarity and bloodſhed; and that they were employed, by the monarchs there, as their miniſters of vengeance. In ſhort, this execrable *Haſan* even founded a dinaſty, which was called the *Iſmalian*, and however incredible it may appear, the ſame laſted for 171 years.

We know of no particular wars, that *Malec*, as *Emir Al Omra* or king of *Bagdad*, was engaged in at this time. All we learn, is that he divided his time between *Iſpahan* and *Bagdad*, and that he acquired the character of being one of the moſt virtuous and magnanimous, as well as moſt powerful princes, that ever was enthroned in the eaſt. His treatment of his miniſter *Nadham*, which is one of the moſt remarkable periods of his hiſtory, diſcovers how perfectly well he underſtood his own dignity. That miniſter, when paſt the 90th year of his age, fell into the infirmities incident to that time of life; and particularly into a blind fondneſs for his

Hiſtory and death of *Nadham*.

his children, and grand children. As he had been long inveſted with next to ſovereign power, they ſcarce had any idea of ſubjection, and their inſolence proved ſuch, as plainly evinced, that they did not think they had a ſuperior. *Othman*, one of *Nadham*'s grandſons, was governor of *Meru* in *Koraſan*; and others of his deſcendants poſſeſſed the greateſt places of the government. As to *Nadham*, conſcious of his own integrity, he was above making any of thoſe compliances, which ſerve to paliate the over-growing power of a ſubject. He did not even ſtoop to *Katun*, his ſovereign's favourite wife, who inſiſted upon her ſon being appointed ſucceſſor to *Malec*, in prejudice of his elder brother *Barkiarok*. *Nadham* ſtrenuouſly oppoſed this ſubſtitution, and that, probably, was the cauſe of his ruin. It was eaſy for the favourite lady to make the *Sultan* ſenſible, that his miniſter's family were too great for ſubjects; eſpecially as their own imprudence confirmed it. The governor of *Meru*, treated one *Kudan*, who was a favourite ſlave with the *Sultan*, in a moſt opprobrious manner; and as ſoon as the lady found ſhe had made an impreſſion upon *Malec*'s mind, in prejudice of his miniſter, no day paſt, without his ears being filled with freſh complaints of his family's inſolence. *Mowiad*, the miniſter's ſon, had been raiſed to the poſt of principal ſecretary of ſtate, and one *Adib*, who was remarkable for having a very fine hand of writing, was particularly recommended by the *Sultan*, to be his under ſecretary. *Mowiad* rejected him, giving it as a reaſon, that he had ſworn never to employ *Adib*; and that he was certain, the *Sultan* would not render him guilty of perjury. This diſreſpectful anſwer, being carried to *Malec*, he obſerved, that as he had made no oath to employ *Mowiad*, he was free to diſcharge him, which he accordingly did, and made *Adib* ſecretary, in his room. About the ſame time, the *Sultan* wrote to *Nadham* a very ſevere letter. "If, ſaid he, you are my colleague in empire, declare it, but if you own yourſelf to be my miniſter, you muſt own you are my ſubject. Your family, *Othman* in particular, tranſgreſs the bounds of duty that ſubjects ought to obſerve." This ſevere reprimand threw *Nadham*, who, not uſed to ſuch rebukes, a little off his guard. And this was ſo well improved by the favourite lady, that ſhe prevailed with the *Sultan* to write him another letter, intimating, that if he and his family did not abate of their inſolence, he would deprive him of the ſtandiſh, meaning the vizirſhip. The anſwer which *Nadham* gave to this letter, though unguarded, is worthy to be recorded. "You may, ſir, ſaid he, remember, how I ſuppreſt all the rebellions that broke out upon your firſt coming to your throne, and that to me is owing, the preſent happy, and proſperous ſtate you enjoy, yet, you now give ear to my accuſers. Sir, your glory depends upon the continuance of the connection, that is, between my ſtandiſh, and your turban."

Reſentment of *Malec*.

This language was too free for the greateſt monarch in the Eaſt to bear; and *Malec* reſented it ſo much, that he took the ſtandiſh from *Nadham*; or, in other words, he deprived him of all his places, and power. This had no great effect upon a philoſopher, who was now ninety-three years of age; for *Nadham* ſtill continued to follow his maſter's court, without diſcovering the ſmalleſt ſymptom of reſentment. The favourite lady thought this to be dangerous; and one day a true *Bataniſt*, under the appearance of a beggar boy, approaching to aſk charity of him, gave him a mortal wound. Finding his end approach, he wrote a moſt affecting letter to the *Sultan*, in which, after a ſhort recapitulation of his own ſervices, he recommended his family to his majeſty's protection. He was ſucceeded in his poſt of firſt miniſter, by a creature of the favourite *Sultana*, called *Tay*. His maſter *Malec* did not long ſurvive him; but hiſtorians are not agreed, as to the manner of his death. One account is, that, eighteen days after the aſſaſſination of his miniſter *Nadham*, he came to *Bagdad*, in the neighbourhood of which he went a hunting; which was his great paſſion, and that having eat of ſome of the game he deſtroyed, he returned home ſick, and died. Others ſay, with ſome face of probability, that his brother *Tataſh* employed ſome of his ſubjects, of the old man of the mountain, to aſſaſſinate him; which they effectually did. Others ſay, that, before his death, he was taken priſoner, by the *Greek* emperor's army, without their knowing his quality; and that his miniſter *Nadham*, by pretending an embaſſy to the *Greek* court, obtained his releaſe, amongſt other priſoners, of whoſe freedom the emperor made him a preſent; and that he died ſoon after. But this laſt account is void of all probability; we muſt therefore conclude upon the whole, that he died a natural death, and in the manner already mentioned.

Nadham murdered by a Bataniſt.

Though *Malec* is celebrated by the Eaſtern hiſtorians, as being the greateſt prince that ever mounted the *Seljukian* throne, yet very little juſtice has been done to his memory. The particulars we have of his reign, are confuſed, without hiſtorical preciſion, and very little to be depended on. Were we to hazard a conjecture, we would aſcribe this uncertainty to the reſentment which the learned men of his time entertained, for his ingratitude to their great patron, *Nadham*. Enough, however, is come to our hands, to prove, that he was a prince endowed with all the great qualities neceſſary for government. He introduced into his dominions a much better police than they had ever known before; and he carried on public works of extream magnificence, and utility. His extenſive dominions were, by his order, adorned with hoſpitals, and colleges, for the poor; commodious roads, canals, and all the conveniencies of life. His reign was diſtinguiſhed by plenty, and, though we are in the dark as to particulars, he is ſaid to have been the greateſt

Death and character of *Malec*.

greateſt conqueror of his time. That circumſtance, however, admits of great doubt; becauſe it is plain, that both the *Greek* and the *Moſlem* hiſtorians, have confounded him, with his father *Alp Arſlan*, who undoubtedly was ſo. But the moſt extraordinary part of *Malec*'s character is, that he was void of ambition. During his life time, he ſhared his vaſt dominions amongſt his kinſmen and favourites. He made *Soleyman*, the ſon of *Kotolmiſh*, whom we have already mentioned, the ſovereign of all the conqueſts he gained from the *Greeks*; which we are told, extended from the *Euphrates* into *Aſia Minor*. *Ezerum*, was the capital of this empire. He gave all *Karamania*, or *Kerman*, to *Shah*, the ſon of his uncle *Kadred*, notwithſtanding the reaſons he had for being at variance with that prince. His brother *Tataſh* was by him made governor, or rather ſovereign of the greateſt part of *Syria*. He gave *Karazm* to *Tuſhtekin*, *Aleppo* to *Akſankar*, *Mawſel* to *Tagarmiſh*, and *Mardin* to *Katmur*. It is impoſſible, at this diſtance of time, to aſſign the motives of this liberality; which was perhaps well judged, and founded upon excellent principles. *Malec*, from his own experience, could not be inſenſible of the abuſes committed by governors, who generally proved tyrants and uſurpers. It is therefore probable, that he introduced into his empire a new tenure, ſomewhat of the nature of that feudal kind, which began, about this time, ſo much to prevail in *Europe*. Every ſovereign he made, was his tributary; and as he knew the preciſe terms upon which he held his government, it was by no means his intereſt to endeavour to ſhake off ſo eaſy a dependence.

His diſintereſted generoſity

Upon the whole, it is greatly to be lamented, that we are ſo much in the dark, as we are, with regard to this great prince. Beſides the cauſe we have already hinted, it is but too probable, another occurred, and that is, the decay of literature, which, by this time, began to creep upon the Moſlem empire. The encouragement of learning had riſen to ſo amazing a height, that it could go no farther; and therefore became, about the time we now treat of; firſt, to decline, and then to be neglected. It is therefore owing to *Nadham*'s generous patronage of letters, that we knew any particulars of *Malec*. One inſtance, that has come to our hands, proves a ſuperiority of that prince's genius, even over that of his miniſter. For, upon the breaking out of the rebellion, under his brother *Tataſh*, he went with *Nadham* to *Tus*, upon a pilgrimage to the tomb of *Muſa Al Radi*, who was held in great veneration by the *Moſlems*; as being an immediate deſcendant from the califf *Ali*. Being arrived at the tomb, the ſovereign and the miniſter, proſtrated themſelves in prayer, and *Nadham*'s fervour was ſo extatic, that *Malec* could not help aſking him, what the ſubject of his devotion was? the miniſter told him, that he was praying, his majeſty might be able to ſubdue

Decay of literature amongſt the *Moſlems*.

his brother, and to get the better of all oppoſition. My devotions, ſaid the *Sultan*, had a quite different tendency. For I prayed, "O Lord God, if it is more for the good of my ſubjects, that my brother ſhould reign, than that I ſhould, let him prevail; if not, give me the victory."

His ſevere conduct with regard to the califf.

Notwithſtanding the virtues, and greatneſs of this prince, he ſeems towards the end of his life, not to have been exempted from human failings. He was ſuſpected of his having encouraged the aſſaſſination of his great miniſter, but impartially ſpeaking, he ought to be acquitted of that imputation; becauſe, he ordered the murderer to be put to a ſevere death. His conduct, with regard to the califf of *Bagdad*, ſeems not to be quite ſo defenſible. We are told, that ſome time before his death, he ordered him to retire from *Bagdad*, and that the califf, with great difficulty, obtained permiſſion to remain there for ten days longer. Notwithſtanding this, it is on all hands agreed, that no *Emir Al Omra*, ever treated a califf ſo well, as *Malec* did *Al Moktadi*.

Mamud ſucceeds *Malec*.

Upon the death of *Malec*, no alteration that we know of happened, in the ſituation of *Al Moktadi*'s affairs. *Katun*, or *Tarkan Malec*'s *Sultaneſs*, had prevailed with him to nominate her ſon *Mahmud*, to be his ſucceſſor, though he was no more than ſix years of age; and though he had an elder brother *Barkiarok*, who was of years fit for government. She had, upon her ſide, the vizir *Tay*, who had ſucceeded *Nadham*, and in concert together they found means to conceal the *Sultan*'s death, till they made ſure of the army; by vaſt donatives of money, and particularly of ten thouſand *Turks*, who were the flower of the troops, and entirely devoted to *Tarkan*. This being effected, the young prince was recognized as *Sultan*, and received from the califf the robe of inveſtiture, as *Emir Al Omra*, and for ſome days, there was no diſpute of his authority. All this, we are told, happened at *Bagdad*, and was effected by the vaſt power of money, diſtributed by *Tarkan*, upon that occaſion. This period was diſtinguiſhed by the death of a worthy man, *Siram*, the patriarch of *Alexandria*. He was, in all reſpects, a pattern of primitive Chriſtianity, and by joining prudence to piety, the Chriſtians under him, enjoyed a tolerable ſhare of tranquility. The truth is, that the general ſtate of the Eaſt, at this time, did not much admit of religious controverſies. The continual influx of the *Turks*, every day opened new ſcenes of ambition; and thoſe of *Gaz*, were now in poſſeſſion of *Jeruſalem*, and *Paleſtine*. They had been governed by a prince, one *Artak*, who had been made lord of *Aleppo*, by *Sultan Malec*; but they and their deſcendants, were expelled by the *Gaz Turks*. There ſeems, at this time, to have been very little ſubordination of civil government, in the Eaſt. The head of the *Seljuks*, provided

Intrigues of his mother *Tarkan*.

Confuſion of the hiſtory and affairs of the Eaſt.

provided he was recognized as ſupreme *Sultan*, left his ſubjects, whether natural, or accidental, but moſt of them were the latter, to fight it out amongſt themſelves; and by that means, they weakened one another ſo much, that he always was enabled to preſerve his ſuperiority.

Mahmud ſucceſsful thro' his mother *Tarkan*-

Notwithſtanding the quiet ſucceſſion of the young *Sultan Mahmud*, to the throne of *Bagdad*, his power was far from being aſſured. The fondneſs of his mother, and the flattery of miniſters, diſcovered in him, qualities, that were amazing for his age; but they could not impoſe upon his elder brother *Barkiarak*, or *Tajodawla*, his uncle, who was ſtill alive, and in poſſeſſion of *Damaſcus*. *Tarkan*, foreſeeing a ſtorm riſing againſt her ſon, made vaſt preſents to keep the califf of *Bagdad* firm to her intereſt, and that ſhe might be ready, at all events, ſhe and her ſon took the field, at the head of an army, and encamped at *Narawan*. In the mean while, *Tajodowla*, applied to the califf *Al Moktadi*, for the inveſtiture into the office of *Emir Al Omra*, and the royalty of *Bagdad*; but was expreſsly refuſed both. *Barkiarak* was, at this time, at *Iſpahan*, and being the eldeſt ſon, he had a vaſt party in his favour; add to this, that his intereſt had been eſpouſed by *Nadham*, whoſe memory was ſtill dear in the empire, and his party very powerful. But *Tarkan*, being a woman of vaſt ſpirit, and activity, without declaring her intention, all of a ſudden marched from her camp at *Narawan*, and by forced marches, ſhe ſeized upon *Iſpahan*. *Barkiarak* was then in that city, and with great difficulty, by the aſſiſtance of the friends and domeſtics of *Nadham*, the late vizir, he eſcaped to *Shiraz*, where *Takin* was governor. This perſon owed his elevation to the late *Sultan Malec*; and, for that age, gave remarkable proofs of gratitude and honour. He furniſhed *Bakiarak* with an army, by the aſſiſtance of which, he took poſſeſſion of *Al Ray*, the chief town of the *Perſian Irak*, and there *Bakiarak* was proclaimed *Sultan*, and ſucceſſor to his father *Malec*. This ſolemnity had great influence in his favour. *Tarkan* had proclaimed her ſon, at *Iſpahan*, and endeavoured to ſeize upon the perſon of *Bakiarak*; but the troops ſhe ſent in purſuit of him, deſerted to his party. Upon this occaſion, her chief miniſter *Tay*, who had ſucceeded the great *Nadham*, in his vizirſhip, (and he was deteſted as being the cauſe of his murder), was brought priſoner to *Bakiarak*; at whoſe order, or permiſſion, he was put to death, by the friends of *Nadham*. *Tay* was not without his excellencies; and his fate was lamented by an excellent *Perſian* poet of thoſe times.

but is oppoſed by *Bakiark*.

The youth of *Mahmud*, and the ambition of *Tarkan*, proved of great prejudice to their affairs, in the eyes of the *Turks*, who were always averſe to the government of boys, and women. Finding a general diſpoſition among the ſubjects in favour of *Bakiarak*, ſhe propoſed an accommodation with that prince, which he readily accepted of. The terms

A treaty between them.

were, that *Mahmud*, ſhould remain in the poſſeſſion of *Iſpahan* and its dependencies; and that *Bakiarak* ſhould receive half the treaſures of the late *Sultan* his father. This peace was made, when *Bakiarak* was beſieging *Iſpahan*; and it was ſeemingly convenient, indeed, for both parties.

Another rebellion.

For *Iſmael*, one of *Malec*'s brothers, was privately treated with by *Tarkan*, who offered to marry him, provided he would declare war againſt *Bakiarak*. *Iſmael*, accordingly raiſed a vaſt army, and a general battle enſued in the plains of *Hamadan*, in which *Bakiarak* proved victorious, and *Iſmael* was killed. But this event did not prevent *Takaſh*, another of *Bakiarak*'s uncles, from putting in his claim; and being backed by a vaſt army, *Bakiarak* was obliged to throw himſelf under the protection of his younger brother *Mahmud*, at *Iſpahan*, where the ambitious *Tarkan* had been for ſome weeks dead. She was ſoon after followed by her ſon *Mahmud*, who was carried off by the ſmall-pox. We are told, that ſome time before that prince's death, his miniſters had impriſoned *Bakiarak*, and had even reſolved to deprive him of his ſight. Upon *Mahmud*'s death, he was delivered out of priſon, and recognized as general heir, and ſucceſſor to his father *Malec*, without the leaſt oppoſition. He choſe for his vizir, or firſt miniſter, *Mowiad*, ſon to the great *Nadham*; but ſoon after he removed him, and ſubſtituted in his place, his brother *Takir*.

Barkiarak did not however think his authority eſtabliſhed, without the ſanction of *Al Moktadi*, the *Sultan* of *Bagdad*. With this view, he marched to *Bagdad*, and by the help of preſents, which he made to the needy califf, he received the robes of inveſtiture. But a patent was likewiſe neceſſary; and *Al Moktadi* gave orders, that it ſhould be drawn out, and brought to him for his reviſion. At this critical moment, the califf was ſeized with a delirium; which proved fatal to him. For, after he had ſent the robe of inveſtiture to *Bakiark*, and had ſigned the patent, with an intention to deliver it into his own hand; he ſuddenly fancied, that ſome perſons had diſreſpectfully broke into his apartment. He inſtantly aſked *Nahar*, his favourite concubine, who they were that had preſumed to commit ſuch a rudeneſs; but before he could receive an anſwer, the form of his face altered, and he dropt down dead; in the 39th year of his age, and the 20th of his reign.

This prince, if we can properly call a piece of ſtate pageantry ſo, preſerved about him that love of learning, that ſo greatly diſtinguiſhed his predeceſſors, and had adorned almoſt all the great princes of the Eaſt. The reſpect that was due to his character, enabled him to make the example of his patronage faſhionable; and we are told, that *Malec*, as well as his great miniſter *Nadham*, was an eminent patron of literature. We cannot however, help thinking, that

it

it was at this time greatly upon its wain. *Jazlah*, a Chriſtian phyſician, and one of the moſt learned men in his time, turned *Mahometan*; and wrote in defence of his apoſtacy; a circumſtance, which is far from giving us any favourable idea of the ſtate of learning under this califf. By the moſt authentic accounts we have received of him, he was a learned, a virtuous, and munificent prince; and reformed a vaſt number of abuſes in his government. He is particularly renowned for an aſſembly, which he held at *Bagdad*, of the greateſt aſtronomers of his reign, who made vaſt emendations in the Kalendar.

Al Moſtader, *the twenty-eighth califf of the houſe of* Al Abbas.

ONE of the great reaſons we have for thinking that literature, at the time we now treat of, was vaſtly upon its decay in the Eaſt, is the manifeſt confuſion which we find in their hiſtory; and the vaſt inconſiſtencies that are amongſt authors; but without being diſcouraged, we ſhall proceed.

Notwithſtanding all the high pretenſions of the *Fatemite* califfs of *Egypt*, it is very plain, that the eaſtern nations, did not, at this time, conſider them, as the deſcendants of the califf *Ali*; but as a ſet of impoſtors, who maintained themſelves upon the throne by their power. The califfs of *Bagdad*, on the other hand, though deſtitute of power, were ſtill venerable in their perſons and authority, and they preſerved their character of ſupremacy, even amongſt the greateſt and moſt barbarous people. So that the hiſtory of the *Seljukian Sultans*, properly ſpeaking, is no other, than that of the ſubjects of the califfs of *Bagdad*. *Al Moſtanſer*, the *Fatemite* califf of *Egypt*, ſtill continued to reign in that country, but his reign, though long, was calamitous. He too fell under the power of his miniſters, who eſtabliſhed themſelves, from father to ſon, and ſcarcely left him the ſhadow of government. The chief of them was *Jemal*, who obtained from his maſter, the reverſion of his poſt for his ſon *Afdal*, with the ſuperb title, of King of Kings; by which the reader may eaſily conceive, that the califfs of *Egypt* were under much the ſame tutelage, as thoſe of *Bagdad* were. *Moſtanſer*, notwithſtanding the length of his reign, had it not in his power to name his ſucceſſor. The name of his eldeſt ſon was *Nezir*. Being a prince of ſpirit, he once ordered *Afdal*, who he thought did not treat him with proper reſpect, to diſmount from his horſe.

horſe. Upon this, *Afdal* counſelled, or rather commanded the califf to diſinherit *Nezir*; and to name in his room, his younger ſon, *Moſtali*. It is uncertain, whether he prevailed with *Monſtanſer* to commit this act of injuſtice, but it is certain, that upon *Monſtanſer*'s death, *Afdal* pretended that *Moſtali* had been nominated to the ſucceſſion, and as ſuch, he was recognized by the chief nobility of *Egypt*. *Nezir* was not inſenſible of the injuſtice done to him, and he fled to *Alexandria*; where he aſſerted his right to the throne. But *Moſtali*, through the over-grown power of the vizir, prevailed. *Nezir* was beſieged and taken priſoner in *Alexandria*; and though his life was for ſome time ſpared, he was afterwards immured, and famiſhed to death. In the reign of *Moſtanſer*, the *Nile* not overflowing, all the inhabitants of *Egypt* are ſaid to have been almoſt famiſhed thereby. *Moſtanſer* thought that this was owing to a ſtoppage that had been made by the emperor of *Abbyſinia*, or *Æthiopia*, where the *Nile* undoubtedly takes its riſe. The princes, or, as they are generally called *Najaſhis* of that country, had long profeſſed Chriſtianity, and therefore *Monſtanſer* pitched upon *Michael*, the patriarch of *Alexandria*, to repair as his ambaſſador to the *Abbyſinian* court, with moſt magnificent preſents, to get the imbargo laid upon the ſtreams of the *Nile* taken off, ſo that *Egypt* might be again fertilized. *Michael* ſucceeded in his embaſſy. The *Abbyſinian* emperor treated him with uncommon marks of reſpect. The land of *Egypt* was again rendered fertile; and *Michael* returned to the court of his own ſovereign, where he was greatly careſſed. Notwithſtanding the romantic appearance which this incident carries with it, there is nothing in it that is at all improbable, ſince it is now paſt all controverſy, that ſuch a ſtoppage, near the ſource of a river, was extreamly practicable.

Inſolence of a vizir.

An embaſſy to *Ethiopia*.

Barkiark, made no oppoſition to the acceſſion of *Moſtader* to the califat; on the contrary, he confirmed him in it, and was, by the new califf, honoured with the titles of, The Supporter of the Faith, and Commander of the Faithful. Having ſettled every thing to his own mind, at *Bagdad*, and procured himſelf to be named in the public prayers, he turned his arms againſt his uncle *Takaſh*, who, by this time, had made himſelf ſovereign of *Damaſcus*, and almoſt all *Syria*. and inſiſted on his being recognized as *Emir Al Omra*, and king of *Bagdad*. The diſpute between him and *Bakiark*, was long and bloody; but it ended in the defeat, and death of *Takaſh*. After the ſuppreſſion of this rebellion, another broke out under *Mowiad*, the ſon of *Nadham*, the ſame, who had ſome time before been removed by *Bakiark*, from the vizirſhip. *Mowiad*, at firſt practiſed upon one *Anzar*, who had been a ſlave to *Malec*, but was a perſon of great conſequence in the *Perſian Irak*. *Anzar* might have effected a revolution, but he was taken off by one of thoſe aſſaſſins,

Bakiark made *Emir Al Omra*.

He defeats his uncle;

aſſaſſins, or *Bataniſts*, whom we have already taken notice of, and who were daily more and more employed, by the princes of the Eaſt. After the death of *Anzar*, *Mowiad* ſpirited up *Mahomet*, brother to *Bakiark*, who had ſome reaſons to be diſcontented for the ſmall portion he had received of his father's inheritance; and perſuaded him to riſe in arms. Mahomet's intereſt was but ſmall, and his army not numerous; but *Mowiad*'s credit rendered him powerful. For, about the time that this rebellion broke out, *Kiami*, *Bakiark*'s high treaſurer, growing unpopular at court, on account of his frugality, by which the grandees found their revenues greatly impaired, was, by them, cut in pieces; and the rebellion becoming general, *Bakiark* himſelf was obliged to fly, and to abandon *Irak* to his brother *Mahomet*. This ſurpizing revolution rendered *Mahomet* the maſter of *Bagdad*, and he choſe *Mowiad* for his vizir. The vaſt importance of the califf's authority, was ſeen upon this occaſion, the people refuſing to acknowledge any, who had not his ſanction upon his ſide; and each party prevailed, as their name was mentioned in the kotbak, or public ſervice. This war between the two brothers, continued for a long time. In the year of the Hejra 495, *Mahomet* defeated *Bakiark* at *Madham*, and the latter, with great difficulty eſcaped to *Kuzeſtan*, with no more than fifty horſes. By the help of *Ayaz*, the tyrant of that province, he ſoon got together fifty thouſand men, with which, in his turn, he defeated *Mahomet*, and beſieged him in *Iſpahan*. Several battles at this time were fought, between the two brothers, with various ſucceſs; and in one of them, *Mowaid*, who had been the main ſpring of all *Bakiark*'s troubles, was taken priſoner. Being a perſon of infinite addreſs, he was ſo far from being puniſhed for the bloodſhed he had occaſioned, that he found means to render himſelf ſo uſeful to *Bakiark*, as to become his firſt miniſter. It was no wonder, if ſo ſwift a reverſe of fortune, opened the mouths of the public, againſt *Bakiark*. One day, while the gentlemen of his bedchamber thought him a ſleep, he overheard one of them diſcourſing to another, in very contemptuous terms, concerning his eaſineſs, and meanneſs of ſpirit, in employing *Mowiad*. *Bakiark*, without taking any notice of this diſcourſe, aſſembled his court; and ſending for *Mowiad*, he made him ſit next him, and then drawing his ſcymater, he cut off the vizir's head, with ſo much dexterity, that it remained upon his ſhoulders; then turning to his courtiers, now judge, ſaid he, whether I am a prince ignorant of the art of making myſelf dreaded.

Oppoſed by his brother.

Hej. 495, A. D. 1101.

who defeats him.

Bakiark ſucceſsful.

He kills *Mowiad*.

We now come to the moſt remarkable period of hiſtory, of any that falls within the Chriſtian Æra. The ignorance, or rather the inſanity of the times, had impreſt ſuch ideas of veneration towards the places of our Saviour's life and ſufferings, as amounted to the moſt ridiculous ſuperſtition. This madneſs

Hiſtory of the riſe of the *Cruſades*.

madneſs was well ſeconded by the arts of the Popes, who loſt no opportunity of laying the foundations of their greatneſs, in the credulity and ſuperſtition of Chriſtians. The fine arts, during this period, may be ſaid to have been extinguiſhed upon the continent of *Europe*, and if any remains of true learning were to be found, it was in nations theretofore deemed to be barbarous, and therefore more inacceſſable to papal influence. *England*, *Scotland* and *Sweden*, afforded ſome writers about this period, of next to claſſical purity; but the reſt of *Europe* may be ſaid to have been a blank of ignorance. This was the papal harveſt, and it was reaped to the full. Viſitations to the *Holy Land*, and to *Jeruſalem*, were the modes of the time; and every viſitor contributed, more or leſs, to the great deſign of delivering the *Holy Land* from the power of Infidels. We need not inform the reader, that the polite reigns of the *Arab* califfs, in which juſtice, magnanimity, and learning, prevailed, were now at an end; and ſucceeded by inundations of barbarous *Turks*, who were void of all ſentiment; but equally rude, and ſuperſtitious, as the *European* Chriſtians.

State of *Europe.*

An enthuſiaſt, whoſe name was *Peter*, was amongſt the viſitors of the *Holy Land*. This perſon was mean, and his appearance ſo uncouth, that he gave no umbrage to the barbarians. But being to the full impreſt with the fanatical zeal of the times, he ſucceeded much better in the deſign he had in view, than a man of much cooler ſenſe and greater abilities could, perhaps, have done. When he arrived at *Jeruſalem*, he found the weſtern Chriſtians, whom zeal had driven thither, undoubtedly, in a moſt miſerable ſtate of thraldom; and *Peter*, who well knew how to accompliſh his favourite end, undertook their deliverance; and he pretended the following letter was delivered to him, which, as it has an immediate relation to the deſign of this hiſtory, notwithſtanding the uncouthneſs of the ſtyle, we ſhall tranſcribe from *Knowles*'s hiſtory of the *Turks*.

Account of *Peter*, the hermit.

His forged letter.

"Whe the citizens of the Holy City, and countrymen of Chriſt Jeſus, daily ſuffer thoſe things, which Chriſt our king ſuffered but once, in the laſt days of his mortality. We are daily buffetted, ſcourged, and pierced, every day ſome of us are brained, beheaded or crucified. We would fly from city to city, unto the remoteſt parts of the earth, and remove out of the heart of that land, where our Saviour wrought our redemption, to lead a poor exiled vagrant life, were it not impiety to leave the land, (ſacred with the birth, doctrine, death, reſurrection, and aſcenſion of our Saviour) without inhabitans or prieſts, and that there ſhould firſt lack ſuch as would indure death and martyrdom, than ſuch as would inflict the ſame, and that there ſhould not be ſuch, which would not as willingly die for Chriſt, as in battle, ſo long

long as there were any that would fight againſt them. Theſe things truly we moſt miſerably ſuffer, yet was there a time, when as our anceſtors, feared no ſuch thing, either to themſelves or their poſterity, And now perhaps the Chriſtian kingdoms of the Weſt have likewiſe without the leaſt ſupition of fear: but let them be moved by our example, and teſtimony. The ſtrength of the *Turks* is daily increaſing and owns diminiſhing. The continual gaining of new kingdoms, giveth them courage: they have already devoured the whole world in hope. The forces of the *Turks* are fiercer and ſtronger than the forces of the *Saraſins*, their politics deeper their attempts more deſperate, their endeavours greater, and their ſucceſs fortunater. Yet have the *Saraſins* a tempted both *Romes*; they have beſieged *Conſtantinople*, and have waſted not only the ſea coaſts of *Italy*, but even the heart of the land alſo. Then why ſhould the kingdoms of the Weſt preſume themſelves to ſtand in ſafety, and out of all peril, when, as the chief fortreſſes of the world have been ſo endangered, what may the reſt of Chriſtendom promiſe to itſelf, ſeeing that *Jeruſalem* (the ſeat and ſpectacle of the Chriſtian religion hath been beſieged, taken, ſacked, baſed and triumphed upon? ſeeing that of the Chriſtian profeſſion remain but the poor and weak reliques, in compariſon of the whole antient intire body. This land, which is daily beſprinkled with our blood, yea the blood itſelf, crieth out for revenge: and we your humble ſuppliants proſtrate at your feet, call upon your aid, mercy, help, faith, and religion, of your moſt bleſſed father of the king's, princes, and potentates; Chriſtians, not in name and profeſſion only, but in heart, ſoul and ſpirit, before the tempeſt thunder before the lightning fall upon you, avert from you, your children; the ſtorm hanging over your heads defend us your poor ſuppliants deliver your religion from moſt wicked and accurſed ſlavery. You ſhall in ſo doing deſerve immortal fame, and God ſhall requite your ſo great valour in this world with terreſtial kingdoms, and in the world to come with eternal bliſs, whoſe ſacred inheritance you ſhall have defended from the rage of hell."

The *Croiſade* undertaken

This pathetic letter, tho' great part of it was a forgery, falling exactly in with the views of the pope, who was then *Urban* the 2d, had all the effect that could be deſired. The *Greek* empire was, at that time, too weak to do any thing; and *Peter* the hermit, was plentifully ſupplied with other evidences of the thraldom complained of, beſides the above letter, ſo that there could be no doubt of its contents. It was, however, neceſſary to ſound the general diſpoſitions of the princes of the Weſt, towards this romantic project of invading the *Holy Land*; and the indefatigable hermit, in concert with the pope, ſollicited them ſo warmly, that his holineſs ſummoned a council at *Clermont* in *France*, at which, ambaſſadors, from moſt of the princes in *Europe*, attended, and

no fewer than three hundred and ten prelates. The hermit's representations of the ſufferings of the Chriſtians in the Eaſt, were ſo affecting, that a general ſpirit of unthuſiaſm ſeized the whole aſſembly. The word went, "God would have it ſo," and an expedition, to reſcue the *Holy Land*, out of the power of the Infidels, was immediately and unanimouſly reſolved upon. The chief leaders in this famous expedition were, *Hugh* brother to *Philip* 1ſt king of *France*, *Robert* duke of *Normandy*, *Robert* earl of *Flanders*, *Raymond* of *Toulouſe*, *Godfrey* of *Bouillon*, with his brothers *Balwin*, and *Euſtace*, *Stephen De Valois* earl of *Chartres*; *Bohemond* prince of *Tarentum*, and *Peter* the hermit.

its leaders.

Their ruinous march,

One *Gualther*, a ſoldier of fortune, led the van of this mighty hoſt: which, in the whole, conſiſted of no fewer than 300,000 men. The pope every day thundered out curſes upon all who obſtructed, or did not forward, the expedition, and pronounced indulgencies, and promiſed bleſſings to thoſe who joined it; ſo that the ardour that appeared for it, thro' all ſets of men, was incredible. Scarce a Chriſtian in *Europe*, who had the health and means of ſerving, remained at home, and all flocked to the ſtandards of their ſeveral leaders. Amongſt thoſe, the moſt forward, and by no means the leaſt conſiderable, was *Peter* the hermit. He had worked, both himſelf and others, up, by his frantic diſcourſes, into an opinion, that he was divinely illuminated, and invincible; ſo that he was actually put at the head of forty thouſand men. But he proved to be a weak, and miſerable, enthuſiaſt; without the ſmalleſt abilities, but a barbarous zeal, to conduct them. No meaſures had been taken for ſubſiſting his men upon their march, ſo that the countries, thro' which they paſſed, particularly *Hungary*, *Bulgaria*, and ſome parts of *Germany*, were given up to plunder. Thoſe countries knew, at this time, but little of Chriſtianity. Many of their inhabitants continued to be Heathens; and had no regard for the pope. *Peter* the hermit, therefore, and his crew, were by them treated, as lawleſs robbers, and knocked on the head, as ſo many wild beaſts, wherever they paſt, when opportunity offered. But their numbers increaſing every day, a *Bulgarian* prince, after his ſubjects were tired with killing and plundering them, lent them guides, to conduct them to *Conſtantinople*.

maſſacred by the *Hungarians*.

The *Greek* emperor

The *Greek* emperor at that time, was *Alexius*, and he happened to be uninfected with the madneſs of the other *Europeans*. He conſidered the whole of their expedition, to be, what it really was, a frantic, lawleſs, undertaking. But when he underſtood the prodigious numbers engaged in it, he wiſely diſſembled his ſentiments, and even received *Peter*, and the wretched reliques of his army, with hoſpitality; furniſhing them with the means of continuing their march, which they did into *Bythenia*, where they encamped, near the city of *Nice*. But moderation, in ſuch a cauſe, was criminal,

criminal. *Hugh*, the king of *France*'s brother, had the misfortune to fall into the hands of one of the *Greek* emperor's governors, and was ſent priſoner to *Conſtantinople*. This, by the other, Cruſaders, was looked upon, as worſe than ſacrilege, and *Godfrey* of *Bouillon*, who commanded an army of ſeventy thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe, all of them Cruſaders, being arrived at *Philippopolis*, threatened to march againſt *Conſtantinople* itſelf, if the emperor did not only ſet the priſoner at liberty, but furniſh the Cruſaders with all kinds of neceſſaries, for proceeding in their expedition. *Alexius* was not very ready in complying with thoſe exorbitant demands; upon which *Godfrey*, and his Cruſaders, laid waſte his dominions, and would have taken *Conſtantinople* itſelf, had not *Alexius* offered him all imaginable ſatisfaction; and even his own ſon, as a hoſtage for the performance. Upon this, *Godfrey* ordered hoſtilities to ceaſe; and entering *Conſtantinople* in a friendly manner, an accommodation was ſet on foot. It was no difficult matter for *Alexius* to ſee, that thoſe lawleſs adventurers had no other object in view, but what they pretended; and finding they were not to be reſiſted, he endeavoured to make the beſt terms for himſelf, that he could. Upon his repreſenting how cruelly his empire had been diſmembered by the Infidels, the cruſadoes readily agreed to reſtore him as much of it as they ſhould conquer; and he, on his part, engaged to aſſiſt them, with all his forces, and with all neceſſary ſupplies for their expedition.

diſlikes *Cruſade*; but diſſembles and complies with them.

In the mean while, *Peter* the hermit, was proceeding as he had begun, his army being encamped in the neighbourhood of *Nice*, began at laſt to be ſenſible of his, and their own frenzy. In ſhort, they mutinied, and took from *Gualther* his command, which they beſtowed upon *Raymond*, a German officer. After this, each nation aſſociated by itſelf. *Italians*, *Germans*, and *French*, made up the bulk of this miſerable army; and now that the principle of unity amongſt them was broken, the whole of it fell an eaſy prey to the *Turks*; and this neceſſarily brings us back to the *Moſlem* hiſtory.

Peter the hermit's army ruined.

The internal tranſactions of the califat at this time are equally uncertain, as they are unentertaining. It is ſufficient to ſay that *Barkiarak* ſtill continued his ſuperiority over all his competitors; and that the califf of *Bagdad*, ſtill preſerved a tolerable degree of reſpect in that capital. The power of the *Arabs*, thoſe founders of the califat, was by that time in a manner, annihilated; and *Syria* was in poſſeſſion of the *Seljukian Turks*. Two brothers, *Redwan*, and *Dekak*, the ſons of *Tataſh*, contended about the poſſeſſion of *Damaſcus*. *Dekak* ſeems to have been alarmed, by the arrival of the *European* Chriſtians, who had by this time entered *Syria*, and he marched towards the ſea coaſt, to oppoſe them. *Redwan* took that opportunity to beſiege *Damaſcus*; but being

State of the califat.

Redwan beſieges *Damaſcus*.

being repulſed with great loſs, he offered his allegiance to *Moſtali*, the *Fatemite* califf of *Egypt*, provided he would furniſh him with troops, to put him in poſſeſſion of *Damaſcus*. *Moſtali* undertook to do this, upon the uſual terms of having his name mentioned in the public prayers; or as it is called the *Kotbah*. This was for ſome time complied with, but *Moſtali* failing in his engagement, *Redwan* returned to his allegiance under the califf of *Bagdad*. That city was at that juncture under an inexpreſſible conſternation. A report, tho' we know not on what account, prevailed, that a general inundation was at hand; and at laſt it grew ſo ſtrong that the califf *Moſtader*, ſent for *Ayſun*, a celebrated aſtronomer, or rather aſtrologer, to conſult with him upon the degree of credit that was due to ſuch a report. *Ayſun*, in the jargon of his art, aſſigned reaſons, from the diſpoſition of the heavenly conſtellations, for believing that there would be no ſuch univerſal deluge, as had happened under *Noah*; but that there certainly would be a very great inundation, which would do, ſome where, an infinite deal of damage. As *Bagdad*, from the tranquillity it enjoyed, and the delights of its ſituation, was even at this period one of the greateſt emporiums in the Eaſt, there was a vaſt concourſe of people aſſembled in it, and the anſwer of *Ayſun*, which was deemed to be nothing leſs than an oracle, affected them ſo much that they erected mounds, and banks, all thro' the lower grounds to reſiſt the threatened inundation. It happened about this time, that a great number of pilgrims were upon their march towards *Mecca*, and chancing to pitch their tents in a valley, a torrent burſted from the neighbouring mountains, with a fury ſo irreſiſtible, that all their equipages were deſtroyed; and only a few of the pilgrims eſcaped by flying to the higher grounds. This event gave ſuch credit to *Ayſun*, that the califf took him into particular confidence, and preſented him with a moſt magnificent veſt.

Ridiculous panic.

attended by a remarkable event.

Chriſtian preferable to Moſlem authors.

We are to be pardoned, if, during this period, we pay greater attention, to Chriſtian, than to *Moſlem* authorities. It appears unqueſtionably, that the latter were very ill informed, either of the motives, or the conductors, of the *Cruſade*; and, as uſual, they had diſfigured, the names of the chief princes concerned in it, ſo as to be unintelligible, to a *European* reader. On the other hand, after making allowances for the ſuperſtition of the times; Chriſtian writers have delivered facts, in which they could not be miſtaken. We have already mentioned the mutiny of the army, that was conducted by *Peter* the hermit, and *Gualther*. They had taken a place called *Zerigordus*, which had been purpoſely abandoned to them, by the *Turks*, as a trepan. This artifice ſucceeded ſo well, that the *Turks* had daily opportunities of cutting off the cruſadoes; and we are told, even by chriſtian writers, that of the forty thouſand men commanded by

by the hermit, ſcarcely three thouſand of them eſcaped deſtruction. With this miſerable remain, the hermit, and the officers under him, ſhut themſelves up in *Cinite*; till they were relieved, by *Godfrey* of *Bouillon*, and the other commanders of the cruſade. *Soliman*, who, probably was no other, than a governor under *Barkiarak*, at that time commanded in *Bythinia*, when it was reſolved amongſt the princes of the cruſade to beſiege *Nice*; one of the ſtrongeſt places in the eaſt. The place was accordingly inveſted in *May* 1097. *Soliman*, who was no ſtranger to the intention of the chriſtian princes, had provided every thing within the city for a vigorous defence; and was encamped in the neighbourhood, with an army of forty thouſand *Turks*; with which he harraſſed the chriſtians, night and day. The emperor *Alexius*, who hated the chriſtians more than he did the *Turks*, was in perſon at the ſiege; and *Nice*, being one of the cities, that had been diſmembered from his dominions, was to revert to him, which made him very active in the operations againſt it. The defence made by the garriſon, was very vigorous, and laſted for ſeveral weeks. At laſt, *Alexius*, by conſtructing ſome ſmall veſſels, with which he cut off the communication between the city, and *Soliman*'s army, reduced it to great ſtreights. The garriſon, however, would have borne any extremity, rather than have ſubmitted to the *Franks*, for ſo the *Europeans* in general, are called by *Moſlem* writers. But the emperor, entered with the townſmen, into a kind of ſeparate treaty, and that ſo effectually, by promiſing them his protection, and that they ſhould not fall under the power of the *Franks*, that they ſurrendered to his general *Eutumites*. Upon this occaſion we are told that *Soliman*'s wife, and two of his children, were taken priſoners, and ſent to *Conſtantinople*.

Peter the hermit beſieged.

The *Cruſaders* beſiege *Nice*.

it ſurrenders.

The *Cruſaders* were not more animated by this ſucceſs, than they were alarmed by the viſible diſlike of the emperor to their undertaking. It was now plain to them, that he was leſs afraid of the *Turks*, than he was of the *Cruſadoes*; and every day produced freſh inſtances of this. But at the ſame time, there was an abſolute neceſſity for their preſerving his friendſhip for carrying on their plan of operations. Freſh armies under new leaders, every day arriving, it became impracticable to ſupport the whole army in one body, it was therefore divided into two; and the moſt advanced diviſion was commanded by *Bohemond* prince of *Tarentum*. He was attacked at great diſadvantage, by the *Turks*, under *Soliman*, who ſtill kept the field, and muſt have been cut to pieces, had not *Hugh*, the *French* king's brother, brought him a ſeaſonable ſupply of thirty thouſand freſh men; by which the *Turks* were totally defeated, with the loſs, we are told, of forty thouſand men. The greateſt part of the troops under *Soliman*, appeared to have been

The emperor diſguſted with them

New *Cruſaders* pour into *Aſia*.

Bakiarak's ſubjects. But in fact, they were not comparable to the Chriſtian forces. The latter, animated by enthuſiaſm, and headed by the greateſt princes, and moſt expert warriors in *Europe*, were, likewiſe, much better armed than the *Turks*, which gave them deciſive advantages in the field. Add to all this, they were much abler engineers, and more hardy, as coming from leſs effeminate climates, and were now inured to fatigue. *Soliman* however, notwithſtanding his defeat, endeavoured to keep up the ſpirit of his ſubjects, and thoſe of *Bakiarak*, by publiſhing every where, that he had the advantage in the battle. But at the ſame time, he did not fail to give *Barkiarak*, and the other *Moſlem* princes of the Eaſt, private accounts, of the great danger they were in from the progreſs of the Chriſtians; which he endeavoured to prevent, by burning villages, and laying waſte the open country, through which the latter were to paſs. The Chriſtians, on their part, proceeded with undaunted reſolution, through the plains of the leſſer *Aſia*, and took *Antioch* in *Piſidia*, together with *Iconium* in *Sileſia*, ſituated at the foot of mount *Taurus*, and many other places.

They defeat the *Turks*.

The reader is here to obſerve, that there was now an end to the mild and virtuous government of the *Arab* and *Syrian* califfs. Thoſe countries, inſtead of them, were now ſcourged with barbarous *Turks*, who had no law but that of the ſword, and were of no controul, but that of ſuperiors, as barbarous as themſelves, and they proceeded with the utmoſt fury, againſt one another; which had been the caſe, ever ſince the death of *Sultan Malec*. The ravages and exceſſes they had been guilty of, though, generally, they were profeſſed *Mahometans*, had rendered them odious to all the antient inhabitants, and many of theſe being Chriſtians, looked upon the *European* troops, as their deliverers; which greatly favoured their progreſs. Their next march was to *Heraclea*, where they underſtood the *Turks* were aſſembled. But they had here no opportunity of diſplaying their valour; for the city ſurrendered, and the enemy retired upon their approach. It was about this time, that, animated by their ſucceſſes, they entered into a ſolemn, and freſh engagement, by oath, not to return to *Europe*, without firſt delivering the *Holy Land*, and more eſpecially the city of *Jeruſalem*, from the power of infidels. In ſhort, they paſſed mount *Taurus*, took the cities of *Mareſia*, and *Artaſia*; and at laſt, they formed the ſiege of *Antioch* itſelf.

State of the *Turkiſh* government.

Progeſs of the *Cruſaders*.

This city, beſides being one of the ſtrongeſt in the Eaſt, had within it a garriſon of ſeven thouſand horſe, and twenty thouſand foot, under one, whom Chriſtian writers call *Caſſianus*. We have in the *Moſlem* writers, few or no particulars of this famous ſiege. According to the Chriſtians, *Robert* duke of *Normandy*, eldeſt ſon to *William* the Conqueror, King of *England*, led the vanguard of the Chriſtian army,

who beſiege *Antioch*.

and

and defeated a ſtrong body of *Turks*, who were poſted upon the banks of the river *Orontes*, which opened their way for forming the ſiege. The vaſt extent of the place, its great number of towers and fortifications, with its ſituation, flanked on the one ſide by high mountains, and defended on the other, by a lake, rendered this enterprize of the utmoſt difficulty, as well as importance; and nothing could have ſupported its beſiegers, under the diſcouragement they met with, but that ſtrong ſpirit of enthuſiaſm, with which they were poſſeſſed. It was the 21ſt of *October* 1097, that the ſiege was formed, and it continued without intermiſſion, till the beginning of the following *February*, every day being diſtinguiſhed by bloody ſkirmiſhes. At laſt, the rains that fell, introduced, into the Chriſtian camp, diſtempers that deſtroyed more of them, than had fallen by the enemy; and this was ſucceeded by ſo terrible a famine, that they devoured almoſt all the horſes: and were at laſt conſtrained to feed upon their dead enemies. Thoſe and other horrible hardſhips, began to diſmay ſome of the moſt forward amongſt the *Cruſadoes*. Even *Peter* the hermit, who had made himſelf highly obnoxious, by his intemperate enthuſiaſm, began to be tired of the expedition, as did *Tancred*, *Bohemond*'s nephew; and under pretence of going back to *Europe* for freſh recruits, they privately left the camp. Being taken, they were brought back priſoners, before *Hugh*, who ſeverely reprimanded them for their cowardly behaviour, and obliged them to take a new oath, that they would perſevere in the expedition to the laſt. Had the *Turks* truſted intirely to the ſtrength of the place, and the ravages made by diſeaſes and inclemency of the ſeaſon amongſt their enemies; the Chriſtians would inevitably have been deſtroyed. But imagining that they muſt prove their ſuperiors in the field, they ſet on foot great armies, which in attempting to relieve the city were often defeated, and their convoys of proviſions taken, which was of infinite ſervice to the Chriſtians. At laſt, the ſiege having laſted for ſeveral months, the *Turks* within the city, aſked for a truce, which was granted them; but was ſoon broken on their part, according to the Chriſtian writers, by their murdering a *French* officer.

Their diſtreſſes.

and perſeverance.

a truce

This truce, however, was the means of the city's being taken. *Bohemond*, who commanded at the ſiege, and his nephew *Tancred*, were two of the moſt politic, ſelf-intereſted princes of all the *Cruſadoes*; and had put on the croſs, which was their common badge, not through motives of religion, but to obtain conqueſts for themſelves, in that noble country. This was, in a great meaſure, the caſe, with other princes, moſt of whom ſold all they poſſeſſed in *Europe*; in order to conquer empires in *Aſia*. During the truce before *Antioch*, *Bohemond*, who was himſelf little better than a ſoldier of fortune, had contracted an intimacy with one *Pyrhus*, a leading man in the city, and it was privately

Antioch ſurprized

agreed between them, that *Pyrhus* ſhould in the night time, open the gates of a principal tower, called, that of the Two Siſters, and give admiſſion to *Bohemond*'s troops. The latter, however, took care that *Pyrhus* ſhould ſtipulate, that the city ſhould not be given up, to the *Greek* emperor, but that it ſhould become the property of *Bohemond*; who agreed to leave the government of it, under him, to *Pyrhus*, with many other advantages to him and his friends. *Bohemond*, having ſecured this great point, durſt not dare proceed to the execution of it, without obtaining from the other princes, a confirmation of what he had ſtipulated with *Pyrhus*. It was no hard matter to make them ſenſible of the length and hardſhips of the ſiege, the blood it had occaſioned, and the ſmall proſpect they had of ſucceſs, by any other means than thoſe he propoſed. The princes, chiefly through the diſlike to the *Greek* emperor, approved of the expedient. *Bohemond*, and his troops were admitted by *Pyrhus*, and gave no quarter to the garriſon, or to any of the *Turks* within the place, who were all of them put to the ſword; and *Caſſianus*, amongſt the reſt, was killed in his flight by the *Armenian* Chriſtians.

and ſurrenders to *Bohemond*

One *Kodbuka*, called by the Chriſtians, *Corbanas*, was, at that time, general under *Bakiarak*, in *Meſopotamia*; and having aſſembled a great army, he marched to *Edeſſa*, which he beſieged; and being repelled by the Chriſtians, he marched to the relief of *Antioch*, but on the way, he received the news of its being in *Bohemond*'s poſſeſſion. Not diſcouraged with this, and being now at the head of a moſt prodigious army, he reſolved, if poſſible, to re-take it. Here the Moſlem authors relate ſome circumſtances, not mentioned by the Chriſtian. According to them, *Antioch* being greatly ſtreightened in proviſions, the princes of the *Cruſade* offered to ſurrender it to *Kodbuka*, provided they were ſuffered to depart quietly, without being plundered. But the barbarous *Turk*, had the arrogance to anſwer, that they had no other way to eſcape, but by the points of their ſwords, and poſted his men ſo, as to cut them off if they ſhould make any attempt to come out of the city. This greatly diſheartened the Chriſtians, till a monk adviſed them to faſt and pray, and then to go in ſearch of Saint *Peter*'s Iron ſhodſtaffs, which lay in one of the curches of the city. After all the neceſſary preparations had been gone through, the Staff, which undoubtedly had been conveyed there thro' *Bohemond*'s contrivance, was diſcovered by the monk in a vault, and the Chriſtians, who before had been greatly diſpirited, now thinking themſelves invincible, reſolved to ſally out, and to give battle to the *Turks*. The reader is to obſerve, that according to the Chriſtian hiſtorians themſelves, the citadel of *Antioch* remained ſtill in poſſeſſion of the infidels, and had by *Kodbuka*, been plentifully ſupplied with all kinds of proviſions; ſo that it is not impoſſible, that part of the

The *Cruſaders* give the *Turks* a great deſeat.

Impoſture of a monk

ſtory

ſtory told by the Moſlem authors, might be true. Be that as it will, it is certain, that when *Kodhuka* thought himſelf ſure of conqueſt, he was attacked by the Chriſtians, with ſo much fury, that a hundred thouſand of his troops were put to the ſword; and his camp, baggage, magazines, and carriages of all kinds, were taken with the loſs of no more than four thouſand two hundred Chriſtians. This battle happened on the 27th day of *June*, and next day the citadel of *Antioch* deſpairing of being relieved, ſurrendered to the Chriſtians.

Character of *Alexius*

It appears from the hiſtory left us, by the princeſs *Anna Comnena*, daughter to the emperor *Alexius*, that he was a prince of great moderation and wiſdom, and that the *Greek* empire, at this time, was in a very reſpectable condition; both by ſea and land. The wiſeſt of the cruſading princes, eaſily ſaw how much the ſucceſs of their enterprize, depended upon his friendſhip; nor indeed, could they decently break with him. Some of them blamed *Bohemond*'s ambition, in reſerving to himſelf a conqueſt, which had been expreſsly ſtipulated ſhould be reſtored to the empire. In ſhort, notwithſtanding all the intemperate zeal of the Chriſtian writers againſt *Alexius*, there appears no foundation for accuſing him, upon this occaſion, of treachery. So far from that, it is certain, that the *Cruſadoes* were the aggreſſors. The papal court, had formed a deſign, to begin a conqueſt of the *Holy Land*, by that of *Conſtantinople*; and it was owing to the great addreſs of *Alexius* himſelf, the madneſs of *Peter* the hermit, the jealouſies that broke out amongſt the chief *Cruſaders*, and the hurry which moſt of them were in to feaſt their eyes with a ſight of the holy city, that *Godfrey Bouillon*, did not dethrone *Alexius* and take his capital.

His danger from the *Cruſades*.

The conduct of that emperor towards them, was very different. He had furniſhed them with proviſions, and tranſports, he had treated their generals in a moſt magnificent manner, and he had made *Bohemond* preſents in money and jewels, amounting to more than all that needy prince was poſſeſſed of beſides; ſome of the adventurers, eſpecially thoſe who had but an indifferent opinion of *Bohemond*, ſeem to have been ſenſible of this, and *Hugh*, the *French* King's brother, together with *Baldwin* of *Hainault*, were deputed to inform him of their proceedings, and to invite him once more to join the confederacy. It is uncertain what became of the earl of *Hainault*; but it is probable he was murdered, poſſibly, by the *Turks*: tho' the chriſtian writers, ſeem to load the emperor with the crime. As to *Hugh*, he went forward to *Conſtantinople*, but he either had ſeen enough to give him a diſguſt, at the whole conceit, or he was perſuaded by the emperor to abandon the enterprize; for he directly returned to *France*.

His great generoſity

His ſucceſſes againſt the *Turks*.

In the mean while, the emperor availed himſelf of the war that was now raging in *Aſia*, between the *Chriſtians* and the *Turks*, whom he conſidered as being equally his enemies. He pointed his power however, chiefly at the latter. One *Tzakas* a *Turkiſh* pirate of an obſcure original, began at this time, to make a great figure at ſea. He had got together a fleet of forty or fifty veſſels, with which he had made himſelf maſter of *Clazomene*, and *Phocea*, both of them belonging to the emperor; he then, without ſucceſs attacked the Iſland of *Mytalene*, but having made himſelf maſter of *Smyrna*, he likewiſe conquered *Chios*, and defeated a fleet ſent againſt him, by the emperor. *Tzakas* returning to *Smyrna*, the emperor ſent *Delaſſenus*, one of his beſt ſea officers, to reconquer *Chios*. He accordingly, landed his men, and after making a breach in the walls of the chief town, the *Turks* offered to ſubmit to his mercy. *Delaſſenus*, was making the neceſſary diſpoſitions, to prevent his men from puting them to the ſword, when *Tzakas* landed ten thouſand men on the oppoſite part of the Iſland, and ordering his fleet to attend him, not only raiſed the ſiege, but drove the imperialiſts to their ſhips, ſome of which they took, and obliged *Delaſſenus* to retire to *Boliſſus*, a place of ſome ſtrength. Here a treaty was entered into, between *Tzakas*, and *Delaſſenus*, but the latter receiving a ſtrong reinforcement, under the emperor's brother-in-law, *Tzakas* found himſelf under a neceſſity of returning to *Smyrna* and *Delaſſenus* availed himſelf of that opportunity to conquer the city of *Chios*. But *Tzakas*, in the mean time, having greatly augmented his naval force, laid waſte all the Iſlands of the *Archipelago*, made himſelf maſter of *Mytalene*, and aſſumed the title of king of *Smyrna*. But the diviſions that then prevailed amongſt the *Turks*, gave the emperor vaſt advantages; ſo that early next ſpring, *Delaſſenus*, his admiral, and *Ducas*, his brother, went with a ſtrong ſea and land armament, to *Mytalene*, which ſometime before had fallen under the power of *Tzakas* who defended it in perſon. But the place was ſo vigorouſly beſieged, that he was obliged to capitulate; and to give it up, on condition of his being permitted to retire in ſafety to *Smyrna*. Having ſome ſhips along with him in the harbour, he endeavoured to carry off with him, a number of the inhabitants, which was, by the imperialiſts, conſtrued to be a violation of the capitulation; and *Delaſſenus* took moſt of his ſhips, with the *Myteleneans* on board: *Tzakas* himſelf eſcaping with great difficulty to his capital, of *Smyrna*. Here he gave orders for equipping ſo powerful a fleet, that the emperor thought proper to apply to one of the *Seljukian Sultans*, (for they were now multiplied into a great many ſovereigns), whoſe daughter, *Tzakas* had married. This *Sultan*, whoſe name was *Arſlan*, and the grandſon of *Kutulmuſh*, had raiſed himſelf to great power, by his favour, and liberality, but being apprenſive of his ſon-in-law's ambition, he

Treaties broken on both ſides.

Chios conquered by the *Greeks* and *Mytelene*.

he joined the emperor on this occaſion, and marched with an army againſt him. *Tzakas*, whoſe fleet was not yet ready to put to ſea, found himſelf too weak to oppoſe their joint forces; and put himſelf under the protection of *Arſlan*, who, at firſt received him very affectionately, but finding means of intoxicating him, he put him to death with his own hand. After this, the *Chriſtians*, as we have already ſeen, having made great progreſs in the Eaſt, the *Greek* emperor retook *Smyrna*, *Epheſus*, *Chios*, *Rhodes*, *Laodocea*, and a great number of other places, to the vaſt emolument of his power, and the great terror of the *Chriſtians*; with whom, however he ſtill preſerved ſuch appearances of friendſhip, that he did them many eminent ſervices; both by ſupplying them with proviſions, and weakening the power of the *Turks*. In the mean while *Arſlan*, who ſeems at this time, to have been the moſt powerful of the *Seljukian* monarchs, being more intent upon extending his own dominions, then oppoſing either the *Greeks*, or the *Cruſaders*; made himſelf maſter of *Mawſel*, which had been beſieged by another of thoſe *Emirs* or *Sultans*, for they went indiſcriminately by both names; and took upon him or uſurped the office of *Emir Al Omra*. But ſoon after, he was attacked by *Jawah*, another *Seljukian* of great valour, who defeated him; and perſued him ſo hotly, that he was obliged to plunge into a river; where he was drownded. Upon his death, the poſt of *Emir Al Omra* fell upon a *Sultan*, who is called, *Mohammed*, who was of the original houſe of *Seljuk*, and had got the better of all oppoſition. Upon his being veſted in his high office, he marched to *Bagdad*, where he treated the califf with great reſpect; and in return, received from him the patent, and inveſtiture of his office. *Mohammed* as ſucceſſor to *Togrol Beg*, was at this time poſſeſſed of *Perſia*, where a great rebellion broke out, headed by one *Ataſh*, who ſet up for a prophet, and obtained ſo many followers; that he ſeized upon the city of *Iſpahan*, and pretended to give law, both to the califf and the *Sultan*. This obliged the *Sultan* to march in perſon againſt the rebels, and tho' the impoſtor had found means to corrupt ſome of his principal domeſtics, who had engaged to poiſon him, yet he arrived ſafe in *Perſia*, and formed the ſiege of the citadel. The place being exceſſively ſtrong, the *Sultan* was obliged to turn the ſiege into a blockade. This continued ſo long, that *Ataſh*, who had a correſpondence with the *Sultan*'s vizir, his diſciple, privately informed him, that if he was not relieved in a few days, he muſt ſurrender the place, for want of proviſions. The vizir, in his anſwer, encouraged him to hold out, and promiſed ſoon to rid the world of that dog. meaning his maſter, the *Sultan*. The vizir, applied himſelf to the *Sultan*'s ſurgeon, who uſed to bleed him, for certain complaints he was periodically troubled with; and by promiſing him a purſe of money, and a rich veſt, he engaged him to bleed the califf with a

The ſultan *Arſlan* puts his ſon in law to death.

Conqueſt of the emperor.

Arſlan Emir Al Omra killed and ſucceeded by *Mohammed*.

Hiſtory of the rebellion of the impoſtor *Ataſh* in *Perſia*.

poiſoned lancet. Either the ſurgeon or the vizir was weak enough to let this affair tranſpire, ſo that it came to the knowledge of one of the *Sultan*'s domeſtics, who imparted it to his wife, and ſhe to her gallant, by which means it came round to the *Sultan* himſelf. That prince diſſembling his knowledge of the treaſon, ſent for the ſurgeon, and ordered him to bleed him. But while the ſurgeon was preparing for the operation, he diſcovered ſomething ſo terrible in the *Sultan*'s look and manner, that he judged the treaſon was diſcovered, and falling on his knees, he confeſſed the whole. Upon this, being confronted with the vizir, the guilt of the latter, appeared ſo plain that he was put to death; while the *Sultan* ordered that no other puniſhment ſhould be inflicted on the ſurgeon, but that of his being blooded with the ſame lancet he had intended for him. This diſcovery coming to the ears of the impoſtor, he immediately ſurrendered the place, at diſcretion; and being conducted to *Iſpahan*, he was for ſome days expoſed to the moſt ignominious treatment, and then put to death. This was the common way, in which the eaſtern princes treated thoſe impoſtors, and it generally had its effect; for the people being thereby convinced of the falſehood of their pretenſions to ſupernatural powers, were, thereby, reclaimed from their deluſion under which they might otherwiſe have continued.

moderation of *Mahommed.*

Ataſh put to death

Mohammed, after this, is ſaid to have enjoyed a very proſperous reign, and to have carried his arms into *India*; where he was extremely zealous in deſtroying idolatry. We are even told, that he refuſed to ranſom one of thoſe Idols, that weighed four hundred ſtone, for its weight in gold, but that he carried it to *Iſpahan*, where it was cut out into a ſtone gate for a College that he had founded, and where he intended to have his own tomb erected. Some writers have accuſed this prince of rapaciouſneſs; becauſe he left at the time of his death, eleven million of dinars, in money, and as much in jewels, and precious moveables in his treaſury at the time of his death. The following remarkable ſtory ſeems to confirm this charge. *Dia Al Molk*, one of the ſons of the famous *Nadham*, the miniſter who had been aſſaſſinated under *Malec*, ſerved as vizir under *Mohammed*; and having ſome differences with the prince of *Hamadan*, then prince of *Said*, he applied to *Mohammed*, who was the prince's ſuperior, for a power to try him for oppreſſive practices in his government, which was one of the moſt lucrative in all the empire, and he promiſed in that caſe, to bring a great many dinars into the ſultan's coffers. *Mohammed* was not at all averſe to the propoſal, and agreed to it. *Said* however, received intelligence of what was in agitation, and made ſuch diſpatch that without the vizir's knowledge, he obtained an audience of the *Sultan*; and throwing himſelf at his feet, he conjured his majeſty not to give him, who was a

Mohammed invades *India.*

His riches

Remarkable inſtances of his avarice

deſcendant

deſcendant of the prophet, into the power of ſuch an heretic, and infidel, as the vizir was. If, added he, money is your motive, I am ready to lay at your majeſty's feet eighteen thouſand dinars, inſtead of fifteen thouſand that you have been promiſed by the vizir, provided your majeſty, will give him up into my power. The *Sultan* had no more objection to his propoſal than he had to that of the vizir, and immediately diſpatched along with the *Said*, one of his domeſtic's to receive the money at *Hamadan*. This domeſtic, tho' only a ſlave, expected that the *Said* would have treated him as a ſovereign prince, by aſſigning him the moſt magnificent apartment in his palace, but inſtead of that, he was ordered to take up his lodging at a common caravancera, or public lodging houſe provided for the reception of the moſt ordinary ſtrangers; and there, without any notice being taken of him, he remained at his own expence, with orders from the *Said*, that he would ſend him notice when the money was ready. The other reſented this treatment with ſome airs of authority, but the *Said* ſternly told him, that if he would not be quiet, he would order him to be hanged up before the door where he lodged; it is, continued he, only my throwing a hundred thouſand more dinars, into the ſum I am to pay the *Sultan*, which would purchaſe his forgiveneſs, becauſe it would purchaſe a thouſand ſlaves of more value than thee. The domeſtic knew his maſter too well not be ſenſible that there was a great deal of truth in what the *Said* ſaid, and very ſubmiſſively waited at his inn for forty days, and then the money was paid him; out of the *Said*'s coffers. It would be doing injuſtice to the memory of this *Said*, not to mention, that when the *Sultan* punctually performed his bargain with him, and put the vizirs perſon in his hands, to treat him as he pleaſed, the *Said* was ſo far from ſhowing any cruel reſentment, for what had happened, that he did not oblige the vizir, even to refund the money he had paid, but behaved to him in ſo generous and amicable a manner, that they lived ever after in terms of the ſtricteſt friendſhip with one another.

generoſity in a governour.

Thro' the confuſion of names, of which, amongſt the *Turks*, there was but very little variety, and the uncertainty of dates, it is very difficult to relate with any preciſion the particular ſhare, which the *Sultan* of *Bagdad* had in oppoſing the progreſs of the weſtern chriſtians in the eaſt. The hiſtory of *Ana Comnana*, agrees in the main with what we have related, concerning the operations of her father, and his ſucceſſes againſt the *Turks*. *Baldwin* at this time, held the ſovereignty of *Edeſſa*; as *Bohemond* did that of *Antioch*; for neither of them denied the ſuperiority of the *Greek* empire over both. According to the beſt accounts, the whole number of adventurers, including the women who followed them in this firſt cruſade, amounted to no fewer than one million

The *Cruſade* continues.

million. *Aſia Minor*, tho' fertile, had been depopulated by long wars, and it was impoſſible for the *Greek* emperor, who had himſelf great armies on foot, to ſupply this prodigious number of men and horſe, for any long time, with proviſions. The *Venetians*, who were then the greateſt maritime power in *Europe*, and the general carriers, for *Mahometans*, as well as *Chriſtians*, had reaſons of ſtate, for not ſuffering their ſhips to be concerned, in ſupplying the adventurers. The *Genoeſe*, however, the *Piſans*, and many of the *Greek* traders who lay upon the coaſts, contracted to ſupply them, and the firſt of thoſe powers, found their commerce ſo beneficial, that they ſoon became great, and rich enough to diſpute the dominion of the ſeas, with the *Venetians* themſelves. The numbers of the *Cruſaders* however, were now ſo much diminiſhed that the emperor began to venture, after his great ſucceſſes againſt the *Turks*, to complain of their proceedings. They had found ſome difficulty in ſubſiſting in their winter quarters, after their taking of *Antioch*, and ſome diſſentions aroſe, between *Bohemond*, and *Raymond*, which had almoſt put an end to the whole expedition. At laſt, *Alexius* made a formal requiſition of *Antioch*. But *Bohemond*, far from complying with his demand, aſſerted not only his independency upon the emperor, but ſet up a family claim, in virtue of his being prince of *Antioch*, upon *Laodocea*, which his nephew *Tancred* made good, by taking not only that city, but a great number of other places of importance, in *Cilicia*. The emperor ſhewd his reſentment at this proceeding by fitting out a ſtrong fleet, great part of which he hired from the *Venetians*, which put to ſea under his admiral *Tatecius*. His orders were, to intercept the fleets that were carrying, to the coaſts of *Aſia Minor*, ſupplies and reinforcements to the *Cruſaders*. *Tatecius*, accordingly, came up with the *European* fleet near *Rhodes*, and defeated it; but in his return to *Conſtantinople* he loſt moſt of his own ſhips by a ſtorm. In the mean while, *Raymond* beſieged *Tripolis*, and reduced it to ſuch ſtreights that the governor agreed to furniſh him with all neceſſaries; and that it ſhould be open as a port for ſupplying *Raymond*'s army. *Bohemond* was at this time at *Antioch*, while *Godfrey* of *Bouillon*, took *Gabela*, and formed the ſiege of *Tortoſa*; in which he was joined by *Raymond*. But this place was ſo well defended by the *Turks*, that the *Chriſtians*, after loſing a vaſt number of men, and ſpending three months before it, were obliged to raiſe the ſiege; and to proceed by the ſea coaſt, plundering all the way, to the favourite point of their expedition, which was the ſiege of *Jeruſalem*.

Vaſt numbers of the *Cruſaders*.

Means of their being ſupplied.

Bohemond at war with the emperor.

Operations of the *Cruſaders*.

This city had of late had a variety of maſters. For ſome time it was in the hands of the houſe of *Artak* the *Turk*; but they were forced in the year of the Hejra 489 to abandon it to the *Azona*, or the *Gazan Turks*. The *Gazan Turks*, as well

Hiſtory of *Jeruſalem* at this time.

well as the houſe of *Artak* recognized the ſupremacy of *Barkiarak*, *Malec*, and other *Seljukian Sultans*; but thoſe princes found their account in ballancing the power of their barbarous dependants, by ſetting them at variance amongſt themſelves; and by ſometimes ſupporting the weaker, againſt the ſtronger. All the importance of the place, even at this time, lay in the profit, which the poſſeſſors of it made from the vaſt recourſe of pilgrims, *Moſlems* as well as *Chriſtians*, who, on account of its ſanctity, daily came to viſit it. Thoſe emoluments were ſo great, that in the year of the Hejra 492, which is the very year the Cruſaders landed in *Aſia*, *Moſtali* the califf of *Egypt* ſent an army againſt it. Some of the *Eaſtern* writers however, pretend that this event happened three years ſooner, and that the houſe of *Artak*, the heads of which were *Sakman* and *Aylgazi*, were then in poſſeſſion of it. Both accounts may be reconciled, by ſuppoſing, which is not at all unlikely, that the califf of *Egypt* took into his pay a body of *Gazan* mercenaries; againſt the princes of *Artak*, one of whom, *Sakman*, we perceive ſerved againſt the *Chriſtians*, at the great battle of *Antioch*, and is mentioned to have been the laſt man that left the field. Be this as it will, it is certain, that the holy city was at this time inhabited, by people of three different religions. The jacobite *Chriſtians*, the *Jews*, and the *Moſlems*. The former hated the *Weſtern Chriſtians*, as much, if not more, than they did the *Jews*, or the *Mahometans*. Till the late irruption of the *Turks*, they had lived tollerably eaſy under their maſters; who were generally the califfs of *Egypt*. Their *Patriarchs*, were ſome of them men of learning, and moderation; and exerciſed a civil, as well as an eccleſiaſtical power over their flocks, and for this they paid an annual ſum (tho' it was ſometimes omitted) to the califf. The *Jews* had their temple, and their place of worſhip, and the *Moſlems* had their moſques, in which great numbers of the religious lived day and night, within the walls of the city.

By whom inhabited.

According to the beſt accounts, when the *Egyptian* forces come before *Jeruſalem* it was defended by *Sakman*, and *Aylgazi*; and ſuſtained a ſiege of forty days, againſt a numerous train of battering pieces, but at laſt it was obliged to capitulate, the garriſon marching out with the princes of the houſe of *Artak* at their head. But the moſt extraordinary part of the hiſtory of *Jeruſalem* at this time, is the wonderful opinion of ſanctity annexed to the place; even in the minds of the greateſt barbarians. For we perceive that amidſt all the variety and revolutions the government of it underwent, the furniture and plate, which were immenſely rich, even in the chriſtian churches, remained untouched. This ſucceſsful expedition of the *Egyptians*, was conducted by *Afdal*, the vizir of *Egypt*; and the government of the place was committed by him to one *Aftekarodawla*, who probably commanded in it, when it was beſieged by the *Chriſtians*. The latter

Taken by the *Egyptians*.

under the vizir *Afdal.*

latter by this time had advanced under infinite difficulties and diſappointments to *Ptolamais*, which they endeavoured to reduce; but were perſuaded to abandon their undertaking, by the governor's ſending to them, a moſt ſeaſonable ſupply of proviſions, and promiſing to ſubmit to their power, as ſoon as they ſhould reduce *Jeruſalem*. Upon this, they moved on to *Cæſaria*, and from thence to *Rama*, which they found abandoned at their approach, a circumſtance not at all to be wondered at, conſidering the *Cruſaders* held it to be meritorious, to ſhed the blood of Infidels; and wherever they marched, ſpread as much deſolation as the *Turks*, or the very worſt Barbarians, had ever done. Marching from *Rama*, they fell into extaſies of joy, when they came within ſight of *Jeruſalem*. All of them proſtrated themſelves on the ground, and the mountains with which the Holy City is ſurrounded, re-echoed to the frantic expreſſions of their devotion. The hiſtory of this ſiege, is connected with our ſubject, by the intereſt which the califfs of *Bagdad* and their ſubjects, ſtill thought they had in that city, which they conſidered as a right belonging to themſelves. The governor knew of the approach of the *Cruſaders*, and was prepared to receive them. His garriſon was ſtrong, the city was well provided for a defence; and its ſituation rendered it extremely difficult to be beſieged in form. But nothing is impracticable to enthuſiaſm. Though *Bohemond*, and *Baldwin*, were both abſent at their principalities of *Antioch* and *Edeſſa*, and though the *Chriſtians* had ſuffered prodigiouſly in their march, yet their army was ſtill very ſtrong and was commanded by *Godfrey* of *Bouillon*, the earl of *Flanders*, *Robert* duke of *Normandy*, *Tancred*, and the earl of *Tholouſe*. All theſe generals had their proper poſts in the ſiege, but that of *Godfrey* lay neareſt to the city. Such is the unprovident nature of zeal, that they had made very few preparations for carrying on a regular ſiege, and ſo animated were they with enthuſiaſm, that, upon the fifth day after their arrival, it was reſolved to ſtorm the place. This was done with ſo much fury, that the city muſt have been carried, had the aſſailants taken the common cautions for ſucceſs. But when they had beat the *Turks* from the wall, they found themſelves deſtitute of ſcaling-ladders long enough to mount them; and thus were obliged to return to their camp. They then ſet about to remedy this defect; but it was then too late. The edge of their fury was blunted by the failure of their firſt attempt, and they began now to be in want of every thing, eſpecially water. Were not the facts certainly ſo, it would be incredible to ſay, that an army of ſixty or ſeventy thouſand men, (for that of the *Chriſtians* could not amount to more) ſhould be ready to periſh for thirſt, in a country that had formerly maintained ſo many millions. It is ſaid, indeed, that the *Turks*, either filled up, or poiſoned,

Progreſs of the *Cruſaders*,

who arrive before *Jeruſalem*,

which they beſiege,

and attempt to ſtorm, but miſcarry.

Their vaſt diſtreſſes.

ſoned, all the wells in the neighbourhood, excepting that of *Siloe*, which was not ſufficient to ſupply the *Cruſaders* with water. But this fact is extremely improbable upon many accounts, that are foreign to this hiſtory, and the beſiegers muſt have died before the walls of the town, had they not been ſeaſonably reinforced. For the *Genoeſe* fleet had, by this time, landed a great body of men at *Joppa*, and to prevent their ſhips falling into the hands of the *Egyptian* fleet, which was at *Aſcalon*, they ſet them on fire, and marched over land to *Jeruſalem*. They had, amongſt them, ſome excellent engineers, an art in which *Genoa* was famous, and their arrival gave freſh ſpirits to the beſiegers. By the direction of thoſe engineers, moveable ſtages, one upon another were erected, and covered with raw hides; and being brought to a level with the walls, the beſiegers plied the garriſon, to vaſt advantage, with their other weapons, in which they were greatly ſuperior to the Infidels. The latter, though amazed at the novelty of this vaſt machine, made a brave defence, and endeavoured, for ſome time, to ſet it on fire. But by the judicious diſpoſition of the engineers, the attack was made on that quarter, where a ſtrong wind blew full in the face of the garriſon; ſo that their own flames recurring on themſelves, the *Chriſtians* gained the ſummit of the walls, and *Godfrey* of *Bouillon*, is generally allowed, to have been the firſt who planted his ſtandards upon them: while the *Chriſtians*, on all other hands, applying their ladders, which they had now lengthened, followed his example, and driving the *Turks* from the battlements, followed them with inexpreſſible fury. The horrible carnage that enſued, is diſgraceful to the name of *Chriſtians*; and indeed, endangered the loſs of all they had ſo bravely acquired. For the *Moſlems*, and other inhabitants of the city, ſeeing their ſtreets running with blood, and covered with a promiſcuous carnage of men, women, and children, ſaw they were to expect no quarter; and therefore turning deſperate, they retired to temples and moſques, where they defended themſelves with vaſt reſolution. But the *Chriſtians*, after ſome days, broke in upon them, and made ſuch a ſlaughter, that, according to their own writers, their ſoldiers fought ancle-deep in blood; and the Eaſtern hiſtorians ſay, that in the Grate, by which they call, the farther, or inner, moſque, no fewer than ſeventy thouſand men, were maſſacred. Notwithſtanding this, the *Moſlems* defended the moſque, inch by inch; and the ſurvivors, who were now but a handful, retired to the upper part of it, and defending it for a whole day, they were at laſt admitted to the benefit of quarter: and thus the city, after a cloſe ſiege of ninety-nine days, fell under the power of the *Chriſtians*, in the year 1099.

They are reinforced by the *Genoeſe*,

by whoſe engineers

they take the city,

with a moſt horrible ſlaughter.

The news of the taking of *Jeruſalem*, alarmed all the *Moſlems* of the *Eaſt*. The accounts of their hiſtorians, with

with regard to the ſiege, is very little different from thoſe given by the *Chriſtians*; only ſome of them ſay, which is not at all unlikely, that vaſt numbers of the beſieged were burnt in their moſques; and it ſeems to be agreed, on all hands, that excepting the few, whoſe valour had procured themſelves quarter, none of the Infidels were ſpared; for the very women and children, who had retired to cellars and vaults, when diſcovered, were put to the ſword in cold blood. According to all accounts, the booty which was obtained in the place, was prodigious. Mention is made of forty ſilver lamps, above twenty golden ones, a maſſy furnace: and it appears in fact, that the jacobite *Chriſtians*, as well as the *Moſlems*, had their places of worſhip plundered upon this occaſion: and the fury of the *Cruſaders* roſe to ſuch a height, that the *Jews* being the ſucceſſors of thoſe who had crucified our Saviour, they were all of them driven into their chief ſynagogue; and there, moſt inhumanly burnt to death.

They plunder the place,

and burn all the *Jews* alive.

The conſternation which filled the people of *Bagdad*, when they received the news of the loſs of *Jeruſalem*, was inexpreſſible. They abandoned themſelves to the moſt violent deſpair, and ran tumultuouſly to the palaces of the king and the califf, and forgetting all reſpect to their perſons and authority, they inſiſted upon their immediately preparing, for recovering that Holy city and for preventing the impending ruin of their religion. According to the beſt accounts *Mohammed* was then king of *Bagdad*, or *Emir Al Omra*. But as he had upon his hands a great many wars of his own, we do not find that he was very forward in gratifying their requeſt. The truth is, the particulars we have of the hiſtory of the califf of *Bagdad*, from the time of the taking *Jeruſalem* to the end of this *Al Moſtader*'s reign, are ſo thin, that it ſcarcely deſerves the name of hiſtory. It may, not however be improper to mention, that *Mohammed*, ſome years after, that is, in the year 1111, ſeeing the vaſt progreſs of the *Cruſaders*, wiſely propoſed a union of all the *Seljukian* intereſt againſt them. In this propoſal he was joined by *Sakman*, the prince *Aklat* in *Armenia*, who ſeems to have been the ſame who defended *Jeruſalem*, *Mawdud*, the prince of *Mawſel*, and *Noimoddin*, the governor of *Maridin*, and that, taking the field they obtained ſeveral advantages over the *Cruſaders*, who were commanded by *Tancred* and *Baldwin*, near *Tiberias*. *Mohammed*'s general in this expedition was *Mawdud*, who did all he could, to draw the *Chriſtian* garriſon out of *Edeſſa* into the open fields. For this purpoſe, after the other princes of the *Seljukian* confederacy, had returned home, he inſulted that garriſon, which was, at this time, commanded by one *Joceline*, ſo much, that, not finding they were to be provoked, he contracted ſuch a contempt for them, as threw him off his guard; and he was one day ſurprized in his camp by *Joceline*, who

Bagdad greatly alarmed.

Union of the *Moſlems* againſt the *Chriſtians*

who are worſted.

who killed a great number of his men and carried of all his horſes, whom he found grazing in the neighbouring paſtures; ſome ſay, that this blow was ſtruck, before the *Seljukian* confederates took the field. Be this as it will, it is certain, that when the campaign was over, *Mawdud* paid a viſit to his friend *Togtakin*, the prince of *Damaſcus* with a deſign to take the field early next year againſt the *Chriſtians*. The *Bataniſts*, or aſſaſſins had now grown numerous, thro' all parts of the *Eaſt*; and were employed in the profeſſion of murder, by almoſt all the princes of it. Enthuſiaſm led thoſe wretches to perpetrate their crimes, without any reward but the pleaſure of ſerving their prince, and, beſides devoting themſelves to certain death, they were contented to forego all the pleaſures of life. They appeared all over the *Eaſt* in various ſhapes; but chiefly in the habits of beggars, by which, according to the cuſtom of the *Moſlems* they had a ready acceſs to the perſons of thoſe they intended to murder. *Mawdud* experienced this; for one day as he was going into a moſque at *Damaſcus*, one of thoſe beggars in aſking his charity, gave him four ſtabs with a concealed dagger, of which he inſtantly died; and tho' the *Batamite* was put to death, it never was known, who was his employer. Upon his death, the government, or rather principality, of *Mawſel*, was beſtowed by *Mohammed*, upon one *Anſankar*, at *Mohammed*'s recommendation likewiſe, *Zenki*, was made his vizir, and is famous for having been the father of the great *Noreddin*, who is ſo celebrated in hiſtory. This ſeems to have been amongſt the laſt acts of *Mohammed*. A little before his death *Taktakin*, the prince of *Damaſcus*, probably by the advice of *Mawdud*, paid a viſit to the califf and *Mohammed* at *Bagdad*, and having offered him his ſervices, he was entertained with great friendſhip by both. Soon after, *Mohammed* died; juſt before his death, he called for *Mahmud*, his ſecond ſon, and declared him his ſucceſſor, with tears, and embraces. This ſo affected the young prince who was but fifteen years of age, that when his father commanded him to place himſelf on the throne, he declined it; ſaying that it was an unfortunate day. It is ſo, replied the father, to me, but not to you, for this day you gain an empire. Upon this, the young prince aſcending the throne was inveſted with the enſigns of ſovereignty; which conſiſted of a *Diadem* and bracelets, and received the homage of all the grandees about court, his father dying that ſame day, in the thirty ſeventh year of his age, and the thirteenth or fourteenth of his reign. To what we have already ſaid of this *Sultan*, we may add, that he excelled in eloquence and bodily ſtrength. The recognition of his ſon, was confirmed by the califf who immediately created him, his *Emir Al Omra*. Beſides him *Mohammed* left four other ſons, *Maſud*, *Togrol*, *Soliman* and *Seljuk*.

Maudud defeated by *Joceline* of *Edeſſa*.

The *Aſſaſſins* ſpread over the *Eaſt*.

They murder *Mawdud*

Death of *Mohammed*.

The

The califf *Moſtader* died the following year, in the forty ſecond year of his age, after a reign of twenty five years. His character is the ſame with that of the other califfs, who had lately lived in the holy ſtate of ſovereign indolence. He was gentle in his behaviour, charitable, liberal and eloquent; and before his death, he nominated his ſon *Manſur*, who took the name of *Moſtarſhed*, for his ſucceſſor.

Al Moſtarſhed, *the twenty-ninth califf of the houſe of* Al Abbas.

He is ſucceeded by *Moſtarſhed.*

IT is neceſſary before we enter into the particulars of this califat, to reſume the hiſtory of the *Cruſade*. *Alexius*, the emperor of *Conſtantinople*, notwithſtanding all *Bohemond's* addreſs, was his ſuperior, both in the field and in the cabinet. But *Bohemond* availed himſelf of the great character which the arms of the *Cruſade* acquired, and leaving *Antioch*, paſſed over to *Italy* to raiſe a new army, for enlarging and protecting his conqueſts. *Alexius* was not ignorant of the inveterate hatred which *Bohemond* bore him, and ordered his admiral *Contoſtephanus*, to cruize with a ſuperior fleet upon the coaſt of *Italy*, to prevent the return of *Bohemond* to *Aſia*. *Contoſtephanus* tranſgreſſing his inſtructions, laid ſiege to *Brunduſium*, but was obliged to raiſe the ſiege with great loſs. The crafty *Bohemond*, improving every circumſtance to his own advantage, having upon this occaſion made priſoners of ſix Barbarians, (*Scythians* they are called) of an uncouth dreſs and form, carried them to the pope, and told his holineſs, that ſuch were the men, whom *Alexius* employed to ſtop the progreſs of the *Cruſade*. This impoſition increaſed the indignation of the faithful ſons of the church, ſo much, that *Bohemond*, in a very ſhort time, ſaw himſelf at the head of forty-five thouſand men, five thouſand of whom were cavalry, and with them he invaded *Illyricum*. Upon his landing, he ordered all his ſhips to be burnt, that his ſoldiers might know their retreat was cut off, and that they had no hopes of ſafety, but from their own efforts. He then laid ſiege to *Dyrrachium*, which belonged to the emperor. But that city being of great ſtrength and importance, made ſo noble a defence, that *Bohemond's* army was in danger of periſhing before it, when the emperor offered him terms of peace; which he was obliged to accept of. *Anna Comnena*, the emperor's daughter, ſays, that, after this peace, *Bohemond* returned to *Italy*; but others write, that he went to *Antioch*, where, in ſix months after, he died, leaving behind him a minor ſon, of his own name.

The *Greeks* defeated by *Bohemond.*

His death.

In

In the mean while, the heads of the Chriſtian expedition, having made themſelves maſters of *Jeruſalem*, proceeded to the choice of a king; and the election fell upon *Godfrey* of *Bouillon*. This period of hiſtory is, perhaps, as intereſting, and at the ſame time, as dark, as any that occurs. Hiſtorians have generally launched out into ridiculous invectives, againſt the madneſs of the whole expedition: and undoubtedly, in the manner it was conducted, nothing could be more ridiculous, or enthuſiaſtic. But then we are to conſider, that the great leaders of the expedition, who, it is plain, had a wiſe and determined purpoſe in view, were overborne by popular clamour and prejudice. Their real intention, was to diſpoſſeſs the barbarians, who were divided amongſt themſelves, of the fineſt countries, upon the face of the earth; an undertaking which was both juſt and practicable. It is true, the *Greek* emperor did not conſider it in that light, and very reaſonably demanded to know, the terms on which they were to proceed. The princes of *Europe* durſt avow no motive, but the ſilly one of being determined to reſcue, out of the hands of Infidels, the land of their Saviour's nativity, and the place of his ſuffering. *Alexius* treated this pretext with the contempt it deſerved; and becauſe he did not fall in with the frenzy of the times, the *Cruſaders* looked upon him as worſe than an infidel, and as ſuch, he has been handed down to poſterity, by almoſt all writers, but his own daughter; who makes him act like a prince of great wiſdom and moderation; as he undoubtedly was. For having made peace with *Bohemond*, he was ſo far from encouraging the *Turks* in their incurſions, which they had extended, even to the walls of *Nice*, that he attacked them and gave them a total defeat in that neighbourhood. But the barbarians pouring in freſh forces, renewed the war next year, though with the ſame bad ſucceſs, for they were again and again defeated; and at laſt, were obliged to yield to a peace with *Alexius*; which, on his part, was honourable. Age and infirmities then crept upon him, and he died with as diſputed a character as any in hiſtory; owing to the madneſs and miſrepreſentations of biggots and zealots. The worſt enemies of his memory, allow him to have been poſſeſſed of every ſocial virtue. He was generous, grateful and merciful, even to a fault. Notwithſtanding the many provocations he received, both from his enemies and his ſubjects, he never ſhowed himſelf to be ſanguinary. His behaviour towards the *Cruſaders*, was dictated by true policy, and found ſenſe; but Eccleſiaſtics have, upon that account, been cruel to his memory. He had in their ſight another demerit, which was that of ſeizing the wealth of the church and the monaſtries, to defray the expences of his wars with the Infidels, a meaſure that, however juſtifiable, is, by biggots, deemed unpardonable.

Godfrey of *Bouillon*, choſen king of *Jeruſalem*.

The emperor hated by the *Cruſaders*.

Death of *Alexius*.

His character.

Commotion in the caliſat.

The beginning of the califf *Moſtarſhed*'s reign, was filled with civil commotions. He had a brother *Haſan*, who diſputed with him the califat, and actually made himſelf maſter of *Waſet*; but he was defeated by *Dubais*, the califf's general, and taken priſoner, though his brother the califf, generouſly gave him his life and liberty. As to the important poſt of *Emir Al Omra*, at this time, it does not clearly appear, by whom it was filled. The late *Sultan Mohammed*, was ſucceeded by his ſon *Mahmud*. But *Sanjar*, the brother of *Mohammed*, who had for many years governed *Koraſan*, diſputed the dignity with him. After ſome bloodſhed, a kind of a compromiſe was made between them, and both of them poſſeſſed the title of *Sultan*, with independent juriſdictions, *Sanjar* in *Koraſan*, and *Mahmud* in *Irak*. As to *Mahmud*, it appears, that he was a very peaceable prince, and devoted himſelf entirely to the pleaſures of a private life; particularly in hunting, in which his equipage was very magnificent. Under thoſe two *Sultans*, a third called, *Kothboddin*, the ſovereign of *Korazm* grew up, and his ſucceſſors afterwards, ruined the *Seljukian* dynaſty. *Aylgazi*, the ſame who had once poſſeſſed *Jeruſalem*, was, at this time, governor of *Maredin*, and the *Kozars*, with ſeveral other barbarous nations, uniting their forces, invaded the califf's dominions. They were oppoſed by *Aylgazi*, *Dubais*, and *Togrol*, *Mahmud*'s uncle, at the head of thirty thouſand men. But when the two armies were drawn up in order of battle, two hundred of the people called, *Kaſſaks*, detaching themſelves from the main body of their army, preſented themſelves to the *Moſlems*, with an intention, as the latter thought, to join them, either as deſerters or priſoners. But no ſooner did thoſe *Kaſſaks* come within a proper diſtance of the *Moſlems*, than they let fly their arrows, with a moſt dreadful effect, and diſordered the front ranks of their enemies. This being perceived by the rear, they too fell in confuſion, and the whole ended in an intire defeat of the *Moſlems*. The *Kaſſaks*, who were the ſame as the *Kozars*, took four thouſand of them priſoners, and following their blow, made themſelves maſters of the city of *Teflis*; which they erected into a capital. We are told, that *Togrol*, *Aylgazi*, and *Dubais*, found means to eſcape from this rout. *Aylgazi*, ſoon after this, was obliged to march againſt his ſon, a young man twenty years of age, who rebelled againſt him, at the inſtigation of one *Naſe*, a nobleman, who lay under the higheſt obligations to *Ortok*, the father of *Aylgazi*, and one *Hamawi*, the governor of *Aleppo*. *Aylgazi* had the good fortune to ſuppreſs this rebellion, and he inflicted exemplary puniſhments upon both thoſe traitors. As to the ſon, whoſe name was *Soliman*, he was taken priſoner, and brought drunk before his father. But affection getting the better of reſentment, he was pardoned, and ſent to reſide at *Damaſcus*.

War between *Sanjar* and *Mahmud*.

Other inteſtine diviſions amongſt the *Turks*.

Aylgazi's ſon rebels againſt him.

Every

Every corner of the *Eaſt*, was, about this time, filled with the murdering ſect of the *Bataniſts*. There ſcarcely was a ſovereign, who had not ſome of them in pay, and employed them in deteſtable ſervices. The moſt extraordinary part of the character of thoſe wretches, was their ſecrecy; for they endured the moſt ſevere torments, without diſcovering their employers. *Al Amer* was, at this period, the califf of *Egypt*, and the famous *Afdal*, was his vizir; but this miniſter grew formidable to his maſter, who employed the *Bataniſts* he had in his pay, to aſſaſſinate him. *Al Amer*, then ſeized upon his ready money, which amounted to above two millions ſterling, beſides an immenſe quantity of effects.

The *Bataniſts* employed,

they murder the vizir of *Egypt*.

While the *Moſlems* were thus deſtroying one another, the *Cruſaders*, under *Godfrey* of *Bouillon*, now king of *Jeruſalem*, were making a formidable progreſs. The latter, tho' the very principle of the undertaking was founded in religion and enthuſiaſm, found infinite advantages from the diviſions of the *Moſlems*, who were now torn in pieces, by daily invaſions of barbarous *Turks*. Excepting the califf of *Bagdad*, there was not at this time, in all the *Eaſt*, an object of allegiance; and he was no more ſo, than the veneration attached to the ſacerdotal character, intitled him to be. Divided however, as the *Moſlems* were, they were alarmed at the progreſs of the *Chriſtians*. *Godfrey*, king of *Jeruſalem*, was an excellent general, and his illuſtrious title, ſet him in the eyes of all the Weſtern *Chriſtians*, far above all the potentates upon earth; ſo that notwithſtanding all the difficulties and dangers attending the attempt, freſh ſoldiers every day, poured from *Europe* into his army. The *Moſlems*, (for almoſt all the *Turks* became ſo), aſſembled a moſt prodigious army, conſiſting of *Seljuks*, *Egyptians*, and all the various nations in the *Eaſt*, at *Aſcalon*, about twenty-five miles from *Jeruſalem*, with a full intention to exterminate the Chriſtian power, in *Paleſtine*. *Godfrey*, upon this, aſſembled all the ſtrength of his little principality; which however amounted to above fifty thouſand men. The Barbarians though vaſtly ſuperior in numbers, were greatly inferior to the *Chriſtians*, in arms and diſcipline; and in a battle which enſued, it is admitted by the beſt accounts, that they loſt one hundred thouſand men; beſides, a moſt prodigious quantity of treaſure and effects. This is looked upon to have been the moſt glorious victory, that before that time, had ever been gained by *Chriſtians*, over Infidels. *Godfrey* did not long ſurvive his triumph. A peſtilence broke into his dominions, and carried himſelf off. The whole of his character, conſiſted in his miſguided piety, and miſapplied courage. If inſtead of the wretched territory of *Paleſtine*, he and the other *Chriſtian* princes, had followed the example of *Bohemond*, in turning their arms againſt the *Barbarians*, who were poſſeſſed of the fineſt regions in the

Godfrey's progreſs.

He defeats the *Moſlems*;

his death.

world, to which they had no manner of right, but that of the ſword, all the reaſonable ends of their expedition, which were the propagation and extention of the *Chriſtian* religion, might have been anſwered. But even after the great defeat they gave the *Mahometans* at *Aſcalon*, the ſame frenzy continued, and *Baldwin*, *Godfrey*'s brother, in the year 1100, reſigning his principality of *Edeſſa*, was choſen king of *Jeruſalem*. He purſued the frantic politics of the times, by making that city, his capital, his reſidence, and the only object of his purſuit. He was like his brother, brave and pious, and was vigorouſly ſupported by the Weſtern *Chriſtians*. His reign however, was diſturbed by the Fatemite califfs of *Egypt*. He took from them the city of *Cæſaria*, and beat their troops near *Rama*: but the Infidels receiving freſh recruits, at laſt gave him a total defeat, and it was with great difficulty that he eſcaped to *Joppa*. There meeting with a powerful reinforcement of *Europeans*, he attacked and defeated the *Turks* in his turn. The conſequence of this victory was, that *Tancred*, who had acquired a ſmall territory in *Paleſtine*, took *Apamea*, the capital of *Cœlo Syria*, and *Ladocea*, from the *Greek* emperor. But *Baldwin*, to whom the king of *Jeruſalem* had reſigned the principality of *Edeſſa*, in beſieging the city of *Carras*, was defeated by the Infidels, under the *Sultan* of *Koraſan*, and taken priſoner, with *Benedict*, the biſhop of *Edeſſa*, and *Joceline*, whom we have already mentioned. As to *Baldwin*, his conſcience dictated to him, not to be at peace with Infidels. He raiſed all the ſtrength he was maſter of, and laid ſiege to *Ptolemais*; but in that attempt, he was baffled and defeated. Upon his return home, he was attacked and wounded, by the *Moſlems*; but receiving freſh ſupplies from *Europe*, he renewed the ſiege of *Ptolemais*, and carried it. His next exploit we read of was, his ſiege of *Baritas*, in which he was aſſiſted by *European* fleets; and mention is made, particularly, of one from *Norway*, and another from *Genoa*. This place we are told, he took, as he did the city of *Sidon*, and almoſt all the ſtrong places along the ſea-coaſt of *Phœnicia*, and *Paleſtine*, from *Loadocea* to *Aſcalon*, excepting the city of *Tyre*, which he beſieged for four months, but he was at laſt obliged to raiſe the ſiege. Some particulars of the *Cruſaders*, not mentioned by the *European* writers, are recorded by the Eaſtern hiſtorians. For we are told, that in the 517th year of the Hejra, thoſe adventurers being joined by ſome of the *Moſlems*, beſieged *Aleppo*, which a little before, and perhaps, at that time, was in poſſeſſion of *Aylgazi*. The ſiege was carried on ſo vigouroufly, that the beſieged were upon the point of ſurrendering, when a ſudden overflowing of the river *Kowiak*, which runs near the place, drowned a vaſt number of the beſiegers, and after carrying away their baggage, and their military cheſt, obliged them to abandon their enterprize. It was probably, about this time,

ſucceeded by his brother *Baldwin*.

His wars with the *Turks*.

Defeated before *Ptolemais*, but takes it.

Aleppo beſieged.

that *Alygazi*, who was a very conſiderable ſovereign, of the houſe of *Atrak*, died. Upon his death, *Aleppo* was beſieged and taken, by *Bellack*, a *Moſlem* prince, who was ſoon after killed, and then *Aleppo* fell into the hands of *Akſankar*, who was afterwards murdered by one of the *Fatamite* aſſaſſins. *Sanjar* and *Mahmud*, continued all this time to be joint *Sultans* of the *Seljuks*; but they appear, as well as the califf of *Bagdad*, to have given themſelves very little trouble, in oppoſing the progreſs of the *Cruſaders*. This they left to the inferior princes; ſo that the *Cruſaders*, at laſt, were enabled to form the ſiege of *Tyre*, which they took in five months; by ſtarving it into a ſurrender, according to the Moſlem authors, who tell us, that the garriſon had very honourable terms.

but delivered.

Tyre beſieged and taken by the *Chriſtians*.

While *Alexius* the *Greek* emperor was upon his death bed, his daughter *Anna Comnena*, who has left us the hiſtory of his life, ſtrongly ſollicited him to nominate her huſband *Briennius*, for his ſucceſſor; but the emperor invariably ſtuck to the intereſt of his ſon *John*, to whom he left his dominions, and he was accordingly crowned by the patriarch, in the great church of *Conſtantinople*. The reſtleſs ambition of *Anna*, upon this, formed a conſpiracy in favour of her huſband, but the conſpirators were detected, and convicted, tho' the emperor puniſhed them no other ways than, by confiſcating their eſtates, which he ſoon reſtored to them, and he even took his ſiſter *Anna* into favour. He had, however the precaution, to remove from about his court, and perſon, the authors of thoſe intrigues. Soon after the *Turks*, in breach of treaties, invaded *Phrygia*, but were defeated by the emperor, who laid ſiege to, and took, *Laodocea*, which ſome time before had fallen into their hands. This ſucceſs obliged the *Turks* to ſue for a peace, which was concluded, upon the ſame terms, as that they had made with the emperor *Alexius*. But, the barbarians, having by this time, experienced the delicacies of the *Eaſt*, kept pouring from all quarters, into the provinces, both of the *Greeks* and the *Moſlems*; and no ſooner had the emperor made peace with the *Turks*, than the *Scythians*, broke into *Thrace*, and deſtroyed the imperial territories, with fire and ſword. As they were no match for the imperialiſts, the emperor eaſily ſubdued them, and drove them with a moſt dreadful ſlaughter, back over the *Danube*. He then fell upon the *Seviæ* and the *Huns*, whom he defeated in like manner, and took the moſt important fortreſſes in their country. But he had a brother named *Iſaac*, with whom he was at variance, and *Iſaac* for ſome time, reſided amongſt the Infidels, whom he incited to all kinds of hoſtilities againſt the *Greeks*, and even aſſiſted them in their enterprizes. Scarcely therefore, had the emperor returned to *Conſtantinople*, when he received advice, that the *Turks* had made a freſh irruption into *Galacia*, and *Silicia*, ſo that he was obliged to head his troops,

Alexius ſucceeded by his ſon *John*.

he takes *Laodicea*

and defeats the *Barbarians*.

troops, already harraſſed by the preceeding campaign, againſt thoſe barbarians; whom he every where defeated, and at laſt he conquered all *Armenia*. He beſieged and took after a great reſiſtance, the fortreſs of *Baca*, beſides the cities of *Caſtamona*, *Anazarba*, *Serep*, *Capharda*, *Iſtria*, and *Sezer*; but he was defeated before *Bercea*, in *Syria*, the ſiege of which place he was obliged to raiſe. As this emperor inherited all the virtues, ſo he did all the policy, of his father *Alexius*. He was moderate, placable, and polite, and even took his brother *Iſaac*, into favour; upon a proper ſubmiſſion. But *John*, *Iſaac*'s ſon, apoſtatized, and embraced the *Mahometan* religion. This gave the emperor great trouble, and he continued almoſt three years in the field, againſt the infidels; but at laſt he returned in great triumph to *Conſtantinople*.

His ſucceſſes.

reconciled to his brother.

Baldwin's wars

During all this time, the *Latins* had behaved in ſuch a manner, as if they had conſidered, the *Greek* emperor as their worſt enemy. *Baldwin*, the king of *Jeruſalem*, had little reſpite from war; and in one of his expeditions, that againſt *Ptolemais*, commonly called *Acon*, he had been wounded. The wound was healed up, and *Baldwin* continued his wars with the *Turks*. *Bohemond* the prince of *Antioch*, as we have already ſeen, was now dead; and was ſucceeded by another *Bohemond* an infant, under the tuition of *Tancred*. The infant died, and *Tancred* came to the poſſeſſion of the principality of *Antioch*. The mutual intereſts of *Baldwin* and *Tancred*, and the prince of *Tripolis*, a city which had likewiſe fallen into the hands of the *Chriſtians*, led them to unite amongſt themſelves, againſt the *Turks*; under the command of *Sanjar*, and *Mahmud*; the latter of whom ſeems to have acted, as *Emir Al Omra*, to the califf of *Bagdad*. Uniting their forces, they marched towards the ſea coaſt, towards *Tiberias*, with an intention to deſtroy the *Chriſtians*. The latter knew their danger, and *Baldwin*, who in virtue of his being king of *Jeruſalem*, ſtill bore the command amongſt the *Cruſaders*, ſummoned all the ſtrength of the *Chriſtians* in thoſe parts, to oppoſe them. The infidels were commanded by one *Mendes*, but they had, by this time fully experienced, that they were far unequal to the *Chriſtians* in the field. They therefore, had recourſe to ſtratagem, planted in an ambuſh, their main body, and feigned a flight, which drew the *Chriſtians*, into a perſuit, that brought on a general engagement; greatly to the diſadvantage of the *Cruſaders*. For the *Turks* prevailing thro' the ſuperiority of their numbers, it was with difficulty that *Baldwin* himſelf, and *Arnolphus*, the patriarch, eſcaped. During *Baldwin*'s abſence, *Jeruſalem*, being but weakly garriſoned, was beſieged by the *Turks*; but freſh ſupplies arriving every day from the weſt, they were obliged to be contented with plundering the neighbourhood, and to abandon the ſiege, upon the approach of *Baldwin*. Various were the

with the *Turks*.

who defeat the *Chriſtians* Hej. 521 A. D. 1127.

the adventures of this prince afterwards, but authors are greatly confuſed and divided in their accounts of them. According to the *Moſlem* hiſtorians, he was defeated before *Damaſcus*, in a ſecond attempt he made againſt that city: and ſo inaccurate are the writers of his hiſtory, that they have not agreed upon the preciſe time, and manner of his death. According to the beſt accounts, he made an expedition into *Egypt*, where he took *Pharma*, a maritime town; and had a reaſonable proſpect of finiſhing his days in tranquillity, and with glory. But being delighted with the beauty of the *Nile*, he bathed in that river, and by the ſtreſs of ſwiming, an old wound he had received broke out; and proved mortal to him: ſo that he died upon his return to *Jeruſalem*. Death of *Baldwin*

Ak Sankar, whom we have already mentioned, having been aſſaſſinated by the *Bataniſts*, was ſucceeded by his ſon *Mawſud*, in the principalities of *Aleppo*, and *Mawſel*. It is remarkable that *Mawſud*, had his firſt intelligence of his father's aſſaſſination from the *Chriſtians*. It appears at this time, that the joint *Sultans Sanjar*, and *Mahmud*, were buſied in important expeditions againſt *India*, and that they had an interview at *Al Ray*, where we are told that both of them ſat together, upon one throne, in great friendſhip. It appears, that either their great enterprizes in the *Eaſt*, or the power of the houſe of *Ak Sankar*, obliged them to abandon the government of *Bagdad*. For *Mawſud* dying, *Zenki*, his brother, ſucceeded not only to his principalities, but we are told, to the government of *Bagdad* itſelf, by the appointment of *Sultan Mahmud*. This *Zenki*, after this, aſſumed the title of *Atabek*, or ſovereign of the *Arabian Irak*; and ſeems, about the year of the Hejra 524, to have been the great acting prince in that country. *Kinaz* who had been by *Mawſud*, appointed governor of *Aleppo*, was driven from thence, for male adminiſtration; and the people having choſen one *Soliman*, in his room, *Zenki* beſieged and took the city, when it was ready to fall into the hands of the emperor, *John Commenus*. After this, *Zenki* reduced *Harran*, *Senjar*, and *Niſibin*. He next took his meaſures for forming a confederacy againſt the *Cruſaders*; and invited the *Atabek* of *Damaſcus*, into it. That *Atabek*, whoſe name was *Tacezi*, was ſo far from being averſe to this enterprize, that he ſent his ſon *Sunaj* to concert meaſures with him. But, as no faith was obſerved amongſt thoſe barbarians, *Sunaj* was taken priſoner by *Zenki*, who ſeized upon his city, and principality of *Hama*. We are told, that after this *Zenki* defeated the *Cruſaders*, near the fortreſs of *Atarab*, which he levelled with the ground. *Mawſud* is prince of *Aleppo* and *Zinki* of *Irak*.

The year of the Hejra 524, was diſtinguiſhed by the death of *Al Amar* the califf of *Egypt*, who underwent the common fate of the princes of thoſe times and countries, of being aſſaſſinated *Al Amar Sultan* of *Egypt* aſſaſſinated.

assassinated by the *Bataniſts*. Next year, the *Sultan Mahmud* died, in the 13th of his reign, and the 27th of his age. But in this account there is great uncertainty. His favourite passion was hunting, in which we are told, he was so extravagant, that he kept four hundred hounds of different kinds, with collars and coverings inriched with gold, pearls, and ribands. In all other respects he is represented as being a wise magnanimous, and merciful prince. Notwithstanding the vast expences of his pleasures, which hurt his character, and impaired his health, he neither oppressed his subjects, nor did he suffer others to do it. He was, according to the mode of those times, a good scholar, and wrote a very fine hand, which amongst the *Moslem* princes, was no small character of learning; and he is noted for having made collections, for the interpretation of dreams.

Death of *Mahmud*.

The *Sultan*, *Mahmud*, left two brothers, *Togrol* surnamed *Rocnoddin*, whom he named for his successor, and is known by the name of *Togrol* the second, and *Masud*, who contested the succession with *Togrol*. A compromise seems to have followed, between them; for we know not the event of their dispute. The *Sultan Sanjar* however was still alive, and claimed a superiority, over all the princes of the *East*, excepting *Mostarshed* the califf of *Bagdad*. It appears that this prince, who has been scarcely named, in the history of his own califat, had spirit enough to avail himself of the distractions of the several *Sultans* and other princes, who in fact, owned themselves to be his vassals, to assert, not only his own superiority, but his independency. *Zenki*, was then *Atabek* of the *Arabian Irak*, or in other words, king of *Bagdad*; but, as it must be understood, under *Sanjar*. He, and *Dubais* another tributary prince, of that country, were ordered by *Sanjar*, to chastise *Mostarshed*, who seems to have had on foot an army at *Bagdad*. It appears that they obeyed the *Sultan's* order, and that they encamped at *Manaiyra*, which lyes to the north of *Bagdad*; while the califf *Mostarshed*, passed the *Tigris*, and encamped at *Abbasiya*, at the head of thirty thousand men. The name of the califf's general was *Kadham*, an eunuch; and a general battle ensued at *Baramaca*; in which, *Zenki* defeated the right wing of the califf's army, but the califf, and his general, defeated the left wing, of his enemy, so compleatly, that he remained master of the field. There seems however, to be some darkness upon this part of the califf's history. For *Dubais*, who commanded the right wing against him, was the same general, who in the beginning of his reign, had suppressed his brother *Hasan's* rebellion; and *Togrol*, is by some said, to have been the prince who was joined with him in this expedition, but the names of those barbarians were often the same, and they are named promiscuously in command. It appears, however, upon the whole, that the califf, was victorious;

Contest about his succession.

Ambition and successes of *Zenki*.

victorious; and that *Togrol*, and *Dubais*, after that agreed to ſurprize him at *Bagdad*. But *Togrol* was ſeized with a fever, and *Dubais* was prevented from advancing by a dreadful ſtorm; which gave the advantage to the califf. Not only *Sanjar*, but *Maſud* his nephew, ſeem to have been concerned in this war, which was in fact no other than a rebellion againſt the califf, their acknowledged ſovereign. Rebellion againſt the califf

We accordingly, are told, that next year *Moſtarſhed* ſent one *Bahaoddin*, to ſummon the *Atabek Zenki*, to return to his duty. *Bahaoddin* exceeded his commiſſion, and was ſo inſolent to *Zenki*, that the latter made him a priſoner, in the city of *Mawſel*. The califf upon this, marched at the head of his army, conſiſting as before of thirty thouſand men, againſt *Zenki*, who leaving a garriſon in *Mawſel*, oppoſed the califf in the field. But he was defeated, and the califf laid ſiege to the city; and by means of a party he had within the walls, had almoſt made himſelf maſter of it, when the conſpiracy was diſcovered and defeated. He did not however immediately raiſe the ſiege, but after lying three months before the place, he was obliged to give over his enterprize; and return to *Bagdad*. Next year however, a peace was concluded between *Zenki*, and *Moſtarſhed*; tho' we know not upon what terms. who defeats *Zenki*. Peace between them.

Maſud, at this time pretended to the high poſt of *Emir Al Omra*, in which he had been confirmed, by *Moſtarſhed*. But the latter conſidering him as a rebel, had ordered his name to be ſuppreſſed in the public prayers. *Maſud* reſented this indignity, as well as the peace, that had been concluded between *Moſtarſhed* and *Zenki*; and having ſubdued his nephew *David*, the ſon of *Togrol*, who had pretenſions upon his dominions, he took the field in perſon, with a great army, againſt *Moſtarſhed*. It was an unuſual ſight to ſee a califf of *Bagdad*, at the head of an army; and all the courage and ſpirit of *Moſtarſhed*, could not make head againſt *Maſud*. The califf was conſidered in no other light than that of the high pontiff of the *Arabs*; who was under the tuition of the two *Sultans Sanjar*, and *Maſud*. A deciſive battle enſued, in which the califf being deſerted by the right wing of his army, was defeated and taken priſonerr: and his left wing was put to flight. But the ſanctity of the califf's character, preſerved his life, which *Maſud* did not venture to take. He availed himſelf however of his victory, ſo as to make himſelf maſter of *Bagdad*, which he did without oppoſition. But tho' the califf was a priſoner, he was ſtill ſuperior to his conqueror; he was carried from place to place, under a guard, and had a ſeparate tent allotted to himſelf. *Maſud* ſenſible that it was dangerous to confine the ſovereign pontiff in this manner, entered into a treaty with him; by which he gained his liberty, upon his agreeing to pay to *Maſud*, four hundred thouſand dinars; and to diſband all his troops, *Maſud* takes the field againſt the califf who is defeated

excepting

excepting his ordinary guard. Notwithſtanding this, he was kept under reſtraint, and all the favour he was allowed was ſometimes to ride on horſeback, and to be lodged near *Maſud*'s perſon, under a guard. At laſt an account came to *Bagdad*, that an ambaſſador was approaching from *Sanjar*, which drew the *Sultan Maſud*, and his court out of *Bagdad* to meet him. By this means the unfortunate califf *Moſtarſhed*, was left without a guard, and ſome *Bataniſts* ruſhing into his pavillion, not only put an end to his life, but mangled his body in a moſt cruel manner; giving him no leſs than twenty wounds. He was murdered in the 18th year of his reign, and the 44th of his age. He is ſaid to have been a thin man, but to have had an excellent conſtitution, and a talent of expreſſing himſelf, both in verſe and proſe, with the utmoſt perſpicuity, and elegance. It is allowed that he was not quarrelſome, tho' he was of a far more warlike diſpoſition than any of his late predeceſſors; and it was the general opinion that he was murdered by the order of the *Sultan Maſud*.

and murdered

his character.

Al Raſhed *the thirtieth califf of the houſe of* Al Abbas.

He is ſucceeded by *Al Raſhed*

THIS prince was the ſon of *Moſtarſhed* the late califf, and being by him nominated in his life time for his ſucceſſor, he ſucceeded him without oppoſition; but ſubject to the power of *Maſud*, who ſeems to have been a compleat tyrant. He kept a little army of *Bataniſts* or *Aſſaſſins* in his pay, and ſoon after they had murdered *Moſtarſhed*, one of them, cut off the head of *Dubais*, as he was ſtooping before his tent, *Maſud* being jealous of his power. He then, or perhaps before that time, extorted from the califf *Al Raſhed*, a writing under his hand, importing that if ever he ſhould levy troops againſt *Maſud*, he declared himſelf depoſed from the califat. But *Maſud*'s tyrannical conduct, at laſt produced a conſpiracy of all the chief noblemen of *Bagdad* againſt him; and the conſpirators were headed, by *Dawd*, or *David*, the ſon of *Togrol*; who marched from *Mawſel* to *Bagdad*, where he declared himſelf *Emir Al Omra*, and was prayed for publicly in the moſques. He was ſupported in this enterprize, by the *Atabek Zenki*. But *Maſud* who was at *Hamadan*, when he heard of this report, ſoon got together an army, and advancing towards *Bagdad*, beſieged that capital for fifty days. Finding himſelf unable to take it, he was upon the point of raiſing the ſiege; when he was reinforced by the prince of *Waſet*, with a number of *Barques*, which

which encouraged him to renew his attempts upon the city.

In the mean while, the califf *Al Raſhed*, finding himſelf ſo powerfully ſupported, declared void the convention that had been made between his father and *Maſud*, and conferred the title of *Sultan* upon *David*. But *Al Raſhed*'s confederates ſoon quarelled amongſt themſelves, and *David* was obliged to abandon the protection of the califf, and to return home. *Al Raſhed* then dreading to fall under the power of *Maſud*, who proceeded with all imaginable vigour in the ſiege, croſſed the *Tigris*, on the weſt ſide of which *Zenki*'s army was encamped, and was by him conducted to *Mawſel* his capital. Upon this, the *Sultan Maſud*, entered *Bagdad* without oppoſition, and ſummoning together, the Judges, Lawyers, and Divines, he laid before them *Al Raſhed*'s obligation; upon which they declared him unworthy to reign, and depoſed him from the califat. In a ſecond aſſembly which was held ſoon after, *Al Moktafi*, the ſon of *Al Moſtader*, was declared califf in the room of *Al Raſhed*, whoſe name was ſuppreſſed in the public prayers; after reigning no more, than eleven months and ten days.

who flies and is depoſed

The califat of *Egypt*, about this time underwent dreadful revolutions. The califf *Al Amar*, together with his vizir *Afdal*, had been aſſaſſinated by the *Bataniſts*; but had left a wife big with child. But in the mean while, his couſin german *Aſhed*, was appointed to be regent of the kingdom, and, upon *Al Amar*'s widow being brought to bed of a daughter, he was proclaimed califf; but was oppoſed by *Afdal*, the late vizir's ſon, and by his own ſon *Al Hakim*; who raiſed up a rebellion againſt his father: which plunged *Egypt* into the moſt dreadful calamities. The only man capable of removing them, was an *Armenian Chriſtian*, one *Baharam*, who was govenor of the weſtern parts of that kingdom. He had raiſed himſelf intirely by his merit to the higheſt poſts both civil and military; and was become ſo popular that the troops as well as the *Grandees*, invited him to take upon him the adminiſtration; and *Baharam* found it unſafe for him to decline it. Arriving at *Cairo*, he put himſelf at the head of the army, and expelling from thence *Al Hakim*, declared himſelf for his father *Hafed*, who being thereby reſtored to the throne, declared him his vizir, and his general. *Baharam*, whoſe brother *Gregory*, was the *Armenian* patriarch in *Egypt*, after this, acted as his miniſter and general, with the greateſt abilities and prudence. But *Baharam*, ſeems to have failed a litttle in the latter, by his partiality in favour of the *Chriſtians*; for he raiſed ſo many of them to great places, that the *Mahometan* natives, were highly diſguſted with him, eſpecially when they ſaw vaſt numbers of their own religion, make their court to *Baharam*, by an outward profeſſion of chriſtianity. This in a manner obliged *Hafed*, to remove *Baharam*,

Hiſtory of *Egypt* at that time.

Baharam its vizir,

who is a *Chriſtian*

ram, from the poſt of vizir, tho' he continued ſtill at the head of the army. Upon this the zealous *Mahometans*, raiſed a great inſurrection at *Cairo*, and furniſhing themſelves with lances, to the points of which, they fixed copies of the koran, they advanced againſt the palace, demanding the deſtruction of *Baharam*, with *Redwan*, whom *Hafed*, had nominated to the poſt of vizir, at their head. *Baharam*, at this time commanded a choice body of troops, particularly *Armenian Cavalry*, and could eaſily have cut the inſurgents to pieces; but he generouſly conſidered that being himſelf a ſtranger, he had no right to maintain himſelf in power, at the expence of ſo much blood, and therefore thought proper to retire to the upper *Egypt*: where he had a brother, who governed the diſtrict of *Kus*, and accordingly he ſet out thither at the head of a body of troops. But *Redwan*, foreſeeing his motions, had diſpatched meſſengers to prepoſſeſs the people of *Kus*; againſt him, and his brother, which he did ſo effectually, that they cut in pieces the latter, whoſe name was *Yaſal*; and they ſhut their gates againſt *Baharam*, who was at the ſame time perſued by *Redwan* at the head of an army, and perceiving that his troops began to diminiſh, by deſertion and other means, he diveſted himſelf of all his power; and retired to a religious life. This ſatisfied *Redwan*, who did not chuſe to violate his retirement, but exerciſed great ſeverities againſt the *Chriſtians*, whoſe churches he demoliſhed, and after removing them from places of power and profit in *Egypt*, he laid heavy taxes, both upon them and the *Jews*. We are told likewiſe, that when he returned from the perſuit of *Baharam*, he put to death the *Armenian* patriarch, with all the monks who fell into his hands, and gave up the houſes of the *Chriſtians* in *Meſer*, to be plundered by his ſoldiers. It appears however that he did not long enjoy his power; for his enemies increaſed ſo faſt, that he was obliged to fly into *Syria*. There he raiſed a body of mercenary *Arabs*, and returning into *Egypt* he was at laſt defeated by his enemies, and obliged to put himſelf as a private perſon, under the protection of *Hafed*: who removed him from his vizirſhip. In the mean while, we are told, that that monarch, from a ſenſe he had of the merits of his late vizir *Baharam*, invited him to come and reſume his poſt, which *Barharam* declined to do. He was however perſuaded to come in a private character to court, where he aſſiſted his ſovereign with his advice, and died in great reputation and tranquility.

and is therefore obliged to fly.

Turns religious.

Perſecutions of the *Chriſtians*.

Baharam reſtored.

The califf *Al Raſhed* aſſaſſinated.

The late califf *Al Raſhed*, after a ſhort reſidence at *Mawſel*, perceiving that his life was ſought after, by *Maſud*, retired to *Iſpahan*, where he took ſhelter, under *Sultan David* the ſame who had protected him before; but he ſoon underwent the fate of almoſt all the eaſtern princes of that time, being aſſaſſinated by the *Bataniſts*, while he was aſleep, after a dangerous fit of illneſs near that city, in the 40th year

year of his age. At the time of his death, his intereſt ſeems to be abandoned, by the *Atabek Zenki*, who began now to make a great figure amongſt the *Moſlem* princes. For, being poſſeſſed of *Mawſel*, and great part of *Syria*, he threw his eyes upon *Damaſcus*, and demanded in marriage *Katun* the mother of the prince of that city, in hopes that, by her means, he might become the maſter of it. We are told however, that being diſappointed in his expectation, he renounced his marriage and abandoned her. Soon after, *Saheb* the prince of *Damaſcus*, was murdered in his palace by the *Bataniſts*; upon which his brother *Iamaloddin*, the prince of *Balbek*, took poſſeſſion of *Damaſcus*. The *Atabek Zenki*, availed himſelf of that opportunity to attack *Balbek*, which he obliged to capitulate, after a moſt furious ſiege. But when he became maſter of the place, he broke the capitulation and put vaſt numbers of the inhabitants to death. After that, he made an attempt upon *Damaſcus* in which he was unſucceſsful. Progreſs of *Zenki*.

Sultan Maſud continued all this time, at *Bagdad*, where he and his vizir, took the oaths of fidelity to the califf *Moktaſi*. His *Perſian* ſubjects were, far from being reconciled to *Moktaſi*'s authority, and he ſent his brother *Seljuk*, and his general, one *Karaſankar*, to reduce the rebels, at the head of whom, was the governor of *Fars*, to their duty. *Karaſankar*, having a ſecret grudge againſt *Kazem*, *Maſud*'s vizir, after he had made a days march towards *Perſia*, ſtopt all of a ſudden, and diſpatched a meſſenger to the *Sultan*, demanding his vizir's head. *Maſud*, knowing that *Karaſankar*, was maſter of the army, was ſo far from being in a condition to chaſtiſe this inſolence, that he was obliged to comply with it, and to put his vizir to death. After this, *Karaſankar* reſumed his march, but dyed upon the road, and *Maſud* made *Ildighiz* general of his army, beſtowing upon him at the ſame time, his ſiſter in marriage, together with the governments of *Adherbijan* and *Kurdeſtan*, where he founded a new dinaſty of princes, which continued from the 555th year of the Hejra to the 622d. His elevation ſeems to have raiſed a freſh rebellion againſt *Maſud*, and the conſpirators, placed his brother *Soliman* on the throne; but this rebellion being quickly ſuppreſſed, *Maſud* peaceably enjoyed his dignity, to the day of his death. Rebellion in *Perſia*.

Baldwin the ſecond, the ſame who had been count of *Edeſſa*, was at this time king of *Jeruſalem*; but he found his power, for want of reinforcements from *Europe*, at a very low ebb. *Zenki*, of all the eaſtern princes, was the moſt active and ſucceſsful, againſt the *Chriſtians*. It was owing to him that many places of the greateſt importance were taken from the *Chriſtians*, particularly *Edeſſa*, and almoſt all the poſts they held upon the *Euphrates*. At laſt, he laid ſiege to *Bir* in *Meſopotamia*, but a rebellion breaking out againſt his deputy in *Mawſel*, he abandoned that enterprize and *Zenki* beſieges *Bir*.

and the *Chriſtians* ſurrendered the fortreſs, to the prince of *Maridan*, whom they were leſs afraid off than they were of *Zenki*. Next year, while he was beſieging *Jabar*, a caſtle ſituated upon the *Euphrates*, between *Bir*, and *Kaka*, happening to commit a debauch, he was aſſaſſinated by ſome of his own followers, who immediately took refuge in the place.

He is murdered

The garriſon being informed of what had happened, in an inſulting way, acquainted the beſigers with the death of their leader; and when his ſon *Nureddin* entered his tent, he found him breathing his laſt. At the time of his death he was about ſixty years of age, and *Nureddin*, his ſon, and ſucceſſor, drawing his father's ſignet from his finger, went to *Aleppo*, which he took poſſeſſion of, as he likewiſe did of *Sanjar*; while his brother *Gazi*, made himſelf maſter of *Mawſil*, and great part of *Meſopotamia*. We ſhall afterwards ſee the ſame *Nureddin*, grow up to be the ſcourge of the *Chriſtians* of the Eaſt.

Zenki, before his death, had concluded a peace with *Sultan Maſud*, who remained ſtill at *Bagdad*, while *Sanjar*, his brother, reigned in *Koraſan*, and *Kowarazam*. But the latter met with great oppoſition, from one of his governors *Atſitz*, who endeavoured to render himſelf independent in *Kowarazam*. *Sanjar*, upon this, marched againſt him at the head of an army, and beſieged him in that city, ſo that *Atſiz* was obliged to make his ſubmiſſion, and to beg for peace which was granted him by *Sanjar*, and he was left in poſſeſſion of his government. But *Atſiz*, having no mind to obſerve his promiſe, made preparations for his renewing the war, and not only impriſoned *Adib*, who was ſent to *Kowarazam*, to enquire into his conduct, but ſent aſſaſſins to murder the *Sultan*. *Adib*, however, found means to put *Sanjar* upon his guard, ſo that the aſſaſſins were diſcovered, and put to death. This traiterous proceeding, obliged *Sanjar* again to take the field, and *Atſiz* fortified himſelf in *Hezar*, one of the ſtrongeſt places of *Kowarazam*. Here a pretty extraordinary war was carried on, between the two competitors. Each of them was attended by a celebrated poet, who was employed in juſtifying his maſter's conduct, in copies of verſes, which they diſcharged againſt one another upon the points of arrows. This however, did not hinder the real war from being carried on with great vigour, and *Sanjar* at laſt, carried the place, after it had been obſtinately defended by *Atſiz*, who eſcaped to his capital of *Kowarazam*. *Sanjar*, who appears to have been a generous, and a grateful prince, had formerly great connections with *Atſiz*, who had done him very eminent ſervices, and had reſcued him, when he fell into an ambuſcade of his enemies. But the ambition of *Atſiz*, not ſuffering him to live quietly at court, the *Sultan* was obliged to diſmiſs him to his government, obſerving, at the ſame time, that he had

Atſiz rebels againſt *Sanjar*.

Hiſtory of *Atſiz*.

ſeen

ſeen the back of a man, whoſe face he probably never would ſee again; and tho' ſtrongly ſollicited to it, he refuſed to ſuffer him to be put under an arreſt. This was the reaſon, why *Sanjar*, when he might eaſily have taken *Kowarazam*, ſuffered himſelf to be prevailed upon, by a dervis, or religious man, to enter into a negotiation with *Atſiz*, whom he pardoned upon condition, that he ſhould place himſelf upon the bank of the river *Jahun*, oppoſite to that on which the *Sultan* was to place himſelf, and falling on his face, he was to kiſs the earth, in token of his ſubmiſſion to the *Sultan*. *Aſiz* repaired on horſeback, to the place appointed; but inſtead of performing the condition required, he only bent his body and bowed his head on horſeback to the *Sultan*. *Sanjar*, was too generous to inſiſt upon the literal performance of the homage, and granted him his pardon, ſo that *Atſiz* was ſuffered to enjoy to the time of his death, the government or rather ſovereignty of *Kowarazam*; and became the founder of a new dinaſty there.

The *Shahs* of *Karaſm*.

It is remarkable in the *Moſlem* hiſtory of this time, that ſometimes great provinces, nay empires, became the property of thoſe who were even the ſlaves of ſlaves. The dinaſty of the *Kowarazam Shahs*, of which *Atſiz* properly was the founder, was a proof of this. For *Atſiz* was the ſon of *Kothboddin*, whoſe father *Buſtakin*, the firſt prince of *Kowarazam*, had been ſlave to a ſlave belonging to *Malec Shah*: and who ſerved him in the office of cup bearer. This race, afterwards deſtroyed the *Seljukian* dinaſty.

Wars of *Sanjar*.

It appears, that *Sanjar*, though averſe to war, was obliged to be perpetually in the field. Being ſovereign of *Marawalna*, the capital of which, is *Samarkand*, *Ahmud*, his governor of that city, rebelled againſt him, which forced *Sanjar* to march againſt him. But tho' he took *Samarkand*, and made *Ahmud* a priſoner, yet he was merciful enough to ſpare his life; and though he deprived him, for ſome time, of his government, he afterwards reſtored it to him, and took him into favour. This rebellion was ſcarcely ſuppreſſed, when *Bahram*, the head of the *Gazna* family, whom we have already ſeen ſo powerful in *India*, but was now tributary to the *Seljukian Sultans*, threw off his allegiance. But *Sanjar* entering his dominions at the head of a powerful army, *Bahram* was ſo intimidated, that he paid the tribute by his ambaſſadors, and made his ſubmiſſion to *Sanjar*.

He is defeated,

Sanjar however, was not always ſucceſsful. His perpetual flow of fortune, made his courtiers flatter him, into an opinion, that he was invincible. They therefore perſuaded him to invade *Karakatay*, a great kingdom, adjoining to *China*, and inhabited by a mixture of *Turks*, and *Tartars*, governed by a prince named, *Gurjaſh*. This country was deemed inacceſſable; by reaſon of the depth of its vallies, and the thickneſs of the foreſts that over-hung them; for which

which reaſon it was called, the Black *Katay*. The difficulty of the enterprize, flattered *Sanjar*'s ambition, and he marched into *Karakatay*, with an army. But the inhabitants of that country, had an intercourſe with the *Chineſe*, and *Gurjaſh*, made ſo good a diſpoſition of his troops, that *Sanjar*'s army, to the number of thirty thouſand men, was entirely cut off; his camp, equipages, and baggage, together with *Katan*, his favourite *Sultana*, fell into the hands of the conquerors, and he himſelf, with no more than three hundred choice troops, cutting his way through the middle of the Barbarians, reached *Tezned*, a city on the banks of *Jehun*, with no more than thirteen or fourteen attendants. The ſequel of *Sanjar*'s hiſtory, is differently repreſented by authors. The moſt probable accounts ſay, that the Barbarians, following their blow, invaded the province of *Mawaralnar*, which they over-ran. Upon this *Sanjar*, raiſed a new army, and marched againſt the Barbarians, whom he reduced to a moſt deplorable condition. They, after this, offered to redeem themſelves, by each family, (for their men in all their expeditions, were attended by their families) paying him a piece of ſilver. The merciful diſpoſition of the *Sultan*, inclined him to accept of this offer, but his courtiers over-perſuaded him to reject it. This done, a reſolution being taken to exterminate the *Barbariaus*, the latter became deſperate, and being attacked, they intirely defeated the *Sultan*'s troops, and took himſelf priſoner. We are told, that the *Barbarians*, amazed at their own good fortune, and not knowing in what manner to treat ſo great a monarch, ſuffered him every day to appear upon his throne, but at night ſhut him up in an iron cage; and that he lived ſeveral years in this confinement. It appears, however, from the relation of the very authors, who gives this account, that his confinement, at leaſt, in the day time, was far from being ſtrict, and that the Barbarians, had reſtored to him his favourite *Sultana*, who acted as regent of his dominions, during his captivity; though ſome ſay, that they were governed by *Atſiz*, and *Mahmud*, *Sanjar*'s nephew. Both accounts may be true, by their having the executive part of the adminiſtration, in their hands, under her. Two of *Sanjar*'s ſlaves, acted as their generals, and being very ſucceſsful againſt the Barbarians, it was probably owing to them, that they indulged the *Sultan*, even with the liberty of hunting. *Katun*, the favourite *Sultena* dying, *Sanjar* reſolved, if poſſible, to make his eſcape out of the hands of the *Barbarians*; and employed one *Elias*, to concert to the ſame with *Ahmud*, the governor of *Termed*. The latter, accordingly, providing a great number of boats, into which the *Sultan*, taking the opportunity of hunting, threw himſelf, and arrived ſafe in his own dominions. Though we have mentioned the *Karakatayans*,

taken priſoner,

as

as having defeated *Sanjar*, yet there is no clear evidence in hiſtory, that they were the only people concerned. It is remarkable, that all the *Turks* and *Tartars*, however widely they lay from one another, ſpoke the ſame language, and lived in the ſame manner; all the difference between them was, religion; for thoſe who made *Sanjar* a priſoner, ſeem to have been idolaters; becauſe we are told, that upon their invading his dominions, they deſtroyed all the moſques, and put to death all the religious *Moſlems* they met with, both *Kadirs* and *Imans*. and eſcapes.

As the chronology of *Sanjar*'s actions is left intirely unſettled, we can only ſpeak of it by conjecture. We, therefore, are at a loſs to fix the time, when his war happened with *Huſſeyn*, the *Sultan* of *Gaur*, a free acquired dominion, but lying between *Gazna* and *Koraſan*. *Huſſeyn*, had invaded *Koraſan*, but he was defeated, and both he, and his general *Ali*, were made priſoners, by *Sanjar*. *Ali* lying under great obligations to *Sanjar*, whoſe natural born ſubject he was, was by him put to death; but *Sanjar* was ſo generous as to ſuffer *Huſſeyn* to return to his government of *Gaur*; but with an acknowledgement of *Sanjar*'s ſuperiority. All his ſucceſſes, however, could not protect his dominions, from being ravaged by the barbarians, which ſtruck him with ſo much concern, that he ſhut himſelf up from the world; which perhaps, gave ſome authors a handle to ſay, that he turned religious, and died of a cholick. Notwithſtanding the misfortunes of this prince, he is celebrated by the Eaſtern hiſtorians of all nations, as one of the moſt amiable, as well as powerful, monarchs of his time. He died in the 72d year of his age, after having reigned 62; 20 of which were over *Koraſan* alone. His manner of living was ſo magnificent, that he employed powerful princes, as his domeſtics; tho' he affected the greateſt plainneſs of dreſs, which was commonly a coat made of ſkins. The beſt of the eaſtern poets dedicated their pens to his praiſe, and his common appellation was, the ſecond *Alexander the Great*; while he died ſo much beloved by his own ſubjects, that for twelve months after his death, they continued to pray for him in their moſques in the ſame manner they did while he was alive, and of nineteen battles which he is ſaid to have fought, he gained ſeventeen. Uncertainty of his hiſtory. His death Hej. 552. A. D. 1157.

About the time of *Sanjar*'s death, or a few months before, died *Atſiz*, the *Sultan* of *Kowarazam*. Ambition, which led him on to ingratitude, ſeems to have been his greateſt blemiſh; for in other reſpects, he was a wiſe and a brave prince. He had retired to a country ſeat ſituated on one of the moſt delightful ſpots in all *Aſia*, when overhearing one of his domeſtics reading a paſſage in the *Koran*, importing that no man knew the place of his death; he was ſo affected by it, that imagining he muſt dye where he was, fancy operated ſo ſtrongly upon him, as in a few days to put an end and that of *Atſiz*.

end to his life. It appears that during his laſt eighteen years, (for he reigned in all twenty nine) he had erected his dominions into an abſolute independency upon *Sanjar*, and all the *Seljukian* princes. Amongſt his other virtues he is celebrated for his having been a great patron and encourager of learned men. As this is a character in common to almoſt all the eaſtern princes, we muſt once, for all, obſerve, that very often no more is meant by it, than the pains they took in gratifying their exceſſive pride and vanity by keeping about their courts a great number of poets, and other ingenious men, to celebrate their praiſes. In this their poets appear in the true eaſtern ſtyle, to have been extravagant almoſt beyond expreſſion. Witneſs, one of thoſe bards, whom *Atſiz* entertained; and who in his elegy upon him, mentioned that the anger of his hero, made even the heavens tremble. This ſpecimen, and many others that may be produced, gives us no very favourable idea of the genius of thoſe eaſtern rhymers.

Great power of *Nureddin*.

About this time, the progreſs of the *Chriſtians* ſeems to have reconciled many of the *Moſlem* princes, naturally enemies to one another, to oppoſe them. The califf of *Bagdad* was ſtill under the protection of *Maſud*, but *Nureddin*, the ſon of *Zenki*, was the chief power, who endeavoured to drive them out of *Syria*, and the neighbouring countries. As to the califf of *Egypt*, *Haffed*, he ſeems to have been intimidated. For, having, as we have ſaid before, confined *Redwan*, who was the great perſecutor of the *Chriſtians*, in his dominions, within his own palace, the priſoner found means to make his eſcape; and by the aſſiſtance of the *Moſarabians*, and other blacks, he made himſelf maſter of *Meſer*: but, they being diſguſted, either with his conduct, or want of money to pay them, put him to death, and *Haffed*, thus became the quiet poſſeſſor of his crown. The firſt uſe he made of his ſole authority was, to enlarge the privileges of the *Chriſtians*; but, after that time, he governed without a miniſter. The reader, in the courſe of this hiſtory, can ſcarcely fail to obſerve, that vizirs, and governors of towns, and provinces, were in fact ſovereigns; and they ſeldom failed to be abſolute, but when they met with an oppoſition, which put it in the power of their maſters, to turn the ſcale againſt them. This was the caſe of *Haffed*, for when left to himſelf, he was not only favourable to the *Chriſtians* but even took a concern in their welfare, of which we have a remarkable inſtance.

Chriſtians favoured by the *Sultan* of *Egypt*.

The *Najaſhi*, or emperor of *Ethiopia*, was, as we have already ſeen, a *Chriſtian*; and his ſubjects, were extreamly ſtrict in their obedience to his clergy. It happened, however, that he had in his dominions, only ſeven biſhops; and, according to the conſtitutions of that church, no fewer than ten could conſecrate a *Metropolitan*. This was very politically

Remarkable incident in *Ethiopia*

politically contrived, by the management of the *Alexandrian* patriarch, who, tho' a ſubject to *Haſſed*, was a patriarch of *Ethiopia*, as well as *Alexandria*. But there was in *Ethiopia* a metropolitan named *Habib*; and the *Najaſhi*, applied to him to conſecrate three more biſhops, ſo that he might not be under a neceſſity of applying to the patriarch of *Alexandria*, to furniſh out three biſhops, when a *Metropolitan* was to be conſecrated. Undoubtedly nothing could be more reaſonable than this requeſt of *Najaſhi*'s was; but *Habib* refuſed to comply with it, without the conſent of *Gabriel* the *Alexandrian* patriarch. The *Najaſhi*, upon this, wrote a letter to *Gabriel*, intreating him to comply with his requeſt, and ſent, at the ſame time, a ſolemn embaſſy to *Haſſed*, intreating him, to uſe his authority with *Gabriel*, for that purpoſe. *Gabriel* eaſily perceived, that the *Najaſhi*'s intention was, to break thereby the dependance of the *Ethiopian*, upon the *Alexandrian* church: and in fact to render the *Najaſhi* independent of his clergy. But *Haſſed*, not reflecting on this, willing to oblige a neighbouring monarch, returned a favourable anſwer to the *Najaſhi*, and commanded *Gabriel* to do as he deſired. It was no hard matter for *Gabriel*, on this occaſion, to magnify his own importance, in the eyes of *Haſſed*. The politic prieſt, repreſented to him, that the quiet of his dominions at that time depended upon his refuſing to gratify the requeſt of the *Najaſhi*. Becauſe, ſaid he, the moment the *Najaſhi* can withdraw the dependance of his clergy upon the patriarchate of *Alexandria*, he then will have no check, that can prevent his declaring war againſt *Egypt*, and his joining with the *Cruſaders*. This ſenſible argument ſtruck *Habib*, and he gave *Gabriel* leave to refuſe his conſent to the *Najaſhi*'s demand, which he accordingly did. It happened unfortunately for the *Najaſhi*, that before this affair was adjuſted, his dominions were attacked by peſtilence, which as uſual, was attended by a famine, and a drought; and part of his palace had been conſumed by lightning. His ſubjects were taught to believe that thoſe calamities were ſo many judgements from heaven, for his attempt to withdraw his clergy from their obedience, to the patriarch. The *Najaſhi* therefore durſt make no farther ſtir in the affair, and the calamity ſoon after ceaſing, he looked upon it, as the effect of his acquieſcing in the patriarch's judgement, and therefore aſked for his bleſſing, and forgiveneſs.

Reflection on the ſame

We have been the more explicit in our account of this remarkable occurrence, becauſe it clearly evinces, what we hinted at before, that the *Chriſtian* clergy of the *Eaſt*, were far from befriending the invaſions of the *Cruſaders*. They already knew enough of the ſpirit of the popes, and the motives of their expedition, to be ſenſible that ſeverely, as they ſometimes were treated, under the *Moſlem* governments,

their caſe would be altered much for the worſe, were the *Chriſtians* of the Weſt to prevail. When we conſider the vaſt numbers, power and riches of the eaſtern *Chriſtians*, at this time, and that the writers of that age mention few or none of them who joined the cruſade, we cannot help thinking, that the averſion which the eaſterns had to it, was a principal cauſe of the expedition being baffled.

Having, for the ſake of perſpicuity, carried our hiſtory ſome years farther, in recounting the hiſtory of the *Seljukian Sultans*, who were the protectors of the califf of *Bagdad*, we ſhall now return to that court. The generoſity and lenity of *Sanjar* was ſuch, that he never exerciſed any ſuperiority over *Maſud*, who ſtill continued to flouriſh, at *Bagdad*, and did not dye before the 547th year of the Hejra. Beſides the other virtues, commonly aſcribed to the beſt of the *Moſlem* princes, he was remarkable for his bodily ſtrength; which we are told was ſuch, that he often killed lions with one ſtroke. He is likewiſe celebrated for the indulgence of his adminiſtration, and the eaſe which his people enjoyed under him. But two circumſtances prove, that he was far from being ſo powerful a prince, as he has been repreſented. The firſt is, that a *Seljukian* family, called *Salgar*, ſometime before his death, ſtript him of the kingdom of *Ars*, and founded the *Selgarian* dinaſty of princes there; their capital being *Shiraz*. The next circumſtance is, that his ſucceſſors were unable to maintain their power over the califf of *Bagdad*, for we are told that, upon his death, *Moktafi* intirely aboliſhed it, and deprived the *Seljukians* of all authority within *Bagdad*. *Maſud* had the honour to employ, as his vizir, one *Togray*, who was the prince of poets in his time; and, as is ſaid, an excellent ſtateſman. One of his poems, was publiſhed by Dr. Pocock, and the reader may form a farther notion of the excellency of eaſtern poetry, when he is told, that all his rhimes end with the letter L, and this barbarous abſurdity gives the name to his poem. *Togray* however, had the misfortune to be taken priſoner in the battle which *Maſud* loſt, againſt his brother *Mahmud*; who ordered his head immediately to be cut off, alledging that he knew him to be an unbeliever and a man of bad morals. Others ſay, that he loſt his life thro' the jealouſy which *Mahmud*'s vizir entertained of his abilities.

Hiſtory of *Maſud*.

His death

Maſud was ſucceeded in his ſultanſhip by his nephew, *Malec* the ſecond. This prince, abandoning himſelf to luxury, and intemperance, ſoon became contemptible in the eyes of his ſubjects. He was, like other *Sultans*, governed by one *Kaſbek*, who had been the vizir to *Maſud*; and who was eſteemed to be a man of the greateſt courage and power, of any in the *Sultan*'s dominions. *Malec* had ſenſe enough to perceive, that while *Kaſbek* lived, he was no other than a cypher in the government, but he had imprudence enough

to

to diſcover his ſentiments to ſome of *Kaſbek*'s friends; ſo that *Kaſbek* was put upon his guard, nor could the *Sultan* prevail upon any one to arreſt him. In the mean while, *Kandar*, a friend to *Kaſbek*, invited the *Sultan* to a magnificent banquet, which laſted for three days, during which time, his majeſty lay buried either in wine or ſleep. *Kandar* took that opportunity of conveying the *Sultan* to the caſtle of *Hamadan*, where he was put under a guard, and his brother *Mohammed* was placed upon the throne, which *Malec* had filled but four months. From the courſe of the hiſtory it appears probable, that *Mohammed* was far from approving of *Kaſbek*'s proceeding, for, tho' he accepted of the ſovereignty, yet his brother ſoon after left his priſon, went to *Kuzeſtan*, from whence *Mohammed* was brought; where he had lived unmoleſted, and after *Mohammed*'s death reaſcended the throne. In the mean while, *Kaſbek* diſcovered his intention either to rule the *Sultan*, or to remove him; and *Mohammed* was ſo much convinced of this, that, reſolving not to be under the ſame difficulties his brother was, he put *Kaſbek*, and his armour-bearer, to death, with his own hands. This bold ſtroke is ſaid to have been owing to the councels of an antient ſtateſman, who told the *Sultan*, that the root of the vine never put forth young ſhoots, till the old ones were lopt off. Upon *Kaſbek*'s death, the *Sultan* became poſſeſſed of all his immenſe treaſures and effects, amongſt which, we are told, were no fewer, than thirteen thouſand ſcarlet or purple robes.

Hiſtory of *Kaſbek*.

Kaſbek had been ſo powerful at court, that a conſpiracy was ſoon formed to dethrone the *Sultan*; which they accordingly did, and raiſed *Soliman*, his uncle, to his throne, while *Mohammed* was obliged to fly to *Iſpahan*. The new *Sultan Soliman*, proved to be a head-ſtrong, weak prince, and did ſuch impopular things during his adminiſtration, that the great officers of ſtate, whom he had turned out of their poſts, conſpired together againſt the throne. Being afraid of the reſentment of the army, they had recourſe to a ſtratagem, which nothing but *Soliman's* weakneſs could have rendered ſucceſsful. The *Sultan* had taken to wife the ſiſter of his great chamberlain, whom he had diſpoſted; and the chamberlain, with great ſhew of ſecrecy, informed her that a plot was formed, againſt the *Sultan's* life and dignity. She faithfully reported this to her huſband, who immediately took the alarm, and fled on horſeback, with a few attendants, to *Mazanderan*, upon the *Caſpian* ſea. Upon this ſurprizing abdication of his throne, (for ſo his flight may be termed) *Mohammed* reſumed the crown.

Mohammed dethroned.

Amidſt ſuch revolutions and diviſions in the ſultinate, the reader will not be ſurprized, that *Moktaſi*, who had on foot a good body of troops, and ſeems to have been greatly reſpected by his ſubjects, who were glad to be rid of their

Moktaſi renders himſelf independent

haughty *Sultans*, was unable to render himſelf independent, and to affect a faint revival of the califat's antient luſtre. Upon *Mohammed*'s remounting his throne, in his capital of *Hamadan*, being afraid of his ſpirit and abilities, which were far ſuperior to that of his uncle, and underſtanding that the latter was raiſing troops in *Mazanderan* to re-aſſert his right, he declared for *Soliman*, and joined him with a good body of forces. A battle between the uncle and nephew near the river *Arakſis*, enſued, in which the uncle was defeated, and obliged to fly to *Mawſel*. But *Mohammed*, tho' victorious, and highly provoked, with the califf's conduct, did not chuſe to reſent it; which is an additional proof, that *Moktafi* was then in a high degree of credit and power. The depoſed *Sultan Malec*, brother to *Mohammed*, was ſtill alive, and in a condition to diſpute his right with *Mohammed*; whom we do not find, had any farther differences, with *Moktafi*. On the contrary, he made a demand of his daughter *Katun* in marriage, which *Moktafi* granted. But while *Mohammed* was upon his journey, he was ſeized with a fever, which put an end to his life in the 32d year of his age, and the 7th of his reign. We are told, that during his illneſs, which was hectic, he pompouſly reviewed his equipages, troops and treaſures; with this reflection, that immenſe as they were, they could not take one grain from his pain, or add one moment to his life. He is ſaid to have finiſhed his life, with other pious reflections, which would not be unbecoming the moſt ſincere chriſtian. He was ſucceeded, by his brother the depoſed *Malec*, who ſurvived him but a few days, and then their uncle *Soliman*, tho' not grown wiſer by adverſity, remounted the throne, being called to it, by the principal lords of the ſultinate. But abandoning himſelf as before, to riot and luxury, he was a ſecond time depoſed, and *Arſlan*, *Mohammed*'s ſon, was placed upon the throne.

death of *Mohammed*.

Sometime before this, died in the 66th year of his age, and the 25th of his reign, the califf *Moktafi*. Hiſtorians have left this prince's character to ſpeak for itſelf; for they have told us few particulars as to his perſon or diſpoſition, but that he was a prince of great ſpirit and wiſdom. He not only delivered himſelf and his people from the tyranny of the *Sultans*, but recovered from them great part of the *Perſian* Irak, and made himſelf ſovereign of all *Arabia*, ſo that he muſt have been at the time of his death, a very powerful prince.

and of *Moktafi*.

Al Moſtanjed *the thirty-firſt califf of the houſe of* Al Abbas.

WHILE the late califf *Moktafi* was upon his death bed, a very extraordinary conſpiracy was formed, to alter the order of ſucceſſion, which *Moktafi* had ſettled upon his ſon *Yuſef*. For that califf having another ſon named *Ali*, by one of his concubines, ſhe formed the deſperate reſolution of aſſaſſinating *Yuſef*. Her executioners, were to be the other ladies, and women of the palace, to whom ſhe gave money, and they armed themſelves with knives, with an intention to wait in a certain part of the palace, and there to ſtab *Yuſef*, as he came to ſee his father. A dwarf of an *Eunuch*, whom *Yuſef* uſed to employ, in inquiring after his father's health, ſeeing ſome ladies, who did not ſuſpect him, armed in an unuſual manner, informed *Yuſef* of the thing. But whether the old califf was at this time alive or dead, does not clearly appear, tho' it is moſt probable, that he was alive, for otherwiſe, *Yuſef*'s conduct upon the occaſion, is very unaccountable. Inſtead of ſending guards to ſeize and diſarm the ſuſpected parties, which muſt either have deſtroyed, or confirmed, his apprehenſions, he apprized the high chamberlain of the matter; and putting on a coat of mail, and taking with him his ſword he went directly to the palace. He had no ſooner entered it, than he was attacked in a moſt deſperate manner, by thoſe female furies; but he defended himſelf, till a party was ſent by the chamberlain to his aſſiſtance, by which all of them were either killed or made priſoners. Several of them we are told, were wounded by *Yuſef* before the guards came to his aſſiſtance. All the puniſhment, which *Ali*, and his mother received, after *Yuſef* was proclaimed califf, was impriſonment; but the women were tried, and were either put to death in the city, or drowned in the *Tigris*.

Hej. 555. A. D. 1160. He is ſucceeded by *Moſtanjed*.

his remarkable eſcape.

It does not fall within the compaſs of this part of our work to particularize all the actions of the *Chriſtians* in the *Eaſt* at this time, but only ſuch as are connected with the hiſtory of the *Moſlems*, of whom, the califf of *Bagdad* was ſtill the acknowledged head.

According to the *Moſlem* hiſtorians, who do not differ greatly upon this occaſion from the *Chriſtians*, while *Baldwin* the 2d was king of *Jeruſalem*, *Balac*, who was of the houſe of *Artak*, beſieged and took *Aleppo*, which, as the reader has already ſeen, was only by a kind of a miracle prevented from falling into the hands of the *Turks*. But ſoon after this, *Balac* was himſelf killed in another ſiege; that of the caſtle of *Antivah*, which was defended by the *Chriſtians*;

Aleppo taken.

and amongſt others, by *Joſselyn*, prince of *Edeſſa*, who ſometime before had been taken priſoner by *Balac*, but had obtained his liberty. After this, the *Chriſtians* formed the ſiege of *Damaſcus*. They had, by this time, received reinforcements from *Europe*, amounting to upwards of two hundred and forty thouſand men, moſt of whom periſhed by the ſword, famine, fatigue, and peſtilence, before they reached *Paleſtine*. The ſiege of *Damaſcus* is but juſt mentioned to have been carried on, under *Baldwin*, the ſecond king of *Jeruſalem*, the prince of *Edeſſa*, *Tripolis*, and *Antioch*, and the earl of *Anjou*. But the Moſlem authors are more particular. *Nureddin*, the ſon of *Zenki*, at his father's death, fixed his reſidence at *Mawſel*, and found himſelf poſſeſſed of dominions both rich and extenſive; which he ſoon enlarged. But, being a much better politician than the other princes of the Eaſt, he ſaw the danger ariſing to the whole Moſlem intereſt, from the progreſs of the *Chriſtians*, and he knew, at the ſame time, that if they could be driven out of the Eaſt, it would be no hard matter for him, to poſſeſs himſelf of all the territories, that had belonged to the antient califat. He therefore no ſooner heard that *Buzi*, the *Atabek* of *Damaſcus*, was beſieged by the *Chriſtians* in his capital, than he got together a great army, and advanced as far as *Hems* to its relief. But when the *Chriſtians* heard of his approach, they abandoned the ſiege, and made a precipitate retreat. *Nureddin* however, was defeated by *Joſselyn*, prince of *Edeſſa*, after he had recovered his liberty, and always declined meeting that great warrior in the field. We are told, that while *Joſselyn* was lying languiſhing of ſome mortal bruiſes he had received in beſieging one of *Nureddin*'s towns, and when it was confidently reported he was dead, *Nureddin* advanced at the head of a great army to *Edeſſa*; hoping to retake it. The dying hero, called to his ſon to put himſelf at the head of his troops, and to oppoſe the infidels; but the young prince, who inherited none of his father's virtues, declined the command, on pretence that the enemy was too numerous. Upon this, *Joſſelyn* ordered himſelf to be put into a horſe litter, and was carried at the head of his army, which was in reality far inferior to that of the enemy. But *Nureddin* no ſooner heard for certain that *Joſſelyn* was marching againſt him, than he commanded a retreat. When this was told to *Joſſelyn* he ordered his litter to halt, and expired in the field, with raptures of joy, that his very name had put to flight the Infidels; and that he had ended his life in a manner ſo becoming a prince who had taken the croſs upon him.

The cruſade renewed.

Death of *Joſſelyn* prince of *Edeſſa*.

His ſon loſes *Edeſſa*.

His ſon and ſucceſſor, inſtead of applying himſelf, like his father, to the arts of arms, and government, retired to *Tel Baſher*, a delightful country, ſituate upon the banks of the *Euphrates*; where he abandoned himſelf to all manner of pleaſures,

pleaſures; this gave *Nureddin* an opportunity of beſieging, and taking *Edeſſa*, which was but weakly garriſoned. The younger *Joſſelyn* made ſome attempts for retaking it, but he was diſappointed, by the wonderful addreſs and courage of *Nureddin*. For tho' he had ſucceeded ſo far, by the aſſiſtance of the citizens, as to get poſſeſſion of the town, yet the caſtle ſtill held out againſt him; and *Nureddin*, who was then at *Mawſel*, flew to the relief of the garriſon, with ſuch expedition, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty, *Joſſelyn* eſcaped with his life; all his troops being cut to pieces by *Nureddin*: he ſoon after reduced the whole principality. We muſt not however forget, that with regard to the elder *Joſſelyn*, the manner of his death, as we have related it, is mentioned only by *Chriſtian* writers. For the *Moſlems* on the contrary, and they are countenanced in it by *Wital* of *Tyre*, admit that *Joſſelyn*, gave *Nureddin* when he invaded his territories, a compleat defeat; and that *Nureddin*, ſenſible he was unequal to him in the field, hired certain *Turks* to ſurprize him, as he was hunting; which they accordingly did, and brought him to *Nureddin*, who ſent him in chains to *Aleppo*, where he died. But we are now obliged to turn our eyes to a moſt remarkable ſcene, which opened in *Egypt*; and which had great influence upon the *Moſlem* affairs.

Great revolutions in *Egypt*.

Haffed, the *Fatemite* califf of that country, was now dead; at the age of about 77, and in the 21ſt year of his reign. This prince, appears to have been ſo great a friend to the *Chriſtians*, that it was owing to their own imprudences, and diviſions, they did not obtain many laſting advantages from his government. His ſon *Dafer* ſucceeded him, and advanced one *Naimoddin* to the poſt of vizir. But *Naimoddin* was oppoſed by one *Ali*, who diſpoſted him, and obliged him to fly; upon which the young califf, who was not above ſeventeen years of age, was forced to confirm *Ali* in the vizirſhip: and *Naimoddin*, ſoon after attempting to recover by force, his poſt, was defeated and killed. The young califf, as he grew up, grew more and more in an infamous paſſion he had conceived for a beautiful young man, whoſe name was *Naſer*, ſon to *Al Abbas*, the governor of *Belbeis*, the antient *Peluſium*, and its diſtrict. The ſon, encouraged by the califf's unnatural paſſion for him, treated with his father, about making him vizir; and *Al Abbas* getting together an army, advanced to *Cairo*, then the capital of *Egypt*, where *Ali*, thro' the influence of *Naſer*, was depoſed and put to death: and *Al Abbas* was declared vizir. The califf could not bear to ſee his favourite only the third man in the kingdom; nor could *Al Abbas* bear the public reproaches, which he heard even the people in the ſtreet, throw out againſt the califf, and his ſon. Add to this, that having an immoderate ambition, he wanted to govern more abſolutely, than he could do under a prince who was then

of

of years. He opened himſelf to his ſon, who acknowledged that the califf had propoſed his killing his father, that he might make him vizir. In ſhort, the father at laſt prevailed with his ſon, to enter with him into a conſpiracy, for murdering the califf, and for that purpoſe, they drew him and two of his favourites, to a private entertainment in the vizir's houſe, where they were all three murdered, and their bodies thrown into a well. The next morning, the vizir came to the palace, and affecting great ſurprize, that the califf could not be found, he accuſed the califf's two brothers, *Yuſef*, and *Gabriel*, with a couſin-german they had, of having deſtroyed the califf, and they were all three immediately put to death; as were a great number of other perſons, upon the ſame pretext. He then took *Iſa* the late califf's ſon, out of the ſeraglio, and placed him upon the throne. But the ſight of the bodies of his murdered kinſmen, had ſuch an effect upon the child, that it diſordered his intellects. The public however, ſoon came to ſuſpect the truth, and the officers of the army, with the ladies of the ſeraglio, whom we cannot ſuppoſe to have had great kindneſs for *Naſer*, invited *Talay*, an *Armenian*, the governor of *Cairo*, to revenge the death of the califf and his brothers: and at the head of this conſpiracy, was the late califf's ſiſter. The vizir and his ſon, ſeeing it in vain to reſiſt the ſtorm, packed up their immenſe treaſures, and fled towards *Syria*. But the califf's ſiſter, foreſeeing their deſign, had taken care to diſpatch an expreſs to the generals of the *Chriſtian* army, which was then in thoſe parts, to intercept them; promiſing them great rewards if, by their means, they could be brought to puniſhment. The *Chriſtians* did not loſe ſo fair an opportunity of enriching themſelves, and filling the roads with ſmall detachments, they had the good fortune to intercept the traitors. *Al Abbas*, himſelf was killed, in the ſkirmiſh that enſued, between his attendants, and the *Chriſtian* party. But *Naſer* was made priſoner, and ſent under a guard to *Cairo*, where his puniſhment was left to the ladies of the ſeraglio. It was cruel almoſt beyond conception; and we are told that while ſome of them were pulling off his fleſh with pinchers, others eat it, and then his body after being affixed to a gibbet, was reduced to aſhes.

That *Califf* aſſaſinated.

Puniſhment of the murderer.

This inhuman piece of juſtice, being performed, the young califf, who had taken the name of *Fayes*, made *Talay* his vizir, and that miniſter, having by means of one of *Naſer*'s ſervants, diſcovered the bodies of the late califf, and one of his favourites gave them a moſt magnificent interment. A few years after this, the young califf *Fayes* died; and was ſucceeded by his kinſman *Abdallah*, who took the title of *Adid*, and he was the laſt fatemite califf of *Egypt*. After this, *Talay*, who was a great enemy to the *Chriſtians*, and ſomewhat inſolent in his behaviour, drew upon

Fayes ſucceeds to the crown of *Egypt*

upon himſelf the reſentment of the califf *Adid*'s aunt; who hired certain *Bataniſts* to aſſaſſinate him, which they did while he was entering the palace. Tho' his wounds were mortal yet he lived long enough to ſend a meſſage upbraiding *Al Adid*, whom he ſuſpected to have been the author of his aſſaſſination. *Al Adid* ſolemnly diſclaimed the charge; and knowing that his aunt alone was guilty, he put her as a proof of his innocence, into the vizir's power, who immediately ordered her head to be cut off; and after retaining the reverſion of his poſt for his ſon *Zaric*, gave up the ghoſt.

This *Zaric* had a couſin *German*, one *Haſan*, who had been very oppreſſive to *Shawer*, an officer who had belonged to the late vizir; and *Shawer* applied for redreſs, to *Baric*, who diſregarded his complaints, and countenanced his kinſman in his oppreſſion. *Haſan*, growing inſolent upon this protection, ſent *Shawer*, as a mark of deriſion, a box full of leather thongs, ſuch as thoſe, the *Moſlems* chaſtiſe their ſlaves with, and *Shawer* underſtanding the meaning of the preſent, immediately retired to the deſerts of *Arabia* with ſome friends, and there for three months he bad defiance to all the power of the vizir. From thence, he moved from place to place, till at laſt he came to *Belkina*, a village near *Alexandria*. Here the great reputation he had got, by defeating all the forces the vizir had ſent againſt him in the deſert, brought vaſt numbers of *Arabs*, *Moſarabians*, and other tribes to join him. Moſt of whom being on horſeback, he ſoon ſaw himſelf at the head of a body of *Cavalry* of ten thouſand men. Thoſe he detached to the exerciſe of their uſual functions, which were that of rapine and plunder; and gave them a full property, in all the pillage they could make upon the lands belonging to *Baric*, and his adherents. This licence had a wonderful effect. The leaders of the ſeveral gangs became rich, the reputation of which, daily drew others to join them, till at laſt, *Shawer*, who was an eunuch, was able to march to the very gates of *Cairo*, where he encamped. *Baric* was unable to reſiſt him, and being very unpopular, was unſupported; ſo that he was obliged to fly alone unattended. But the roads were beſet by the *Arabs* into whoſe hands he fell, and they found about him, a moſt ineſtimable prize of rich jewels, which he had packed up in a little bag, as he did a thouſand dinars in another; and, ſtriping him, left him expoſed to all the wants of nature, and the inclemency of the ſeaſon. An *Arabian* nobleman at laſt diſcovered, and knew, him, and after refreſhing him in his tent, he ſent him under a guard to *Cairo*.

History of *Shawer* who expells the vizir.

In the mean while, *Shawer*, proceeded ſo proſperouſly that he was declared vizir at *Cairo*; and received *Baric* with great politeneſs. He aſſigned him an apartment in his own palace, and permitted him to have the company of his female

and is himſelf declared vizir.

female favourite, and the converſation of his children. But in a ſhort time, intelligence was brought to *Shawer*, that his priſoner had attempted to eſcape; upon which he was put in irons under cloſer confinement. *Baric* was diſcovered, while he was endeavouring to ſaw off his irons, and *Tay*, *Shawer's* ſon entering the priſon cut off his head, with a ſcymeter. Tho' *Shawer* expreſſed his ignorance and deteſtation of this cruelty, yet it raiſed him many enemies, at the head of whom was one *Dargam*, a general officer, who took arms, to diſpoſt the vizir, which at laſt, in a deciſive action, he effected, and drove *Shawer* into *Syria*. The barbarians, who had before befriended him, in this reverſe of his fortune, forſook him; but he applied to *Nureddin*, whom he engaged to aſſiſt him, by promiſing to remit him annually the third part of the *Egyptian* califf's revenues. By this, the readers may eaſily conceive, that the vizir, at that time, was actually ſovereign of *Egypt*. That ſublime poſt was now filled by *Dargam*, who had killed *Tay*, in his deciſive battle with *Shawer*, and he had filled all the poſts of honour and profit about the court, with his own brothers or relations. Not ſatisfied with that, he moſt politically put to death, all the officers and miniſters who had ſerved under *Shawer*; and, thereby, rendered *Egypt* almoſt defenceleſs. *Nureddin* coming to the knowledge of this, cloſed with *Shawer's* propoſals, and behaved to him with the higheſt reſpect. But *Nureddin's* motives, for entering into this quarrel, lay much deeper than the intereſt of *Shawer*. Almoſt one half of the native *Egyptians* profeſſed Chriſtianity, or rather a ſpecies of it; and *Nureddin*, by principle as well as intereſt, was its determined enemy. *Al Maric* was, at this time, king of *Jeruſalem*, and having full intelligence of the diſtractions in *Egypt*, had already entered into that country. *Nureddin*, however, determined to be re-imburſed in his expences, and obliged *Shawer*, not only to engage to remit to him the third part of the annual revenues of *Egypt*, but to defray the whole charge of the war. This being agreed to, *Nureddin* gave the command of an army to *Shairacu*, the uncle of the great *Saladin*, who, in conjuction with *Shawer*, marched into *Egypt*.

ambition of *Nureddin*

It is unknown what inſtructions were given to *Shairacu*, by *Nureddin*, but there is great reaſon to believe, that *Nureddin*, by engaging in this expedition, had originally in his view, the conqueſt of *Egypt* for himſelf. For *Shairacu*, being oppoſed by *Moſlemin*, *Dargam's* brother, with an army far ſuperior to that of *Nureddin*, defeated him; and without farther oppoſition advanced to *Cairo*; which *Shawer* entered in great triumph, expecting there to enter upon the full exercile of the vizir's office. *Dargam*, in the mean time, endeavoured to eſcape, but was killed in attempting it, and *Shawer* prepared to diſmiſs his auxiliaries. But he was miſtaken, for *Shairacu*, inſtead of drawing off his troops in

Dargam killed

in terms of agreement, made diſpoſitions for making himſelf maſter of *Cairo*. But *Dargam*, the late vizir, ſenſible of the ſtorm impending againſt him, had invited *Al Maric*, the king of *Jeruſalem*, to his aſſiſtance, with great promiſes of reward. That prince, though politic and brave in his own perſon, was avaricious, and cloſed with *Dargam*'s propoſals; which poſſibly were made after he had invaded *Egypt*; where he had now the greateſt proſpect of ſucceſs. For *Shawer*, plainly perceiving, that his auxiliary meant to make himſelf his maſter, refuſed to admit *Shairacu*, and his troops, into the fortified parts of *Cairo*. Upon this *Nureddin*'s army committed the moſt dreadful exceſſes in the ſuburbs, and neighbourhood of that city; which they in a manner rendered deſert; and prepared to beſiege the citadel of *Cairo*, which was defended by *Shawer*. *Shairacu*'s troops, being vaſtly ſuperior to thoſe of *Shawer*, the latter, as his predeceſſor had done, applied for aſſiſtance to *Al Maric*. The troops of *Nureddin*, amongſt their other exceſſes, had been particularly ſevere againſt the *Egyptian Chriſtians*, and had demoliſhed all the religious houſes they could come at. *Nureddin*, therefore, with a very good grace, cloſed with *Shawer*'s propoſal; which was attended with a great ſum of ready money. He, accordingly, advanced to the relief of *Shawer*, and *Shairacu* found himſelf obliged to raiſe the ſiege of *Cairo*. He however made himſelf maſter of *Bebbeis*, or *Peluſium*, and a great number of other *Egyptian* cities; and at laſt ſeized upon *Alexandria* itſelf. The *Chriſtian* army purſued him in his retreat, and a battle between them was fought, at *Banin*; which, tho' bloody, was not deciſive: but, by the conſequences of it, the advantage ſeems to have been on the ſide of the *Chriſtians*. For after that, being joined by *Shawer*'s *Egyptian* troops, they beſieged *Shairacu* in *Belbeis*, for three months.

Character of *Al Maric* king of *Jeruſalem*

But *Nureddin*, according to the *Moſlem* authors, underſtanding the diſtreſs his general was in, moved with an army to his relief, and, after cutting in pieces a great detachment of *Chriſtians* who oppoſed them, he took the city of *Haram*; one of the moſt important in *Syria*. *Al Maric* at this time had reduced *Shiracu* to the laſt extremity, and was expecting, every day, that he would ſurrender himſelf, and his troops, priſoners. But when he knew of *Nureddin*'s ſucceſs, he ſet on foot an accommodation, which *Shairacu*, who was ignorant of what had happened, readily agreed to; being ſuffered to retire with his troops into *Syria*. This ſeems greatly to have diſconcerted *Nureddin*'s ſchemes, all acceſs to him in *Syria*, being now rendered impracticable, by *Al Maric*'s army. He however took *Panceas* in *Syria*, after it had been, for ſixteen years, in the poſſeſſion of the *Chriſtians*; but *Shawer* in the mean while, remained uncontrouled vizir, that is, maſter of

Nureddin defeats the *Chriſtians*.

of *Egypt*: which gave *Nureddin* on many accounts great diſquiet.

Al Maric's want of policy.

The Chriſtian authors with great reaſon, (if we can allow the *Cruſade* to have been a lawful undertaking,) blame *Al Maric* for not availing himſelf of the ſituation of things at this time in *Egypt*; and they impute it to his exceſſive avarice, that he did not. For *Shawer*, being in full poſſeſſion of *Al Faye's* vaſt treaſures, amuſed *Al Maric* ſo effectually with gold, that he made no ſuch attempt; but ſpent the winter months in all the luxuries which that climate afforded.

Riſe of *Saladin*.

Early next ſpring, *Nureddin*, who had intirely ſet his heart upon the acquiſition of *Egypt*, ſent *Shairacu*, with a freſh army into *Egypt*; where the natives, and the *Chriſtians* had come to a very good underſtanding with each other. *Shairacu*, we are told, in this expedition was attended by his nephew, the famous *Saladin*, one of the moſt renowned princes in hiſtory. He was oppoſed by *Shawer*, at the head of an army compoſed of *Egyptians* and *Chriſtians*; but the latter were defeated, at a place called *Abwan*. The conſequence of this victory was, that the whole province of *Al Tiza*, and *Alexandria* itſelf fell into *Shairacu's* hands. But the victory, which the latter had obtained, was ſo far from being deciſive, that *Al Malec* formed the ſiege of *Alexandria*; and *Shairacu* was obliged to return to its relief.

Hiſtory of his uncle *Shairacu*.

Shairacu is both by *Chriſtian* and *Moſlem* authors allowed to have been a moſt accompliſhed general; but it is certain that in plain battle, the infidel troops, even ſince the commencement of the *Cruſade*, never had been able to keep the field againſt the *Chriſtians*. But the *Infidels* repaired by their addreſs, and their knowledge of the country, all their diſadvantages in point of armour, and military diſcipline. *Shairacu* managed ſo well, that having got reinforcements, he advanced to raiſe the ſiege of *Alexandria*. Upon this, *Al Maric* finding himſelf unable at once to oppoſe the garriſon, and his enemies army, and perhaps prompted by his own avaricious diſpoſition, entered into a treaty with the Infidels, which terminated in *Shairacu's* being paid a great ſum of money, *Shawer*, for the expence of the expedition; upon condition that *Alexandria* ſhould be evacuated by the *Moſlem* troops, and reſtored to the *Egyptians*; which conditions were accordingly performed. But this treaty, was far from being ſatisfactory to *Al Maric*, who was now with his army, in the heart of *Egypt*; and had little to apprehend from *Shairacu*, whoſe army had been greatly diminiſhed by the fatigues and operations of the campaign. *Shawer* therefore found himſelf under a neceſſity of making terms likewiſe with *Al Malric*, who had the privilege, according to the *Moſlem* authors, and we can ſcarcely diſtruſt them in ſuch a fact, of quartering a body of cavalry in *Cairo*; at the

Shawer's peace with *Al Maric*

expence

expence of the *Egyptian* government, who paid him about 70000 l. ſterling.

Both the *Chriſtian* and *Moſlem* authors agree, that upon this occaſion *Al Maric* took *Belbeis*, by ſtorm; which as he was in a kind of an alliance with the *Egyptian* califf, is juſtly conſidered, as a breach of good faith. On the other hand, *Nureddin* took ſeveral places, which the *Chriſtians* poſſeſſed in *Syria*. But the two commanders from all writers, appear in very different lights, when conſidered as conquerors. *Nureddin* was humane, and generous; but avarice rendered *Al Maric* cruel and unjuſt. For we are told, that he gave up *Peluſium* to be plundered by his ſoldiers, who robbed and murdered the inhabitants, without diſtinction. According to the *Chriſtian* writers, in which they are far from being diſcountenanced by the *Moſlem* authors, immediately after the reduction of *Balbeis*, *Al Maric* advanced to make himſelf maſter of *Cairo*. *Shawer*, now juſtly conſidered *Al Maric*, not as an ally, but as a robber. But he reſolved that if *Egypt* was to fall a ſacrafice, it ſhould be to a prince of his own religion. He therefore appriſed *Nureddin* of his diſtreſs, and frankly laid before him all that had paſſed, between him and *Al Maric*. *Nureddin* eaſily foreſaw, both the motives and the conſequences of what had happened; and gave orders to *Shairacu* to advance with a freſh army, to the relief of *Cairo*. But *Shairacu*'s expedition muſt have been ineffectual, had not *Shawer* artfully amuſed *Al Maric*, by great promiſes, and in the mean time, he even gave him large ſums of money, not to ſtorm the city. This artful conduct ſaved *Egypt* from falling into the hands of the *Chriſtians*; and it is certain, that had *Al Maric* got poſſeſſion of it, conſidering the vaſt number of *Chriſtians* in *Egypt*, he might have eaſily bid defiance, to all the *Moſlem* power in the Eaſt. It is evident however, that *Al Maric*, had no knowledge of the treaty, that was carrying on, between *Shawer*, and *Nureddin*. For expecting every day, that *Shawer* would give up *Cairo*, he ſhamefully loitered away his time, till he underſtood that *Shairacu* was upon his march againſt him. *Al Maric*'s ſituation then became dangerous; he had loſt great part of his army, by heats and fatigue; a ſuperior army was about to attack him, and he had, in his front, a city defended by a ſtrong garriſon. He took the braveſt, and the wiſeſt courſe; but it was ineffectual. He wheeled round, and offered *Shairacu* battle; but that politic general, wiſely declined it, and having excellent guides, he took a large circuit to avoid the *Chriſtian* army, and threw himſelf into *Cairo*. This is the beſt, and the only well atteſted account, that can be given of *Al Maric*'s expedition into *Egypt*; which would have done ſo much honour to the *Chriſtian* arms, had it not been for his avarice. The *Moſlem*, and the *Chriſtian* authors are agreed in the main,

Injuſtice of the latter.

and his avarice

main, as to what we have laid before the readers. But the *Moſlems*, are more particular, as to the means which *Shawer* uſed, to amuſe *Al Maric*. They tell us, that he paid him down 100,000 *Egyptian* dinars, which amounts to about 70000l. ſterling, and promiſed to pay him 900,000 dinars more. This promiſe had the deſired effect with *Al Maric*, who forbore the attack of the place, and even retired from it, becauſe *Shawer* alledged, that while he lay before it, it was impoſſible for him to raiſe the money. *Al Maric*'s retreat favoured *Shairacu*'s taking poſſeſſion of *Cairo*; which he did, without the loſs of a man; and all the true *Moſlems* of *Egypt* conſidered him as their guardian angel, ſent to preſerve them from Chriſtianity. For, no ſooner did *Shairacu* enter *Cairo*, than the *Egyptian* califf inveſted him with the robe of a *Sultan*; and had a long conference with him in his own palace.

which loſes him *Egypt*.

The avarice of *Al Maric*, having thus loſt the only opportunity he could have had of making himſelf maſter of *Egypt*, *Shawer* was firmly ſettled in the vizirſhip; and it is ſaid, to his honour, that he moſt punctually performed his engagements, with all parties. But all that had hitherto happened, was no other than the prologue to *Nureddin*'s ambition; which was, to become the real, and ſole, maſter of *Egypt*. With this view, he firſt took the caſtle of *Monerdiera*, from the *Chriſtians*, and, under pretext that *Shawer* ſtill kept up an alliance with them, he made diſpoſitions for a total conqueſt of *Egypt*. But to effect this, it was neceſſary for him to diſpoſſeſs the *Fatemite* califf, and the *Chriſtians*, of all the ſtrong places they held in *Syria*. He therefore took *Safita*, and *Oreiba*, with a great number of other poſts of great importance, and reduced *Gazi*, the governor of *Aleppo*, who rebelled againſt him. His next expedition was againſt *Jabak* upon the *Euphrates*; which he likewiſe found means to make himſelf maſter of, but with great difficulty.

It is allowed on all hands, that *Al Maric*, king of *Jeruſalem*, was bloody and barbarous in his proceedings; and it appears, from the beſt hiſtorians of thoſe times, that he had acted with great cruelty, when he took *Belbeis*, or *Peluſium*, even towards the *Chriſtians*. This rendered him extreamly unpopular; and *Shawer* perceiving that his avarice was inſatiable, and that he was preparing for another expedition into *Egypt*, encouraged by the diviſion of the *Moſlem* princes, he burnt down *Meſa*, once the capital of *Egypt*, and obliged the inhabitants of it to repair to *Cairo*. Some writers have laid the burning of *Meſa* in the former year; but it is moſt probable, that it happened at the time we now treat of. But *Shawer* had found himſelf unable to anſwer all the demands that were daily made upon him, both by the *Chriſtians*, and the *Moſlems*, and therefore he formed a deſign of ridding

ridding himſelf of *Shairacu*, who was at that time in *Cairo*. With this view, he invited *Shairacu*, his nephew *Saladin*, and other principal officers of *Nureddin's* army to a grand entertainment, in his palace; but *Shairacu*, was not to be impoſed upon in that manner. He had punctually performed his bargain with *Shawer*, and he inſiſted upon his maſter *Nureddin* receiving a third part of all the revenues of *Egypt*. *Shawer* anſwering this demand, only by a ceremonious civility, *Shairacu* took that opportunity of giving orders for his being arreſted, which he accordingly was, by *Saladin*. *Adid* the califf of *Egypt*, found himſelf in no condition, to diſpute with *Shairacu*, and was obliged to confirm all he did. In an inſtant, the unfortunate *Shawer* was abandoned by all his friends and domeſtics; and he had even the mortification to underſtand that his maſter, *Adid*, whom he had ſo faithfully ſerved, demanded his head; which was accordingly cut off, by *Shairacu's* order. After this, *Adid* was obliged to inveſt *Shairacu*, with the vizir's robe, and *Shairacu* preceeded by the head of *Shawer* upon a lance, took poſſeſſion of his predeceſſor's magnificent palace.

Shairacu and *Saladin* in *Egypt*

Death of *Shawer*.

The *Fatemite* califf, by thus raiſing *Shairacu* to the poſt of vizir, in fact, dethroned himſelf. His people, ſenſible of his miſconduct, reſented it ſo highly, that *Shairacu* was in danger of being torn to pieces, as he went to take poſſeſſion of his new dignity. But *Shairacu*, knowing the mercenary diſpoſitions of the *Egyptians*, proclaimed aloud, to the populace, that all *Shawer's* prodigious treaſures and effects, were their own. This diverted the ſtorm; for they inſtantly ran, and plundered the late vizir's palace: while *Shairacu*, was, with the higheſt demonſtrations of joy, confirmed in his poſt of vizir. *Shairacu*, is by ſome repreſented, as being of a very diminutive perſonage, but his conduct, and the vaſt confidence which *Nureddin* repoſed in him, prove that he was an accompliſhed general, and a great politician. He did not however long ſurvive his good fortune; for we are told, that after being raiſed to the dignity of the *Fatemite* vizir, he dyed in two months.

Character of *Shairacu*.

It is here proper to give ſome account of *Saladin*; whoſe memory is to this day ſo famous in hiſtory. His father was *Ayub*, the brother of *Shairacu*, and both of them originally were, *Rawandians*, a race we have already given ſome account of. Being ſoldiers of fortune, they ſoon recommended themſelves to the government of *Bagdad*, and *Ayub*, was made governor of *Tecrit*; his brother ſerving as his deputy. This happened when *Baruz* was a *Seljukian* vizir at *Bagdad*; and when the califf *Moſtarſhed*, had defeated *Zenki*, the latter was received by *Baruz*, with vaſt humanity and civility. Thoſe virtues, together with a great ſtock of military merit, recommended him to *Zenki*, the father of *Nureddin*. But *Shairacu's* zeal for the *Moſlem* religion was ſo great, that he

and his hiſtory

killed a *Chriſtian* ſcribe, and *Baruz*, who it ſeems was a great juſticiary, expelled him and his brother from *Tecrit*. Upon this, they took refuge at *Zenki's* court, and he greatly careſſed, and promoted, them. Upon his taking *Balbec*, he made *Ayub* the governor of it, but upon *Zenki's* death, *Ayub*, who was a crafty *Arab*, ſurrendered *Balbec*, to the *Atabek* of *Damaſcus*, from whom he received other lands, which he erected into a principality. At the ſame time the prudent conduct of *Ayub*, by giving up *Balbec* to the *Damaſceens*, conciliated their affections to him ſo greatly, that they conſidered him as their future lord; while his brother *Shairacu*, was made governor of *Rama*, *Hems*, and other cities upon the Euphrates, and every day gave freſh proofs of his great courage and conduct, in the field. As a general, *Nureddin* made him, under himſelf, the commander of all his troops. After this *Shairacu*, and his brother *Ayub*, had ſo great credit at *Damaſcus*, that they prevailed with the citizens to put themſelves under the protection of *Nureddin*, and from that time, they were his chief Counſellors and generals.

And that of the famous *Saladin*.

Upon the death of *Shairacu*, his nephew *Saladin*, was by *Adid* made vizir of *Egypt* in preference to many older miniſters and generals, ſome of whom, refuſed to obey his authority. *Saladin* however, had a greater ſuperiority of abilities, and upon *Shairacu's* death, coming to the poſſeſſion of his vaſt riches, he was enabled to bribe the mercenary *Egyptians*, into his intereſt. At the ſame time, ſenſible, as he was, of the value of money, he extorted prodigious ſums from the *Egyptian Emirs*; ſo that by his addreſs, he at laſt laid a foundation of independent power in *Egypt*.

In the mean while, *Nureddin* conſidered himſelf as being, in fact, the maſter of that country; and all his mandates to *Saladin*, were dictated as from the ſovereign lord of *Egypt*, to his ſervant. *Adid*, the *Fatemite* califf, was thus rendered a mere cypher in the government of his own dominions; and ſome authors, with great probability, ſay that he advanced *Saladin* to the poſt of vizir, only that he might be expoſed to the greater envy, and thereby be put to death, by other ſtateſmen and generals. But *Saladin*, whoſe moral virtues have been extolled even by Chriſtian writers, far above what they deſerved, maintained his ground, by profound diſſimulation. He affected a deep concern for the *Moſlem* religion. He abandoned gaming and drinking, vices, to which he had been greatly addicted; and he took upon himſelf, the character of the champion of *Moſlemiſm*, againſt *Chriſtianity*. This gained him amongſt that enthuſiaſtic people, a prodigious number of followers; and pretending, that all heretics were equally the objects of *Moſlem* reſentment, he declared war againſt the *Abyſſinian*, and *African* blacks

His zeal for *Mahometaniſm*.

blacks, who were employed as life guards to the *Fatemite* califf: and put them all to the ſword. This was a great ſtroke, becauſe the commander of thoſe blacks, had always diſputed *Saladin*'s authority, and had kept poſſeſſion of the citadel of *Cairo*, which *Saladin*, by his death, became maſter of: and appointed a white eunuch to govern it.

Whoever conſiders the courſe of this hiſtory, muſt be ſenſible, that the degeneracy of ſovereign princes, rendered their ſubſtitutes, their maſters. This was the caſe of *Adid*, and *Saladin*. For *Saladin* at this time began to conſider himſelf as being independent, not only upon *Adid*, but upon *Nureddin*; and he was well acquainted with the means of rendering himſelf ſo. He knew he could truſt none, who could ſerve him ſo well as his own family; and diſſembling all his ambitious views, he aſked permiſſion of *Nureddin*, to ſuffer his father and his family to repair to *Egypt*. This favour was granted, and *Ayub* leaving *Damaſcus*, was received by his ſon in *Fgypt*, as a ſovereign prince; and great appointments were ſettled upon him, and all his relations. In the mean while, *Nureddin* was ſo well ſatisfied of *Saladin*'s attachment to him, that he obliged *Ayub* to conſent that he ſhould not preſume upon his right of ſeniority, but leave *Saladin* in full poſſeſſion of the vizirſhip. But the whole of this tranſaction ſeems to have been a political artifice, concerted between *Ayub* and his ſon, to blind *Nureddin*, as will appear by the event.

He uſurps the monarchy of *Egypt*.

Saladin had not been long poſſeſſed of the *Fatemite* vizirſhip, when the *Chriſtians*, according to the *Moſlem* authors, formed the ſiege of *Damaita*. Being provided with a numerous and well ſerved artillery, ſuch as was in uſe at that time, they had a great proſpect of ſucceſs. But *Saladin*, the greateſt general who had been ſeen for many ages, foreſeeing their intention, had made ſuch proviſion for defending the place, that after lying before it fifty four days, and loſing a vaſt number of men, they were obliged to raiſe the ſiege. The *Chriſtian* writers tell us, that *Al Maric*, who undertook this ſiege, was aſſiſted in it by the *Greek* emperor's fleet; but that the floods, occaſioned by the overflowing of the Nile, deſtroyed the beſiegers works; while the *Egyptians*, by throwing fire-balls, burnt the *Greek* ſhips, ſo that their whole navy was ruined. In the mean while, *Nureddin*, who ſtill maintained his ſuperiority over *Saladin*, entered *Syria*, and took many places belonging to the *Chriſtians* there, and this with great reaſon, made them apprehenſive, that they would be totally exterminated in the Eaſt. It appears however from the *Moſlem* authors, that the *European* hiſtories we have of the *Cruſades*, are extreamly imperfect; and that the ſucceſſes of the *Chriſtians* of the Eaſt, were much greater than they mention. For notwithſtanding their miſcarriage before *Damaita*, they took *Accara*, in *Syria*, and even loa-

Damaita beſieged.

ded, with irons, the governor of the place, who was *Nureddin's* ſlave. *Nureddin* ſought to indemnify himſelf, by beſieging *Al Carac*, a ſtrong place held by the *Chriſtians*, in the ſtony *Arabia*, but a powerful army of *Chriſtians*, advanced from *Paleſtine* and defeated his intention, ſo that he was obliged to raiſe the ſiege.

War between *Nureddin* and the *Chriſtians*

The *Chriſtians*, it is certain in, all reſpects, were much ſuperior to the *Infidels* in the field, but famine, peſtilence, and heats, were enemies they could not ſubdue, and it was now evident, that they muſt either abandon all the conqueſts they had made, or make a compleat conqueſt of the Eaſt. The power of *Saladin* in *Egypt*, was every day growing. That of *Nureddin* was confirmed, and tho' the valour of the *Chriſtians*, was often attended by ſucceſs, yet it was evident that their force muſt at laſt be exhauſted thro' the perpetual ſupplies, which their enemies could have recourſe to. They therefore employed *Frederick*, the Archbiſhop of *Tyre*, to repair to *Europe*, to lay before the princes there their miſerable ſituation. But *Frederick*, had ſo many difficulties to encounter in his commiſſion thro' the diſſentions amongſt the Chriſtian princes, that it was without effect.

State of the *Moſlem* government.

The empire of the Eaſt, was at this time, in a manner, ſuſpended between *Saladin* and *Nureddin*; but the genius of the former ſeems to have had the aſcendant. For after *Nureddin* had been obliged to raiſe the ſiege of *Al Carac*, he loſt his firſt and moſt uſeful miniſter, *Majoddin*; and great part of his dominions were laid waſte by earthquakes. Soon after, he received an account of his brother *Kothboddin's* death. This prince, to whom the *Moſlem* authors give a moſt amiable character, had appointed *Amadoddin* his eldeſt ſon to ſucceed him; but he was afterwards over perſuaded, by *Fakroddin* his firſt miniſter, to nominate his younger ſon *Moezz*, the favourite of his wife, for his ſucceſſor. *Amadoddin* had it ſeems an attachment to *Nureddin*; and reſenting the injury he thought had been done him, he fled to him: that he might be reinſtated in his right.

Death of the califf of *Bugdad*

In this ſtate we are obliged to leave the *Moſlem* concerns, that we may attend the death of the califf *Moſtanjed*, which happened about this time, in a very extraordinary manner. He ordered *Safiya*, his phyſician, to write an order in his name to his vizir, to gibbit two of his miniſters, *Kothboddin* and the chamberlain of his palace. *Safiya*, very poſſibly concluding that this ſevere order proceeded from a delirium, or was the effect of the califf's illneſs, (for he was then at the point of death) ſhowed the order to the condemned parties; and they, well knowing, that it muſt be executed if the califf lived, aſſembling together ſome friends, they ruſhed into the palace, and put *Moſtanjed* to death, by ſtiffling him in a bath, in the 11th year of his reign, and the 55th of his age.

Moſtanjed

Moſtanjed, ſeems to have preſerved the independency which his predeceſſor had eſtabliſhed by reigning without an *Emir Al Omra*, or a *Sultan*. The *Moſlem* authors, give him the unmeaning character, of having been one of the beſt of princes. That he was an excellent juſticiary, appears from a particular ſtory, which does honour to his memory. He ordered one who had been guilty of perjury to be thrown into priſon; and one of his courtiers, offered above 7000l. ſterling for his releaſe. No, anſwered the califf, I cannot agree to that, but I will agree to pay you the ſame ſum if you can find out to me, ſuch a villain in all my dominions. his character.

Al Moſtadi *the thirty-ſecond califf of the houſe of* Al Abbas.

MOSTANJED was ſucceeded by his ſon *Moſtadi*, and in the Eaſtern manner, received the allegiance of his ſubjects, in the gate, or portico of his palace. He is particularly renowned for even exceeding his father in the ſtrict adminiſtration of juſtice; and he was liberal to an uncommon degree. The veneration which the dignity of califf, and the race of *Al Abbas* ſtill attracted, ſeems to have rendered the califat, at this time no uncomfortable ſtation; and to have ſheltered it from the ſtorms that were now raging in the Eaſt. He is ſucceeded by *Moſtadi*.

Nureddin reſented *Fakroddin*'s ſetting aſide his elder nephew *Amadoddin*, from his father's ſucceſſion. He ſaw that his other nephew *Saifoddin*, was intirely under the influence of that miniſter, whom he hated; and putting himſelf at the head of a ſtrong army, he paſſed the Euphrates at *Jabar*, and he took *Rakka*, *Kabur*, and *Naſibin*, all which cities he delivered to his nephew *Amadoddin*, who held his court at *Mawſel*. *Nureddin* then marched to *Balad*, and from thence to *Ninevah*. It appears that the intention of *Nureddin* in this expedition, was chiefly to reſcue *Saifoddin* out of the hands of *Fakroddin*. For after he had paſſed the *Tigris*, he laid ſiege to *Mawſel*, which we are told inſtantly offered to capitulate, part of the walls having fallen down, when *Nureddin* came before it. According to the *Moſlem* authors, *Nureddin* rendered the articles of capitulation very eaſy to his nephew *Saifoddin*. It was agreed that *Fakroddin*, and his family ſhould live in ſafety, but under the inſpection of *Nureddin*, who was to carry *Fakroddin* along with him into *Syria*. That *Saifoddin* ſhould remain the ſovereign of *Mawſel*; but ſhould pay an annual tribute to his elder brother. After this, *Nureddin* gave the city of *Sanjar*, which he

Progreſs of *Nureddin.*

he had taken, to *Amadoddin*; and after ſtaying but 24 days at *Mawſel*, he returned to his own dominions. There is however ſomewhat dark in this part of *Nureddin*'s hiſtory, nor does it at all appear, that *Saifoddin* was ſubdued. On the contrary, he remained ſovereign of *Mawſel*, and after *Nureddin*'s departure, he even exacted of his brother marks of obedience, becauſe he was a king. We likewiſe underſtand, that *Nureddin* conſented to the remiſſion of the tribute to be paid by *Saifoddin*, ſo that it ſeems moſt probable that the latter had, upon his ſide, the natural intereſt of the country. It is hard to ſay, whether *Nureddin* did not cheriſh the diviſion between his two nephews, in order to weaken them; but it is certain upon the whole, that *Kothboddin*'s ſucceſſion thereby came to nothing; and was intirely ruined. There is the greater reaſon to believe *Nureddin* to have been at the bottom of this diviſion, becauſe, tho' he profeſſedly took part with *Amadoddin*, yet he gave *Saifoddin* his daughter in marriage.

War between *Saladin* and the *Chriſtians.*

In the mean while, *Saladin* applied himſelf indefatigably to reduce the *Chriſtian* power; and invaded *Paleſtine*: where he kept the *Chriſtians* in perpetual alarms, but was too wiſe to hazard a battle with them. He however took *Aila*, a maritime city, by ſtorm; and gave his ſoldiers leave to plunder it. But the maſter ſtroke of his politics lay in weakening the credit and authority of the *Fatemite* califf. For this purpoſe he declared himſelf highly in the intereſt of the califf of *Bagdad*, and went ſo far as to diſplace out of the *Egyptian* ſchools, all the *Shites*, or adherents of *Ali*; and founded two colleges in *Cairo*, for the ſect of the *Sonnites*; or the profeſſors of the *Shaifei* doctrine. In this he was imitated by his nephew *Fakioddin*, who founded another college for the ſame purpoſe.

Nureddin, tho' he was likewiſe a zealous *Sonnite*, could not without jealouſy, behold the uncontrouled power of *Saladin* in *Egypt*. It was plain to him, that *Saladin*, tho he was only his deputy, had rendered *Adid* the *Fatemite* califf, a mere cypher in the government; and he reſolved to try how far, he himſelf was maſter over *Saladin*. For this purpoſe, *Nureddin* wrote to him to order *Adid's* name, to be omitted in the public prayers; which was the ſame thing, as the taking from him his ſovereignty. *Saladin* foreſaw *Nureddin's* drift, and tho' he himſelf had done a great deal to mortify *Adid*; yet he could not intirely abandon him to *Nureddin*. He pretended that the bulk of the *Egyptians* being *Shites*, and conſequently ſtrongly attached to the memories of *Ali*, and *Fatima*, it would be highly unpolitic, to offer ſuch an affront to the eſtabliſhed religion of the country as to leave *Adid's* name out of the public prayers, and inſert that of *Moſtadi*; which *Nureddin* required ſhould be done. But all *Saladin's* remonſtrances were in vain. *Nureddin* inſiſted upon a literal obedience to his commands, and *Adid*

Adid dethroned

dying

dying about the ſame time, the name of the *Fatemite* califf, was by *Saladin*'s order, ſuppreſſed in the public prayers, and that of *Moſtadi*, was inſerted in its ſtead; by which the power of the *Fatemite* califf was entirely ſuppreſſed. It was obſerved that *Saladin* did not ſuffer *Al Adid* upon his death bed to know any thing of his authority being aboliſhed; but he no ſooner expired, than *Saladin* took poſſeſſion of his palace and all the exceſſive weatlh, which the *Fatemite* califfs in that rich trading country, had been amaſſing for ſo many years. The largeneſs of the jewels and precious ſtones, are incredible. Amongſt others, mention is made of an emerald, a palm and half long, a pearl as large as a pigeon's egg, and a jacinth weighing ſeventeen *Arabian* drahams, and called by way of excellence, the jacinth mountain. *Saladin*, at the ſame time, came into the poſſeſſion of a noble library; conſiſting of a hundred thouſand volumes; nor do we know of any diſturbance attended this prodigious revolution. It is difficult to ſay, whether *Adid* died a natural death or not: the time of his departure out of the world was ſo very critical. Some ſay that when *Adid* was upon his death bed, he earneſtly deſired to ſee *Saladin*, but the latter ſuſpecting treachery, refuſed to viſit him. Some ſay, he ſhut *Adid* up in a tower, and there put him to death, and others that he forced him to ſwallow poiſon; but that he died a violent death, ſeems moſt probable. The perſons employed by *Saladin*, to name *Moſtadi* in the public prayers, was a religious *Perſian*, and a blind man; both of them held in ſo great veneration by the people, that no remarkable tumult enſued: tho' the *Fatemite* califfs had been for two hundred years poſſeſſed of the throne of *Egypt*.

Nureddin highly jealous of *Saladin*.

Great revolution in *Egypt*.

Hiſtory can ſcarcely parallel ſo great a revolution brought about ſo quietly. But perhaps religion was not the ſole motive, that influenced *Nurreddin* on this occaſion. The favourable treatment of the *Chriſtians* in *Egypt*, and the great numbers of that profeſſion there, together with the late connections, between that court, and the *Cruſaders*, undoubtedly gave the latter yaſt advantages, and therefore it was wiſe in *Nureddin* to endeavour to reſtore in ſpirituals the original power of the firſt califat, that the *Moſlem* intereſt being united, might act with the greater effect, and he knew it would be always in his power to check any temporal ambition, which the califfs might entertain. But the truth is, the people of the Eaſt in general, had not any favourable opinion of the claim of the *Fatemite* califfs, to be the ſucceſſors, and deſcendants of *Ali*, and *Fatima*. Their pretext on that account, had been ſufficiently expoſed, by the houſe of *Al Abbas*; and their being named in the public prayers, was conſidered as being no better than an uſurpation. Upon the whole, therefore, *Nureddin's* conduct upon that occaſion, was that of a great and an able politician.

Reflection

Califf of *Bagdad* reſtored to his ſpiritual authority.

The ſpiritual authority over *Egypt*, being thus reannexed to the califat of *Bagdad*, public rejoicings were made for ſome days, in that capital; and *Moſtadi* preſented *Nureddin*, *Saladin*, and the preachers who had been moſt inſtrumental in the late revolution with robes of ſtate; and other magnificent preſents. He likewiſe ordered the black ſtandards, the badges of authority in the houſe of *Al Abbas*, to be carried in ſtate to *Cairo*, and there depoſited. As to *Saladin*, he ſeems to have acted upon the ſame principles, and indeed with the ſame views, as *Nureddin* did. But we are told, that at firſt he was a little embarraſſed in point of conſcience till conſulting the moſt eminent amongſt the *Moſlem* divines, he was ſatisfied as to the legality of his proceedings, and of the uſurpation of *Fatemite* califfs, in matters of religion. No ſooner therefore was *Adid* dead, than his family were removed to a private part of the palace, without any marks of diſtinction; and his ſlaves were all of them either ſold, or manumitted; ſo that in a ſhort time, not a trace appeared of the *Fatemite* califf's authority.

Saladin's liberality

But tho' *Nureddin* had ſo wonderfully ſucceeded in his main view, yet *Saladin's* conduct did not fail to give him great diſquiet. For that vizir, inſtead of his taking his directions from *Nureddin*, ſent him part of *Adid*'s treaſures as a preſent, and diſtributed the reſt amongſt the great officers of the army and ſtate; even, as we are told, to the laſt dinar. It was eaſy for *Nureddin* to ſee *Saladin*'s motives for this uncommon generoſity. *Saladin* at firſt attempted to amuſe him by his zeal againſt the *Chriſtians*. He marched at the head of an army into *Syria*, and laid ſiege to *Shawbec*, then in the hands of the *Franks*, and a ſtrong frontier town on the confines of *Hejaz*. But *Nureddin*, more than ſuſpicious of his real intention, moved at the head of his troops towards *Saladin*, who immediately abandoned the ſiege, and returned with ſome precipitation to *Egypt*; being apprehenſive of the influence, which *Nureddin*'s preſence might have upon his army, particularly the *Syrian* troops. Upon his retreat, *Nureddin* openly proclaimed him to be a traitor, and threatened to march againſt him at the head of all his troops. Upon this, *Saladin* ſummoned all his general officers to a grand council to deliberate how to proceed, and amongſt others, was his own father *Ayub*, who was now grown old in craft and diſſimulation. The debate being opened, ſome were for repelling force by force, ſhould *Nureddin* invade *Egypt*; but *Ayub* publicly declared for *Saladin*'s ſending a meſſage to *Nureddin*, to beg the honour of his paying him a viſit at *Cairo*, and adviſed his ſon at the ſame time, to write to let their maſter *Nureddin* know, that if he would ſend a ſlave with a napkin, he would put it about his neck, and ſuffer himſelf to be led out of *Egypt* into *Syria*, that he might proſtrate himſelf at *Nureddin*'s feet. Such were the open declarations of this old politic *Arab*, and *Saladin* followed them

he returns to *Egypt*,

Policy of his father *Ayub*.

them in every point; *Ayub* telling him in private, that tho' his intention was, that he ſhould not give up the value of a ſugar cane to *Nureddin*, yet that it would be highly impolitic, openly to diſclaim their dependency upon him, as it might make him turn the whole of his force againſt *Egypt*.

Nureddin either was, or affected to be, ſatisfied, with *Saladin's* ſubmiſſions, and proceeded to carry on the war with the *Chriſtians*. For this purpoſe, being joined by his nephew *Gazi*, the governor of *Mawſel*, he laid ſiege to *Arka*, a ſtrong town in the prefecture of *Damaſcus*, within twelve miles of *Tripoli*, and took it by ſtorm. *Saladin* ſtill continued to temporize towards *Nureddin*, and he made a ſecond expedition into *Syria*; but upon *Nureddin's* offering to join him, he returned back to *Egypt*, as he had done before, upon pretext of his father *Ayub's* illneſs, who actually died about this time, by a fall from his horſe, leaving behind him the character of having the moſt politic head of all the *Moſlems*. *Nureddin's* ſucceſſes

Nureddin, who had a great regard for *Ayub*, upon his death, determined to keep no farther meaſures with *Saladin*, and nominated his nephew *Gazi* to the command of the army, which was to act againſt the *Chriſtians*, while he himſelf was determined to march in perſon againſt *Saladin*. But while he was making diſpoſitions for that purpoſe, he died in the caſtle of *Damaſcus* of a quinſey. The *Moſlem* writers, have not as uſual, run into any extravagant encomiums upon *Nureddin*, when they extoll him, as one of the beſt, as well as greateſt princes, that ever ſat upon a throne. During his long reign, *Syria*, and other countries of the Eaſt was almoſt deſolated by earthquakes; but he repaired and rebuilt the walls that were thrown down. He was ſtrictly wedded to the tenets of his religion, but ſo blameleſs was his life and morals, that an *Arabian* author, elegantly ſays of him, that, when he was in the houſe of God, he gave his ſubjects a view of one ſanctuary within another. His charity was ſo great, that he knew no other uſe of riches, than to make others happy; and his own private expences did not exceed that of the meaneſt of his ſubjects. His wife one time complained that he ſcarcely allowed her the common neceſſaries of life, upon which he ſettled three work houſes upon her, which brought her in about 131. a year; telling her at the ſame time, that it was all he could ſpare her, in juſtice to his other ſubjects; for that he looked upon himſelf as no other than as their ſteward. His juſtice was as eminent as his other virtues, and finding that his great lords, *Shairacu* in particular, were oppreſſive to their inferiors, he eſtabliſhed a chamber of juſtice, where the meaneſt of his ſubjects might enter their complaints, and have redreſs againſt the higheſt. This court was under ſuch admirable regulations, that it reſtored the police, and tranquility of his

Death and character of *Nureddin*.

Inſtance of his great frugality

his country; and ſo ſalutary were the effects, which it had upon his ſubjects, that after his death, when their ſufferings from the great were renewed, they uſed to call out with a ſigh! *O Nureddin!* He likewiſe founded a number of colleges, for profeſſors and ſtudents of orthodox *Moſlemiſm*; and endowed them very richly, with a view of reuniting all the ſects of that religion, for the better oppoſing the *Franks*. In ſhort, he wanted only to be a Chriſtian, to have been one of the beſt princes and men that ever lived.

He is ſucceeded by his ſon *Saleh.*

Nureddin's ſon, *AlSaleh*, ſucceeded him, but being only eleven years of age, the affairs of his government were managed by *Mokaddem*, one of his father's miniſters; but *Nureddin* was ſo well beloved, that the young *Sultan* was univerſally recognized, and money was coined in his name. It was not long however before *Gazi* the prince of *Mawſel*, made an irruption upon his territories in *Meſopotamia.*

Reflections on the character of *Saladin*;

It is difficult to conceive the motives of the Chriſtian hiſtorians for giving ſo great a character, as they do, of *Saladin.* It may be ſaid with great truth, that he was brave, politic, and liberal; and all in the higheſt degree. But he had every other vice that can denominate, or even diſgrace, a barbarian, being a monſter of ingratitude, cruelty, and bigotry; and without even the virtues that commonly characterize the princes of the Eaſt, for he held in diſdain, all men of true genius and learning, and if we believe the *Moſlem* hiſtorians, who knew him beſt, he was ſuperſtitious, even to contempt. Had *Nureddin* lived a few months longer than he did, it is more than probable, *Saladin* muſt have been cruſhed; as the *Egyptians* ſupported by *Nureddin*, were generally inclined to reſtore the family of the *Fatemite* califfs, to the throne. *Saladin*, was ſo ſenſible of his danger, that we are told, he ſent his brother *Turan*, a man of a war like, impetuous, diſpoſition, to ſecure for him a retreat in *Nubia*: in caſe he ſhould be driven out of *Egypt*. Others ſay that he communicated his deſign to *Nureddin*, who approved of it before his death. But either the news of *Nureddin's* death, or the difficulty of the enterprize, made *Turan* ſuddenly turn his arms towards the rich country of *Yaman*, great part of which he conquered, after overthrowing *Abdalnabi*, the tyrant of it, in a pitched battle; and taking him priſoner. This conqueſt was of infinite ſervice to *Saladin*, as it put him in poſſeſſion of that ſtrong country, where we are told *Turan* reduced, no fewer than eighty cities of importance, and places of ſtrength.

his danger

and vaſt ſucceſſes

Saladin had now leiſure and power to deſtroy the chief partizans of the *Fatemite* houſes, who were very ſtrong, in and about *Cairo*; and, like a barbarian, he cauſed them all to be crucified, down even to a poor poet, who paid him ſome compliments in his verſes. He then ſent *Saffoidin*, another of his brothers, againſt *Alcand* the governor of *Aſwan*, who had

had taken the field, at the head of a great army of blacks in favour of the *Fatemite* family, and who were entirely defeated. In the mean while, *Saladin* in perſon, was acting againſt the *Chriſtians*, who, if we credit the *Moſlem* authors, had under the command of *William*, the ſecond King of *Sicily*, formed the ſiege of *Alexandria*; and who were obliged to raiſe it; but there is ſome reaſon for believing that they mean the ſiege of *Damaita*, at which the king of *Sicily*, ſeems not to have been preſent. Be this as it will, it is certain that tho' *Saladin*, had even acknowledged *Al Saleh*, for his ſuperior, yet all the princes of the houſe of *Zenki*, and the deſcendants of the *Sultans* of the *Seljuks*, were no ſtrangers to his ambition. *Al Saleh*, was adviſed to prevent *Aleppo* falling into his hands, by reſiding in that city. But he had not been long ſettled there, before *Saladin* found means to corrupt his miniſter *Mokaddem*, who had been left at *Damaſcus*. *Mokaddem*, was jealous of one *Camoſh*, who had ſucceeded him in his place about the perſon of *Al Saleh*; and who had been very ſevere upon ſome of *Mokaddem's* friends; the latter therefore, in a manner, invited *Saladin*, to come and take poſſeſſion of *Damaſcus*; which, with the citadel, was accordingly betrayed into his hands, and he gave the government of it to his brother *Tagtakin*. After this, he made himſelf maſter of *Hems*, and *Hamah*, under pretence of taking poſſeſſion of them, for young *Al Saleh*, whoſe deputy he pretended to be, and who, it was ſaid, was in very bad hands at *Aleppo*. But it was not long before *Saladin's* ambition unmaſked itſelf; by marching againſt *Aleppo*, and demanding to be put in poſſeſſion of that capital. *Al Saleh*, the ſon of the great *Nureddin*, tho' no more than twelve years of age; and tho' otherwiſe a prince of no promiſing genius, acted on this occaſion with vaſt ſpirit. For *Saladin* encamping on a mountain near the city, the young *Sultan*, mounted on horſeback, and calling together his nobles and people, he made a moſt pathetic repreſentation to them, upon his own diſtreſſes, himſelf an orphan, and having nothing but the affections of his ſubjects to oppoſe to the ambition, and ingratitude of *Saladin*, who owed all he poſſeſſed in the world to his father, and his family. The young *Sultan* attending this ſpeech with a burſt of tears, his words had the like impreſſion upon his people, and they unanimouſly vowed never to abandon him. Then throwing open the gates, they ruſhed, while their reſentments were yet warm, in a kind of an enthuſiaſm, towards the hill where *Saladin* was encamped, and attacked him with ſuch intrepidity, that he was obliged to order a retreat. It appears however that he returned to the ſiege, and made ſeveral aſſaults upon the city, but was unſucceſsful in them all, thro' the courage and loyalty of the inhabitants. At laſt *Saladin* underſtanding that the *Chriſtians* were in motion to undertake the ſiege of *Hems*,

He deſtroys the *Fatemite* houſe in *Egypt*.

Hiſtory of *Saleh*.

who repels *Saladin*.

Hems, decamped from before *Aleppo*, and obliged the *Chriſtians* to abandon their enterprize.

Confederacy againſt *Saladin*.

Al Saleh was adviſed to make uſe of this reſpite, in animating the other princes of his houſe, to oppoſe *Saladin*. *Saffoidin*, who was then the prince of *Mawſel* immediately raiſed an army, which he ſent to *Al Saleh*'s aſſiſtance at *Aleppo*, under his brother, and his beſt general; whilſt he himſelf marched againſt *Amadoddin*, another prince of the *Zenki* family, who had entered into alliance with *Saladin*. *Al Saleh* was now very powerful, and his army being well commanded, *Saladin*, who by this time had taken *Balbec*, and was upon his return to beſiege *Aleppo*, offered to enter with him upon a treaty of accommodation: and, provided *Al Saleh*, would ſuffer him to govern *Damaſcus* as his deputy, he propoſed to cede to him *Hems*, and *Hamah*. The princes of the houſe of *Zenki*, conſidering *Saladin* as the worſt of uſurpers, rejected thoſe terms; and a general battle enſued; at a place called *Tel Al Soltan*. At firſt *Al Saleh*'s army, had conſiderably the advantage; and that of *Saladin* muſt have been totally routed, had it not been for his own activity, in bringing his men back to the charge; by which *Al Saleh*'s army was compleatly defeated. This victory made *Saladin* maſter of a prodigious booty, and he loſt no time, in enlarging his conqueſts; till at laſt he made himſelf maſter of almoſt all *Syria*, and ſhut up *Al Saleh* in *Aleppo*; after taking the ſtrong caſtle of *Azez*, which was the key of that city.

who defeats it.

He is wounded by three *Aſſaſſins*.

While *Saladin* was intent upon thoſe ſieges, his enemies were far from being idle; and they had recourſe to the deteſtable means of aſſaſſination. For this purpoſe he was attacked ſucceſſively by three *Bataniſts*; who, it is ſaid, were hired by *Camouſh Al Saleh*'s miniſter and general, of *Sinan*, the prince of the *Bataniſts*, or as they were now called *Iſmaelians*. The firſt murderer who attacked him gave him a ſlight wound in the head, but *Saladin*, ſeizing him, held him faſt, till his guards ruſhing in diſpatched him, as they did the other two *Aſſaſſins*, who attacked him at the ſame time. *Saladin* looked upon his eſcape, as being little leſs than miraculous, and became ſomewhat more placable than he had been, to *Al Saleh*, ſince his laſt victory over him. During the ſiege of *Aleppo*, a little girl, the daughter of *Nureddin*, was preſented to him. He affected to receive her with great affection and aſked what he could do to pleaſe her, upon which ſhe immediately demanded the fortreſs of *Azez*, which *Saladin* accordingly ordered to be evacuated. But this ſtory is dark and ſeems to have been confounded, with an incident of the ſame nature, which happened ſome time after; nor is it indeed at all ſuitable to that infidel's character. For inſtead of ſo generouſly relinquiſhing his conqueſt, he took advantage of *Al Saleh*'s diſtreſſed ſituation, by obliging him to yield up all his territories to him, excepting

excepting the city, and district, of *Aleppo*; and he even ordered *Al Saleh*'s name to be struck out of the public prayers, the greatest indignity that could be done to the son of *Nureddin*. He subdues *Saleh*

This treaty, as has been already hinted, seems to have been forwarded, by *Saladin*'s desire to be revenged for the attempts made upon him by the *Batanists*. For upon his raising the siege of *Aleppo*, he marched into the country of the *Ismaelites*, and after laying it desolate, he laid siege to *Massiat*, their strongest and most important place, situated upon that mountain, from which their prince has the appellation of the old man of the mountain. This city and fortress he took and demolished, after puting most of the inhabitants to the sword. *Sinan*, finding himself and his dominions thus upon the point of being ruined, applied to *Haremi*, *Saladin*'s uncle, who undertook the mediation, and after *Sinan* had made his most humble acknowledgements, for the attempts that his subjects had made against his Majesty's life, *Saladin* was prevailed upon to pardon him, and even to take that monster into his alliance. He then made preparations for returning with his whole force into *Egypt*; where his presence was extreamly necessary. Before he left *Syria*, he committed the government of *Damascus*, and his principal concerns in that country, into the hands of his brother *Turan*; and abolished a tribute that was exacted by the governor of *Mecca*, from the *Pilgrims* travelling from that city, giving in the place of it, a certain allowance in money and provisions. Arriving with his army at *Cairo* he found that an *Egyptian*, near *Coptos*, pretending to be *David*, the son of *Al Adid*, the late *Fatemite* califf, had taken the field, at the head of ten thousand *Egyptians*, who declared in his favour; but we are told, that eighty thousand of them were cut to pieces, by *Saladin*'s troops, and amongst others their leader. Hej 572. A. D. 1176. His expedition against the *Ismaelites*. his regulations

Saladin during all his successes, expressed always the highest veneration for *Mostadi*, who still continued to be califf of *Bagdad*; and head of the *Moslem* religion. He was however, sometimes unfortunate, both in his ministers and generals; and was obliged to put to death *Adadoddin* his vizir. *Dahiroddin* his successor, proved to be a man of great virtue and abilities; but could not bear the insolence of *Kimar*, *Mostadi*'s general; who seemed to act independently of his master. *Kimar* was sensible that the califf's affections, were alienated from him, and accusing the vizir of having done him ill offices, he invested his house, with the califf's own guards. The vizir knew his danger, and escaped to *Mostadi*'s palace. He was followed even thither, by the general, at the head of his troops, who demanded the vizir's life. *Mostadi* saw his own, as well as his ministers, danger from their insolence; and ordering his palace gates to be shut, he showed himself from a balcony to the people, who *Mostaai*'s danger and address.

were

were exceſſively tumultuous: as they hated the vizir, as much as *Kimar* did. The appearance of the califf having ſomewhat quieted their noiſe; 'Friends, and children', ſaid he, '*Kimar*, has uſurped and abuſed my authority. You have now before your eyes a freſh inſtance, with what indignity he treats me, and to puniſh him for it, I make you maſters of all his riches, and effects, but will myſelf order the puniſhment of his perſon.'

His deliverance, This ſpeech had the deſired effect, and *Kimar* was obliged to retreat with his guards from the palace to protect his own houſe, into which he threw himſelf. But the people of *Bagdad*, who of all others in the Eaſt, were the moſt giddy and venal, having the califf's authority on their ſide, were not to be controuled. They forced the general to fly to *Mawſel*, where he ſoon after died, and in an inſtant they pillaged his houſe, of all his immenſe treaſure, and wealth.

and death. Hej. 515, A. D. 1179. *Moſtadi* died in the year of the Hejra 575; and left behind him, the character, common to the princes of his houſe, that of being juſt, gentle, liberal, even to a fault, compaſſionate, and a munificent patron of letters. At the time of his death, he is ſaid to have been thirty nine years of age, of which he reigned nine. That he was a prince of little or no ambition appears from the tranſactions of his califat, being ſcarcely mentioned by the *Moſlem* hiſtorians; tho' he was, at the time of his death, no inconſiderable prince, and the undiſputed head of the *Mahometan* religion.

Al Naſer *the thirty-fourth califf of the houſe of* Al Abbas.

He is ſucceeded by *Naſer*. UPON *Moſtadi*'s death, his ſon *Al Naſer*, was by the indefatigable application of his father's vizir, acknowledged as califf; and received, as ſuch, the oaths of allegiance from the grandees of his court. He proved however, extreamly ingrateful to the vizir. For he took into his particular confidence one *Majoddin*, who ruled under him, with an authority little or nothing inferior to that of the *Emirs Al Omra*. This miniſter hated the vizir, and began his adminiſtration, with giving him up to the populace, who hated him alſo; and treated his dead body with indecencies, that only the loweſt of human brutes could have been guilty of. *Naſer*, however, took care to keep *Saladin* on his ſide, by ſending him his robe of inveſtiture, as his *Sultan*, or *Emir Al Omra*; which honour, tho' it was only an empty name, was conſidered by *Saladin*, as a mark of high diſtinction,

diſtinction, as it came from the hands of the ſovereign pontiff of the *Moſlems*.

Before we proceed farther, it may be proper and neceſſary to give ſome account of the affairs of the ſtate of the cruſade at this time; becauſe they greatly intereſted the *Moſlems*, and *Saladin*, and the califf of *Bagdad*. At the time that *Saladin* ſeized *Damaſcus*, *Baldwin*, the fourth, was king of *Jeruſalem*; but he was not only an infant in his cradle, and ſubject to a diſorder, which rendered him unfit for all buſineſs, at certain intervals during the remaining part of his life, at laſt terminated in a leproſy. *Raymond* the count of *Tripoli*, being his father's couſin german, and neareſt of kin to young *Baldwin*, was regent of the kingdom during his minority. *Raymond* ſtood at nothing to gratify his ambition, and *Chriſtian* as well as *Moſlem* authors agree that he entered into a convention with *Saladin* to remain neutral in all *Saladin*'s conteſts with the *Mahometan* princes of the Eaſt. This moſt certainly was a very fatal ſtep, for the intereſt of the *Cruſaders*; becauſe *Saladin* having a vaſt ſuperiority of abilities and genius, over all other *Moſlems*, acquired in the mean time, an extent of power and territory, which brought on the ruin of the *Chriſtians* in the Eaſt. The young king *Baldwin*, as he grew up, diſcovered great infirmities both in body and mind, weak and ſuſpicious, he dreaded *Raymond*, and likewiſe *Bohemond* the young prince of *Antioch*, perhaps not without reaſon. But he threw himſelf into the hands of one who was as weak, as the other was ambitious, this was *Guy de Luſignan*, third ſon to the Earl of *March*, in *France*. *Baldwin* had a ſiſter who was widow to the marquis of *Montſerat*; and this lady, by his influence being married to *Guy de Luſignan*, aſſumed great authority in the affairs of a kingdom governed by ſo weak a prince. *Baldwin* by her influence, was eaſily prevailed upon to declare him regent of the kingdom, tho' *Luſignan* had no qualifications, to recommend him to ſuch a diſtinction. For *Baldwin*, weak as he was, finding *Luſignan*'s incapacity reſigned his own power to a nephew, another *Baldwin*, who was but five years of age, and had him crowned king of *Jeruſalem*. This apparently was done to give *Sybilla* his ſiſter, mother to the young king a ſway in the government; but *Raymond* ſtill maintained himſelf in the regency. *Sybilla* loved her huſband to diſtraction, and was prevailed upon only by her affection for him to ſuffer her brother to abdicate his power. *Luſignan* tho' weak, was not without ambition, and being huſband to the mother of the king, he diſputed the regency, with the count of *Tripoli*. *William* archbiſhop of *Tyre*, a prelate of infinite zeal, interpoſed in the diſpute; and compromiſed matters ſo, that the contending parties ſhould wait the event of an embaſſy, to be ſent to *Europe*, for a freſh ſupply of *Cruſaders*. The moſt proper perſon, who could be employed for this, was *Heraclius*, the patriarch

Baldwin an infant king of *Jeruſalem*.

Neutrality of *Raymond*,

Baldwin's ſiſter *Sybilla* favours her huſband *Luſignan*.

triarch of *Jeruſalem*, who had been appointed ſo by the pope, and in fact had more real power, than the king himſelf. Along with him were joined the maſters of the temple, and the hoſpital knights, inſtitutions which do not belong to this part of our hiſtory to deſcribe. But this triumvirate, at that time directed the affairs of the *Chriſtians* and *Paleſtines* in the *Holy Land*. They ſet out for *Europe*, and explained the purpoſe of their commiſſion to the ſeveral princes, who were moſt likely to aſſiſt them. But it happened, unfortunately for them, that the ſituation of affairs in *Europe* at that time, were extreamly critical; and did not admit of any prince, ſending an army to ſuch a diſtance.

An embaſſy ſent to *Europe*.

Their diſſentions and diſtreſſes were encreaſed by the reſentment which the *Greek* emperors, who lived at this period, ſtill entertained againſt the *Cruſaders*; to whom they were equally enemies as to the *Turks*. The emperor *John Cornenus*, had reigned with great glory; and having driven the barbarians out of *Armenia*, he intended to have reunited *Antioch* to his empire: but he was unfortunately killed, by an accidental wound from a poiſoned arrow. Upon his death bed, he nominated his youngeſt ſon *Manuel*, to ſucceed him; in prejudice of *Iſaac* his elder. *Manuel* upon his acceſſion renewed his operations againſt the barbarians in *Aſia*; with great ſucceſs: but underſtanding that freſh armies of *Cruſaders*, were preparing to march into *Aſia*, he formed private connections with the *Seljukian Sultans*, and other chiefs of the *Turkiſh* tribes; and even gave them intelligence from time to time of the motions of the *Chriſtians*, who took him for their friend. He had married the ſiſter in law of the *German* emperor, *Conrad*, who was at the head of the ſecond Cruſade; and finding he could not prevent it from taking place, he was determined if poſſible, to make it miſcarry. As he was a moſt exquiſite diſſembler, he eaſily inſinuated himſelf into the confidence of *Conrad*, and he undertook to ſupply his troops, with proviſions, and guides upon their march. According to Chriſtian authors, he acted moſt villainouſly in all his engagements. He laid ambuſcades, either of his own troops or barbarians, in all the dangerous paſſes thro' which the *Cruſaders* were to march; by which, they loſt an incredible number of men; and they found the gates of all the towns belonging to the *Greeks* ſhut againſt them, nor could they procure ſubſiſtance, even for money. The *Greek* emperor, is charged with ſtill more deteſtable practices, for he is ſaid to have cauſed quick lime, and other poiſonous materials to be mingled in the flower made uſe of by the *Germans*, and the other *Chriſtians*, which carried them off by thouſands. To add to their misfortunes, *Conrad* himſelf was a raſh, tho' a credulous prince; and ſuffered himſelf to be amuſed ſo much by the treacherous guides, ſent him by the *Greek* emperor, in his march to *Antioch*, that they entangled him in the almoſt impaſſable defiles

Death of the *Greek* emperor.

Policy of *Manuel* his ſon and ſucceſſor;

who cuts off the *Cruſaders*.

defiles of mount *Taurus*, and they were even artful enough to perſwade him to march without proviſions, under pretence that a day or two at fartheſt, would bring him into a moſt plentiful country. But after that, they made their eſcape, leaving the *Chriſtians* in the moſt dreadful diſtreſs, ſurrounded, on all hands, by armies of barbarians and *Greeks*: who ſlaughtered them without danger to themſelves, by the advantage of their ſituation. In ſhort, *Conrad*, after being wounded, eſcaped, with the greateſt difficulty, with not above the tenth part of his army, to the *French* camp. under the emperor *Conrad.*

The other head of the *Chriſtians*, in this unfortunate expedition, was *Lewis* King of *France*; who followed *Conrad*, at the head of another army. He paſſed, without moleſtation, thro' *Auſtria*, and *Hungary*, but arriving upon the territories of the *Greek* emperor, he was adviſed to be upon his guard. It may be proper here to remark, that the *Chriſtian* writers, who charge, as they do, *Manuel*, with the moſt horrid treachery, are very inconſiſtent with themſelves; or the heads of the expedition muſt have been ſtrangely infatuated with zeal, and preſumption. For tho', every ſtep they proceeded, they had freſh proofs, that *Manuel* was openly, as well as ſecretly, their enemy; and tho' he even treated them, as well as their ambaſſadors, with great diſreſpect, yet they ſtill continued to truſt him; and to be ruined by him. This was the more extraordinary, as they might, if they had united againſt him, with the greateſt eaſe, have driven him out of *Conſtantinople*. Inſtead of that, *Lewis* proceeded to that capital, and *Manuel*, who was apprehenſive of his power, treated him with the higheſt marks of eſteem, and even affection. *Lewis* had, in his youth, been guilty of ſome crying cruelties, which had touched his conſcience; ſo that it was eaſy for the famous *Saint Barnard* the *French* abbot, to over-rule all the remonſtrances of his moſt faithful counſellors, and to inſpire the young king, as well as the emperor, with a moſt furious deſire to take upon him the croſs. It ſeems to be incredible, but it is a moſt indiſputable fact, that ſuch was the influence *Barnard* had over the minds of his cotemporaries, that his appearance and looks, in a few months, brought 100,000 *Germans* to the field; tho' he preached to them in a language, of which they did not underſtand one word. *Lewis* did not yield in zeal, to the meaneſt, and moſt ignorant of his ſubjects. He was attended by the biſhop of *Langres*, a prelate of the ſtamp of thoſe times, eaten up with zeal; tho', if we are to give any credit to the *Chriſtian* writers of thoſe times, it might have been of great ſervice, had his advice been followed. For the *Greek* emperor, being extreamly earneſt, that the *French* ſhould evacuate his capital, *Lewis* ſummoned together his chief counſellors, to deliberate on the courſe he was to purſue. The biſhop of *Langres*, without any heſitation, The expedition of *Lewis* king of *France.* who neglects to take *Conſtantinople*

was for their immediately making themſelves maſters of *Conſtantinople*; and very juſtly obſerved, leaving it behind them, in the hands of ſo dangerous a man, as *Manuel* was, their expedition could terminate only in their own ruin. His advice, tho' none of the moſt religious, was rejected; not from a principle of virtue, but of zeal: which would not ſuffer them to employ their arms in any other cauſe than in that for which they had taken them up. They therefore were, fatally for themſelves, prevailed upon to leave *Conſtantinople*; and the emperor, who was maſter of the moſt inſinuating addreſs, offered them his fleet to carry them over to *Aſia*; and ordered it to be given out, that if they did not make haſte, the *Germans* would enhance all the glory of the expedition; and that they had even taken *Iconium* from that *Sultan*. Thoſe reports gave ſuch a ſpur to the ambition, and vanity of the *French*, that the king, with great part of his army, was landed on the *Aſiatic* ſide; but the ſhips returning, under pretext of carrying over the remainder, the emperor ordered them all to be ſtopped, and to be plundered, under frivolous pretences: neither would he ſuffer the king, and the troops that were with him, to be ſupplied with any proviſions, unleſs *Lewis* would comply with all his demands. *Lewis* was attended by his wife *Eleanor* of *Guienne*, who pretended to love him ſo, that ſhe would not leave him. He ſaw, but could not remedy his diſtreſs; and he was obliged to make a treaty with the emperor, promiſing to carry on no attempt, againſt any part of the *Greek* dominions: and that the *French* nobility, ſhould pay to him the ſame kind of homage, which he alledged thoſe in the firſt *Cruſade*, had paid to his predeceſſor *Alexius*. The *French* king, and his court, were obliged to comply with thoſe conditions, mortifying as they were. The emperor however taking care, which was no hard matter for him to do, that the *French* ſhould know nothing of the true ſtate of the *German* army, undertook to furniſh the *French*, with proviſions, and guides on their march. A few days made them ſenſible of *Manuel*'s inſincerity, and happening to meet with a party of *Germans*, under Frederick of *Swabia*, afterwards the famous emperor *Barbaroſa*, they were no longer in doubt as to their fate, if they ſhould depend farther upon *Manuel*. They therefore directed their march towards *Nice*; where the *German* emperor was encamped, with the pitiful remains of his army. A moving and melancholy interview enſued between thoſe two princes; but at laſt, they agreed to proceed in a body, between the ſea and *Phrygia*, towards the *Leſſer Aſia*. But the *Germans*, by this time, were ſo heartily tired of cruſading, that ſcarcely the face of an army was left with *Conrad*; and he found he muſt either abandon his expedition, or ſerve under a king of *France*. He choſe the former, and took the opportunity of returning to *Conſtantinople* with the *Greek* noblemen, that had

and paſſes over to *Aſia*.

forced to make peace with *Manuel*.

Rejoins *Conrad*.

had been ſent as guides to *Lewis*, and who were now by him diſmiſſed, with vaſt diſdain and contempt. *Lewis* now purſued his march to *Laodocea*, and at laſt he ſtopt upon the banks of the famous *Meander*, which he propoſed to paſs. But while he was making diſpoſitions for that purpoſe, he perceived both banks of the river lined with *Turks*; drawn up in ſuch excellent order, as rendered his paſſage extreamly difficult. He however at laſt effected it, after an obſtinate diſpute, in which the *Turks* were entirely defeated; and the *French* were ſuffered to proceed on their march, or rather, to entangle themſelves with freſh difficulties. For it is certain, that, tho' the *Infidels* were no match for the *Chriſtians*, in a plain field where they could come to blows, yet they had perhaps the advantage of them, in the management of the bow and arrow; and by the thorough knowledge they had of the country, they were always enabled to take ſuch poſts, as gave them the advantage of fighting at a diſtance. When *Lewis* came into the defiles of *Laodocea*, he found himſelf obliged to divide his army; and, by the miſconduct of the general, who led the van, his rear, which he commanded himſelf, was attacked by the *Turks*, and ſo entirely defeated, that he was left without a man to fight by his ſide. He acted however with incomparable courage and addreſs, and climbing a rock, he defended it, againſt great numbers of the *Turks*; who not knowing his quality, left him to go in queſt of plunder: at laſt he was delivered by his van returning to his aid, and then he proceeded with more caution, repulſing the enemies on all hands, till he arrived at *Attelia*, on the coaſt of *Pamphilia*. By this time, his army were almoſt as tired as the *Germans* had been, of their expedition. *Lewis*, for ſome time, was amuſed by the *Greek* emperor's governor of *Attelia*, offering him ſhips, to ſhorten his march, and to carry his army by ſea, to *Syria*; but finding himſelf deceived, he was obliged to embark in a ſmall veſſel, and to leave his army to proceed by land, where the flower of them was loſt, by hunger, fatigue, and the arms of the barbarians. *Lewis*, however, with his chief attendants, and his queen, arrived at *Antioch*, which was then governed by *Raymond*.

The diſtreſſes of his march

he is defeated.

Arrives at *Antioch*.

This prince, who was related to *Eleanor*, the *French* queen, pretended love to her, and ſhe was ſo paſſionately fond of *Saladin*, a young *Turk*, that their intrigue was no ſecret even to the king himſelf. It is probable that *Raymond*'s view in courting the queen, was to engage her to prevail with her huſband to conquer for him *Aleppo*; which lay extreamly convenient for his principality of *Antioch*. But *Lewis* being not only unprovided with every thing neceſſary for carrying on a ſiege, but greatly diſguſted with the queen's behaviour, he precipitately left *Antioch*, and marched towards *Jeruſalem*: where the emperor *Conrad* was already arrived, as a pilgrim, almoſt ſingle, and unattended. *Lewis* was

His queen's amours.

Policy of *Raymond*

preſſed by the king of *Jeruſalem* to this march, and without ſuffering himſelf to be further amuſed on the road, was received in *Jeruſalem* as a guardian angel. But property, in that country, as well as *Syria*, was at the time we now treat of, greatly altered. The *Chriſtians* of the firſt cruſade, and their deſcendants, had many of them intermarried with the natives of the country, by which they very juſtly thought they had acquired a natural intereſt in the ſoil. It was not therefore, without ſecret heart burnings, that they ſaw new armies poured into their country; and the method followed to allay thoſe heart burnings, increaſed them. A great number of the *German* princes and prelates, hearing that *Conrad* was in *Jeruſalem*, repaired to that city; and as there was the greateſt harmony between *Conrad*, and the kings of *France*, and *Jeruſalem*, it was reſolved that a general aſſembly of princes and prelates, ſhould be held at *Ptolemais*, to concert the meaſures to be purſued againſt the common enemy. The aſſembly was very auguſt, and it was reſolved to beſiege *Damaſcus*; and when taken, to give it to the Earl of *Flanders*. This reſolution proved fatal to the intereſts of the *Chriſtians*, who loſt a great many men before the place, and, by the intrigues of the *Chriſtian* natives, were obliged to abandon their enterprize.

The *Chriſtians* beſiege *Damaſcus* but in vain

The cruſading princes, zealous, and credulous as they had been, could not be longer impoſed upon, or perſwaded to fight the quarrels of men, who, tho' *Chriſtians*, hated them as much as they did the *Moſlems*; and they ſaw there was no poſſibility of ſucceſs, by any union of the *Chriſtian* intereſt in thoſe countries. In ſhort, the cruſaders, both *French*, and *Germans*, returned as faſt as they could to *Europe*; and were followed by the emperor and the king of *France*; who after his return, obtained a divorce from his wife. As to Saint *Bernard*, whoſe zeal in a ridiculous expedition, had ſacrificed almoſt half a million of *Chriſtians*, his intrepidity upon this occaſion was amazing. He was now as much curſed all over *Europe*, as he had been before venerated. But notwithſtanding the mortifying reproaches he every moment met with, from the friends and relations of thoſe who had periſhed, he juſtified all he had done, by obſerving, that his caſe was the very ſame with that of *Moſes*; who, by the ſins of the people he led, had been prevented from making good his promiſe, of bringing them to the land flowing with milk and honey. The truth is, *Otho Friſingenſis*, brother to the emperor, and who was in this expedition, which he has deſcribed, has acknowledged, that the ſins of the *Chriſtians* who undertook it, were of the moſt horrid and infamous kinds. We have already ſeen, the great diſtreſſes of the *Chriſtians*, at the return of *Conrad* and *Lewis* to *Europe*; and have inſerted as much of their hiſtory, as was connected with our ſubject.

They leave *Paleſtine*

Saint *Bernard* blamed

His apology.

But

But it is greatly for our purpoſe, to mention that the *Chriſtian* writers of thoſe days, were ſo ſtrongly prejudiced againſt *Raymond*, the prince of *Antioch*, and the other *Chriſtian* princes, who, by the means above mentioned, had acquired a property in the Eaſt, that they have omitted many brave actions they performed againſt the Infidels. This appears from the Moſlem authors themſelves, who have appealed to *Saladin*'s own letters for what they advanced. Brave actions of the *Chriſtians* of Paleſtine.

For *Saladin*, whom we left in *Egypt*, having ſettled the affairs of that country, got together a prodigious army, at the head of which he marched againſt *Paleſtine*, with an intention to clear the Eaſt of the *Chriſtians*. Though this expedition falls about two years more early, than the time we now treat of; that is, the acceſſion of *Naſer* to the caliſat; yet we could not regularly mention it ſooner. He arrived in *Paleſtine*, about the 24th of May 1177, according to our computation, and he was oppoſed by *Arnold*, whom the Moſlem hiſtorians call, the prince of *Al Carac*. But, according to the *Chriſtian* writers, his name was *Renaud de Chattillon*, and he was governor of the countries beyond *Jordan*, and lord of *Sidon*. This great warrior, at the head of the few *Chriſtian* troops that ſtill remained in the Eaſt, made wonderful efforts to keep the field againſt *Saladin*, 'till the ſucceſs of their patriarch's embaſſy in *Europe* could be known. *Saladin* advancing to *Aſcylon*, or, according to others, to *Romla*, and not ſuſpecting that the *Chriſtians* had any forces in the field to oppoſe him, had ſent out conſiderable detachments to lay waſte the eſtates of the *Chriſtians*. But *Renaud* watched his opportunity, and attacked the barbarian in his camp. *Takioddin*, one of *Saladin*'s beſt generals, being more upon his guard, oppoſed the *Chriſtians*, with great vigour, and at firſt obliged them to retreat. But *Renaud* rallying his men, renewed the charge with ſo much fury, that *Takioddin* was killed upon the ſpot, and the wing he commanded was entirely cut in pieces; and had not *Saladin* betaken himſelf to a moſt percipitate, and indeed, ſhameful, flight, he muſt have fallen alive into the hands of the *Chriſtians*. But the latter were not proof againſt the vaſt plunder of *Saladin*'s camp, which he abandoned to their poſſeſſion, and thereby favoured his eſcape. We are informed, by the Moſlem authors, that the whole *Egyptian* army was cut off after this battle; for *Saladin* had not even been provident enough, to ſecure for himſelf a place of retreat: ſo that we are told, his army was followed, and ſlain by the *Chriſtians*, through thoſe vaſt burning plains, that ſeparate *Paleſtine* from *Egypt*; and when the *Chriſtians* could purſue, and kill them no longer, almoſt all of them periſhed for thirſt in thoſe dreary deſarts; before they could reach the inhabited country. On the other hand, when the *Chriſtians* returned from the purſuit, they attacked *Saladin*'s detached parties, with ſo much ſucceſs, that few, Who gives a ſignal defeat to *Saladin*.

or none of them escaped being either killed, or made prisoners. Though the particulars of this battle have not been so much as mentioned by the *Christian* writers, yet nothing could have been more glorious for *Renaud*, because *Saladin*, in one of the letters I have taken notice of, mentions it as the greatest check, and his deliverance the most wonderful of any he had ever received; and concludes it, by observing to his brother *Turan*, that he was convinced, by the manner of his escape, that God Almighty was about to employ him in other great designs; the language which the enthusiasts of all ages, have ever made use of.

Saladin's danger.

It was the middle of *June* before *Saladin* reached *Cairo*. He left his *Syrian* affairs in great disorder, through his late defeat. His brother *Turan*, continued still his governor of *Damascus*; and is said to have been a great general. But the troops he had under him, were neither numerous nor well provided, and he had given himself up to the enjoyment of all the luxuries those enchanting countries produce. In short, the *Christians*, believing that *Turan* was in no condition to disturb them, laid siege to *Hama*, which was under the government of *Haremi*, *Saladin*'s uncle, who was now old and infirm. All those circumstances encouraged *Renaud* to form the siege of *Hama*; but he was ill supported, and after attacking it with vast vigour, for four days, he was obliged to draw off his troops towards *Harem*.

The Christians in vain besiege Hama,

This place, which was very strong, belonged to the principality of *Aleppo*, where *Saleh*, the great *Nureddin*'s son, still continued to reside. But *Harem* had been taken possession of by *Camosh*, *Saleh*'s first minister, who was then a prisoner, by his master's orders, for abusing his authority. *Harami* had died the very day that the *Christians* had raised the siege of *Hama*; and *Saleh*'s affairs were, at that time, in great disorder. He produced his minister in irons, before the garison of *Harem*, but they refused to deliver it up to *Saleh*'s order, for which *Camosh*, whom they refused likewise to obey, underwent the torture, and was put to death before their eyes. *Renaud* availed himself of those favourable circumstances, and summoned *Harem* to surrender to him; but he had no better success than *Saleh* had; and he was obliged to form a siege of the place, which continued for four months; so that the inhabitants must have been obliged to surrender it, when *Saleh* prevailed upon them, for a sum of money, to put it into his hands, rather than suffer it to fall into those of the *Christians*. This being agreed to, the garrison admitted a body of *Saleh*'s troops, under one *Serkhac*, one of his father's mamluks, or slaves, into the place, of which *Serkhac* was made governor.

and Harem.

This miscarriage did not discourage *Renaud*, who soon after formed a project, worthy of his high courage; which was that of surprising the city and territory of *Medina*. To carry this project into execution, it was necessary, he should

Renaud invades Medina.

communicate

communicate it to the native *Chriſtians* of *Syria* and *Paleſtine*, ſome of whom diſcovered it to *Azzoddin*, the governor of *Damaſcus*. This *Azzoddin* was a kind of a deputy to *Turan*, *Saladin*'s brother; who had gone to take poſſeſſion of the government of *Balbec*, which he had prevailed with *Saladin* to confer upon him. But as he was a brave, and a vigilant general, he choſe to prevent *Renaud*; and he immediately fell into his territories, with a ſtrong body of forces, which obliged *Renaud* to give over his great deſign. In the mean while, according to the Moſlem authors, *Saladin*, who remained ſtill in *Egypt*, had not yet recovered the great defeat that had been given him, by *Renaud*; and his dominions, in *Syria* and *Egypt*, being laid waſte, by peſtilence and famine, he was unable, for two years, to undertake any thing of importance againſt the *Chriſtians* in *Paleſtine*, whoſe affairs were then in a moſt deplorable condition. According to *European* authors, the patriarch *Heraclius*, was a man very ill fitted for the buſineſs for which he went; which was to re-unite the princes of *Europe*, to undertake a freſh cruſade. The king of *Sicily* was then at war with the *Greek* emperor; and the emperor *Frederick Barbaroſa*, was embroiled with the pope; and even the pope had ſo much upon his hands in *Europe*, that he could not give the ſame attention his predeceſſors had done, to the affairs of the *Holy Land*.

Bad ſtate of the affairs of the *Chriſtians* in *Europe*.

The maſter of the temple of *Jeruſalem*, who was joined in the embaſſy with the patriarch: and the great maſter of the *Hoſpitalers*, dying during the voyage, the ſurviving ambaſſadors proceeded to *France*, where they found *Philip Auguſtus*, a young, but a politic and ambitious prince, upon the throne. He was embroiled with *Henry* the Second, of *England*, ſo that notwithſtanding all the nauſeous adulation, paid him by the ambaſſadors, they could not prevail upon him to engage perſonally in the expedition. They therefore paſſed over to *England*, where they thought themſelves more ſecure with *Henry* the Second. That prince, in right of his father *Foulk de Anjou*, had a claim of inheritance upon the crown of *Jeruſalem* himſelf; and his ordering the archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to be put to death, was thought to have rendered him entirely ſubſervient to the ſee of *Rome*. But though he treated the ambaſſadors with great marks of diſtinction, and even ordered the affair to be debated in parliament, he excuſed himſelf for engaging perſonally in the expedition; though he ſaid, he was willing to advance a ſum of money towards it. It was eaſy for the patriarch to ſee, that *Henry*, in fact, was jealous of *Philip*; but inſtead of endeavouring to win him over, by gentle means, he treated him with language that would have diſgraced the meaneſt of the vulgar.

The patriarch applies to the *Chriſtian* princes there.

Heraclius being thus obliged to return to the *Holy Land*, without ſucceſs, the *Chriſtians* there, were ſtruck with deſpair.

Without ſucceſs.

pair. *Baldwin* the Fourth, by this time, was dead, and the young king *Baldwin* the Fifth, did not long ſurvive him; having been poiſoned, as is ſaid, either by *Raymond* the prince of *Tripolis*, or by his own unnatural mother *Sybilla*, that ſhe might make way for her huſband *Luſignan*, to the throne. *Raymond*, who, notwithſtanding the hatred which *Baldwin* the Fourth bore towards him, had been by him left regent of the kingdom, to the excluſion of *Luſignan*, his brother-in-law; and *Raymond*, upon that, and his conſanguinity, founded a claim to the throne; as being the male heir, in which he was ſupported by the body of the people, who had a great opinion of his abilities. The nobility, on the other hand, declared for *Sybilla*, but they could not brook any dependance upon *Luſignan*; whom they knew to be a weak prince, and who was a ſtranger amongſt them. *Alfred de Thoron*, the huſband of *Iſabella*, the youngeſt ſiſter of *Sybilla*, was propoſed by many to be king; but he declined it; and *Sybilla*, who had as much art, as ſhe had affection for her huſband, gained over to her intereſt the patriarch, and the great maſters of the *Temple and the Hoſpital*; who were, in fact, the heads of the church and the army; and before it was well known that the young king was dead, her huſband and ſhe were crowned; to the aſtoniſhment of the nobility, and the people.

Luſignan crowned king of *Jeruſalem*

Saladin had excellent intelligence of all that paſſed amongſt the *Chriſtians*. We are told, that an *Engliſh* knight of the *Temple*, one *Saint Albin*, offered him his ſervice, and to convince him of his ſincerity, he turned *Mahometan*; and was entruſted by *Saladin*, with the command of ſome troops, with whom he undertook to ſurprize *Jeruſalem* itſelf, and we are informed, he was defeated and killed in the attempt. But the great dependance of *Saladin*, was upon the count of *Tripoli*, who, upon *Luſignan*'s being raiſed to the throne of *Jeruſalem*, had retired to his own dominions. He then, according to the Moſlem, as well as *Chriſtian* authors, entered into a negotiation with *Saladin*, but what the articles were, do by no means appear. It is certain that, about the ſame time, died *Saleh*, the ſon of *Nureddin*, who nominated his couſin *Azzoddin*, the prince of *Mawſel*, for his ſucceſſor. Soon after *Amadoddin*, who was likewiſe of the *Zenki* family, came into the poſſeſſion of *Aleppo*, by a convention with *Azzoddin*, who received *Sanjar* in exchange.

Apoſtacy of count *Raymond*

But the princes of the *Zenki* family, having the greateſt reaſon to be jealous of *Saladin*, invited the *Chriſtians* to enter into a confederacy againſt him; and this negotiation, probably, by the information of *Raymond*, came to the knowledge of *Saladin*, who remained ſtill at *Cairo*. Upon this, the politic barbarian put himſelf at the head of a great army, and concluded a treaty with the emperor of *Conſtantinople*, and prepared to ſet out from *Cairo* for *Damaſcus*.

Moſlems and *Chriſtians* unite

The

The Moſlem authors inform us, that when he left *Cairo*, he was poſſeſſed with the moſt melancholy apprehenſions, that he never ſhould ſee it again, on account of the meaning of certain verſes, preſented him by a poet; and that all his court condoled with him. Though this is a fact of little importance, yet it ſerves to confirm the character of ſuperſtition, which we have given to this mighty conqueror. It appears from hiſtory, that the troops he brought into the field, upon this occaſion, were raw, and undiſciplined; but *Saladin* knew well how to exerciſe them. Superſtition of *Saladin*

His firſt motions were directed to break the confederacy formed againſt him, by the princes of the *Zenki* family. He arrived at *Damaſcus*, where he appointed his general rendezvous, about the middle of *February*. While he was upon his march, he was oppoſed by the brave *Raymond*, which gave *Fark*, one of his generals, an opportunity of ſurpriſing a defenceleſs caſtle, belonging to *Renaud*, and of ravaging all that part of the country where it lay. All *Saladin*'s towering ſchemes were now in danger of been cruſhed. He had laid ſiege to the antient *Berycus*, then called *Bayrut*; but was unſucceſsful in his attacks, and was obliged to return to *Damaſcus*, with an intention to make himſelf maſter both of *Aleppo* and *Mawſel*; but he was bravely oppoſed, by the princes of the *Zenki* family. For though, about the middle of *May*, he brought a vaſt army before *Aleppo*, and attacked it for three days very furiouſly, yet he was obliged to raiſe the ſiege with great loſs. He then applied himſelf to ſow diſſentions amongſt the heads of the confederacy againſt him; in which he was more ſucceſsful than he was in oppoſing it. For the prince of *Harem* being jealous of the prince of *Mawſel*'s power, was detached from the alliance; and joined his forces with *Saladin*; who, by his aſſiſtance, made himſelf maſter of ſeveral cities of importance; and about the 11th of *July*, he formed the ſiege of *Mawſel*. His progreſs. He beſieges *Aleppo*, and *Mawſel*.

It appears from Moſlem authors, that *Naſer*, the califf of *Bagdad*, ſought to avail himſelf of the confuſion of the times; and had formed ſome pretentions upon *Aleppo*, in which he was defeated. The princes of the houſe of *Zenki*, upon *Saladin*'s preparing to act againſt them, likewiſe invited him into the confederacy, but he declined it; and he ſeems to have acted all along, as the creature of *Saladin*. He however, ſtill kept up the badges of his ſupremacy as califf, by ſending to that *Sultan*, and the princes of his family, robes of honour, from time to time. It appears, that *Mawſel* was, at this time, one of the largeſt and ſtrongeſt cities in all the Eaſt, and it is ſaid to have been built upon the ſame ſpot where the antient *Nineveh* ſtood. Its garriſon was compoſed, both of horſe and foot, and *Azzoddin*, who had not yet reſigned the poſſeſſion of it, was extremely beloved by the inhabitants. *Azzoddin* however, being apprehenſive of

Saladin's

Saladin's power, made an effort to prevail upon him to raiſe the ſiege; for he ſent his own mother, with the daughter of *Nureddin*, and a great many ladies, and noblemen of diſtinction, to beg that he would deſiſt from his undertaking. *Saladin*, tho' he deſired the ladies to ſit down in his tent, and behaved to them with an aukward civility, yet was ſo far from granting their requeſt, that he made diſpoſitions for continuing the ſiege more vigorouſly than ever.

His ingratitude.

Upon the return of the ladies to *Mawſel*, the inhabitants were exaſperated to the laſt degree, at *Saladin*'s ingratitude, to the daughter of *Nureddin*; (of whom we have related a like adventure before, tho' probably it is the ſame with this) and reſolved to defend the place to the laſt extremity. As the city was very large, it was with ſome difficulty that he could compleatly inveſt it on the eaſtern ſide of the *Tygris*, where the inhabitants frequently attacked and defeated his troops. This obliged him to change his manner of proceeding, and to endeavour to cut off all communication between the city and the *Tygris*; by which alone it was ſupplied with water. But the courage of the inhabitants defeated this expedient likewiſe; and his army was greatly weakened by their frequent ſallies: and at laſt a very ridiculous accident convinced him they were not to be ſubdued. For in one of their ſallies, a *Mawſelite* having loſt his ſword in the conflict, pulled off an iron ſhod ſhoe, with which he attacked *Jawalli*, one of *Saladin*'s beſt officers, and wounded him ſeverely in the breaſt. The party being repulſed, *Jawalli* called for the ſhoe, which had been left in the field of battle, and carried it to the *Sultan*; to whom he declared that he was determined to have no farther concern in the ſiege, where he was treated with ſuch an indignity, as being attacked with old ſhoes. In ſhort *Saladin*, notwithſtanding all his experience and courage, was obliged to raiſe the ſiege.

Remarkable defence of the *Mawſelites*.

the ſiege raiſed.

From *Mawſel*, *Saladin* marched againſt *Sanjar*, which he took by aſſault, on the ſecond of *September*; but he ſent the garriſon, under an eſcort to *Mawſel*. He then took the important city of *Naſibin*; and in the ſame campaign made himſelf maſter of *Edeſſa*, and *Rakka*; but wherever he went he deſtroyed the territories of the *Chriſtians* with fire and ſword, and gave themſelves no quarter. He acquired all thoſe ſucceſſes, and many others, more by his addreſs, and the force of his money, than by his arms; for he found means, in a manner, to diſſolve the confederacy that had been formed againſt him. The prince of *Mawſel*, upon this, was joined by the prince of *Aklat*, in *Armenia*; whoſe ſubjects ſeem to have been *Chriſtians*. But after the confederate army was brought into the field, *Saladin* found means to detach the *Armenian* from his allies, which entirely defeated the ends of their union. He then formed the ſiege of *Amida*, and

Saladin's barbarity and progreſs.

and took it in eight days time, giving the plunder of it to one of his generals, and the government of it to another.

Such were the arts, and such the conduct, by which this great emperor closed this campaign, so much to his glory. Nor was he less fortunate by his brother *Saif*, who reduced to his subjection the rich country of *Yaman*, or the *Happy Arabia*; where he found immense treasures; all which he got possession of by fraud and treachery. *Saladin* however, amidst all his successes, was not without his checks. The brave *Renaud* had been able to fit out some ships, on the *Red Sea*, on board of which, he put a number of land forces; he then left part of his little fleet to block up *Aila*, a considerable maritime city belonging to *Saladin*, upon the same coast. *Malec*, *Saladin*'s brother, was, at that time, his governor of *Egypt*; where he and all the *Moslems*, were amazed at seeing the *Christian* flag upon the *Red Sea*. He appointed one *Lulu*, an excellent sea officer, to the command of the *Egyptian* marine; and *Lulu* soon sailed with a fleet, which defeated that of the *Christians*, before *Aila*. But, in the mean time, *Renaud* had landed his soldiers out of his other division, and advancing up the country of *Hejaz*, he is accused, by the *Moslem* authors, of having put a great many *Mahometan* pilgrims to the sword; of threatening to destroy the holy temple of *Mecca*, and to take, by storm, both that city and *Medina*. It appears, from the best testimonies, that he probably would have succeeded in all he proposed, had not the want of water obliged him to return to his ships: the Moslem writers say, but with no appearance of probability, that the squadron under him was likewise defeated by *Lulu*. It is certain, however, that the latter made a most inhuman use of his victory, by putting to death, in cold blood, all the prisoners who fell into his hands. This expedition, so glorious for *Renaud*, as I apprehend, has been omitted by the *Christian* writers; a fresh proof of their inaccuracy and prejudice.

Expedition of *Renaud*, against *Mecca* and *Medina*.

The alliance between the house of *Zenki*, and the prince of *Aleppo*, seems still to have subsisted; and the next campaign was opened by the joint operations of their armies: against several places belonging to *Saladin*, or his friends, but with no great success. Upon this, *Saladin* resolved, once more, to form the siege of *Aleppo*, which some have mistaken for a *Christian* city; and on the twenty second of *January* he took *Tel Kaled*, an important post in the neighbourhood of that city, and four days after he opened the siege. *Amadoddin*, the prince of *Aleppo*, was then in the place, the chief strength of which lay in the citadel; which *Amadoddin* had fortified very strongly. But *Amadoddin*, who, notwithstanding his alliance with the *Christians*, and his aversion to *Saladin*, was a good *Moslem*, seeing himself now unsupported by the *Zenki* family, and exposed to all the rage of *Saladin*,

Hej. 579. A. D. 1183.

Saladin again besieges *Aleppo*.

Saladin, whoſe arms had now penetrated into *Galile* itſelf, begun to entertain ſome thoughts of an accommodation; eſpecially as the *Chriſtians* had returned home, to defend their own dominions. He was the more diſpoſed to this, as his principal officers diſliked his alliance with the *Chriſtians*; and as *Saladin* was at great pains to convince all the princes in the *Moſlem* intereſt, that he had no other view, than to unite them all againſt the enemies of *Mahomet*. *Amadoddin* therefore, employed one of his officers, upon a private treaty with *Saladin*; who ſhewed no averſion to an accommodation, tho' his brother was mortally wounded during the ſiege: which was continued with vaſt vigour. After ſome interviews, about the middle of *February*, a convention was concluded between *Saladin*, and *Amadoddin*; by which it was agreed, that the latter ſhould yield up the citadel of *Aleppo*, but ſhould remain in poſſeſſion of all his treaſures and effects; and that, in exchange for *Aleppo*, he ſhould receive from *Saladin*, the cities of *Sanjar*, *Naſibin*, *Kabur*, *Rakka*, and *Saruj*, in *Meſopotamia*; and that he ſhould ſerve, with his troops, under *Saladin*, whenever required.

which is given up to him,

Nothing of this negotiation was known in public, till *Saladin*'s troops peaceably took poſſeſſion of the citadel, and then the citizens, upon application to *Saladin*, were received into his protection, and confirmed in all their poſſeſſions, having firſt taken an oath of allegiance to him. But when the capitulation which *Amadoddin* had made with *Saladin* came to be known, his ſubjects of *Aleppo* could not refrain from giving him the moſt opprobrious language, "You aſs," ſaid they in their eaſtern ſtrain, "you have ſold your cream for ſkimmed milk." In fact, the bargain was diſadvantageous on the part of *Amadoddin*, becauſe *Saladin* had diſmantled all the cities he had ceded by the capitulation. But *Saladin* ſtrove to make *Amadoddin* amends by a profuſion of compliments he paid him. He made preſents of robes of ſtate to him and all his chief miniſters and generals, and in return accepted of an invitation to a magnificent entertainment given by *Amadoddin* in his tent; but in the midſt of the feſtivity *Saladin* was told that his brother *Moluc* was dead of the wound he had received. *Saladin* ſo tenderly loved this brother, that he was often heard to ſay, that *Aleppo* was too dearly purchaſed ſince it had coſt his life. But he would not diſturb the mirth of the entertainment by publiſhing the melancholy news, and whiſpered one of his officers to take care that the body ſhould be privately interred.

by capitulation.

Amadoddin reproached

Complaiſance of *Saladin*.

Saladin having gained the favourite end, he had ſo long aimed at, he extended his conqueſts far and near, over all *Syria*. The governor of *Harem* refuſing to ſurrender that fortreſs, the garriſon ſent him in chains to *Saladin*; and put themſelves under his command: and its example was followed

He takes *Harem*.

followed by the ſtrong fortreſs of *Azaz*; the prevailing opinion amongſt the people being, that they muſt otherwiſe fall under the power of the *Chriſtians*. *Saladin* then appointed his ſon *Gazi*, to the government of *Aleppo*, which, next to *Damaſcus*, he prized, as the faireſt jewel of his crown; and in order to make, if poſſible, the campaign deciſive, he ſent for powerful reinforcements from *Egypt*, and his other countries, under his brother *Adel*. He then, according to the *Chriſtian* authors, made diſpoſitions for executing the plan he had concerted with *Raymond* earl of *Tripoli*; who, according to the ſame authors, had actually offered to renounce *Chriſtianity*, and embrace *Mahometaniſm*. But this is againſt all the evidence of common ſenſe. For tho' it is more than probable, that *Saladin*, and he, had an underſtanding, if not a treaty together, yet it is plain, that it was upon ſuch terms, as ſhould leave *Raymond* in poſſeſſion of the ſovereign power; which could not be *Saladin*'s intention. For every ſtep he took was a demonſtration, that he intended to retake *Jeruſalem*, and drive the *Chriſtians* out of the Eaſt. For this purpoſe, he had, again and again, attemped to take the important city of *Al Carac*; which in a manner cut off the communication, between *Syria*, and *Egypt*, and belonged to *Renaud*. But tho' he and his generals had, vigorouſly, attempted to take the place, with very ſtrong armies, they were ſtill baffled before it. But after the taking *Azaz*, *Saladin* paſſed the *Jordan*, burnt *Beiſan*, drove the troops of the *Templars*, and *Hoſpitalers* out of the field, and once more beſieged *Al Carac*. It does not appear, that he was preſent in perſon, at the opening the ſiege, the care of which he committed to *Arſlan*; a general he had ſent for out of *Egypt*, and who attacked the place very vigorouſly. Meeting with an obſtinate reſiſtance, the *Chriſtians* had time to reaſſemble their troops, and they encamped at *Wali*, a place in the neighbourhood, with an intention to give *Arſlan* battle, and to raiſe the ſiege.

Conjecture about *Raymond*.

Al Carac beſieged in vain

Saladin was at this time at *Damaſcus*, where the fame of his power, and his zeal againſt the *Chriſtians*, brought ambaſſadors, and many ſovereign princes, from all parts of the *Moſlem* world, to congratulate him, or to court his alliance. *Saladin*, who was now attended by his favourite ſon, whom he had made governor of *Aleppo*, received them all, with great kindneſs; provided they had no connections with the *Chriſtians*, and would enter into no communication with thoſe who had. Accordingly, the princes of *Jazir*, and *Arbel*, renounced even the connections they had formed with the prince of *Mawſel*, becauſe of his correſpondence with the *Chriſtians*; and were received into alliance with *Saladin*, who appeared now in great glory. But he no ſooner underſtood, that the *Chriſtians* were in motion to raiſe the ſiege of *Al Carac*, than he put himſelf at the head of a freſh body of troops, and, paſſing the *Jordan*, he encamped

Saladin's great pomp.

He is obliged to raiſe the ſiege of *Al Carac.*

camped at *Ma Ain*, either to cover the ſiege, or to give battle to the *Chriſtians*; but he ſucceeded in neither of his deſigns, tho' *Arſlan* had taken the lower town of *Al Carac*. For the *Chriſtians* having thrown a ſtrong reinforcement of men and proviſions into the place, he thought fit to evacuate the lower town, and to raiſe the ſiege. He then marched into the open country, which he ravaged with his uſual cruelty; and put to the ſword all the *Chriſtians* he met with. Whenever he came to an open place, belonging to the *Chriſtians*, he entered and deſtroyed it; but was unable to take the citadel of *Nablos*. After thoſe unmanly exploits he returned, as it were, in triumph, to *Damaſcus*; and gave orders for driving the troops of *Mawſel* out of the territories of his new ally, the prince of *Arbel*; which was effected. After this, *Al Naſer*, the califf of *Bagdad*, endeavoured to reconcile *Saladin*, and *Azzoddin*, the prince of *Mawſel*; but in vain: for *Saladin* would hear of no accommodation, unleſs *Azzoddin* would renounce all correſpondence with the *Chriſtians*. This, perhaps, was only a pretence, to lower the extream deſire he had to make himſelf maſter of *Azzoddin*'s capital. Under pretence therefore of the hoſtilities *Azzoddin*'s army had committed, againſt the prince of *Aklat*, he again laid ſiege to *Mawſel*; in which he was aſſiſted by a large army formed of the troops of his confederates, or rather tributaries; for he now declared himſelf to be at the head of the *Moſlem* intereſt, and exacted great deference, and marks of reſpect, from them, even to the putting them under an arreſt, if he thought they failed in either.

The *Seljukian Sultan* of *Rum*, ſo called from his empire being conquered from the *Greeks*, or, as the *Turks* uſed to term them, the *Romans*, was the moſt independant, at this time, of all the *Moſlem* princes. His name was *Kilij Arſlan*, and being jealous of *Saladin*, he was prevailed upon by *Azzoddin*, to ſend an embaſſy to that *Sultan*, to inform him, that if he did not deſiſt from his enterprize againſt *Mawſel*, a general confederacy of all the *Moſlem* princes would be formed againſt him. *Saladin* laughed at this menace, which he knew to be falſe, and proceeded in the ſiege; in which making but little progreſs, he raiſed it, in order to make himſelf maſter of *Aklat*, the prince of which was juſt dead. But being diſappointed in that project, he turned his arms againſt *Mayabarakin*, and then returned to the ſiege of *Mawſel*. By this time, *Azzoddin*, ſenſible that he could not ſingly withſtand *Saladin*'s power, applied to him for terms; which *Saladin*, who had failed ſo often in his attempts upon *Mawſel*, very readily granted. By this treaty, ſeveral cities, and territories, were ceded to *Saladin*, who gave *Azzoddin*, who continued to govern *Mawſel*, ſome territories in return. It was likewiſe agreed, that the *Sultan* ſhould be prayed for in all the moſques of *Mawſel*, and its territories; and that the public money ſhould bear his name. By the two laſt articles,

it

It is plain that *Saladin*, by this treaty, became ſovereign of *Maruſel*. About this time, *Saladin* fell ſo dangerouſly ill of a fever, that he was obliged to retire to *Haran*, where his life was diſpaired of. His nephew *Mohammed*, the ſon of the famous *Shairacub*, then governor of *Hems*, upon this, formed ſome intrigues with the principal lords of *Damaſcus*, to render himſelf governor of that city. But *Saladin* recovering his health, by the aſſiſtance of an able phyſician, brought to him by his brother, no ſooner was informed of *Mohammed's* practices, than he ordered him to be poiſoned; notwithſtanding the vaſt obligations he lay under to his father. It is further probable, that the charge againſt *Mohammed* was all a fiction, to colour his ſeizing all his treaſure and effects, which he did, tho' he pretended to leave the government of *Hems* to his ſon *Aſadoddin*, a child of twelve years old; and in the hands of tutors, appointed him by *Saladin*. It is ſaid that, after *Saladin* had ſeized upon *Mohammed's* effects, he ordered *Aſadoddin* to attend him; and he aſked the boy, how far he had advanced in his reading the *Koran*. Upon which he readily anſwered, "I am come, ſir, to that paſſage, which ſays, that they who unjuſtly take from an orphan, his inheritance, ſhall ſwallow down living flames, and broil in endleſs torments." This treatment of the ſon, and grandſon of a man who had been more than a father to *Saladin*, whoſe ſiſter *Mohammed* had likewiſe married, is a freſh inſtance of that unjuſt partiality, with which the memory of this tyrant has been treated by hiſtorians; and the rather, as the facts we have related, are admitted, by his greateſt admirers, to have been true.

By ſome ſurmiſes which have dropt from the pens of *Chriſtian*, as well as Moſlem, authors, it appears as if *Renaud* had forced *Saladin* to conſent to a ceſſation of arms; but upon what terms, or within bounds is not ſaid. We are only told that, in the beginning of this campaign, that active prince had intercepted a large caravan of pilgrims travelling to *Mecca*, and had carried into captivity all whom he did not put to the ſword. When *Saladin* heard of this, he broke into a terrible paſſion, accuſed *Renaud* of having violated the truce, and ſwore, if he ever took him, he would cut off his head with his own hand. But there is no neceſſity for us to ſuppoſe, that the barbarian required any additional motive for this inhuman reſolution, which he afterwards moſt faithfully performed; or indeed that any engagement farther than that formed between him and *Raymond*, whom perhaps he might think *Renaud's* ſuperior, ſubſiſted between him and *Renaud*. As *Raymond's* treaty, therefore, with *Saladin* was kept a ſecret, *Renaud* could not be guilty of breaking it: tho I perceive that the *Chriſtian* authors make mention of another *Renaud*, in their army, who was ſuſpected of having a correſpondence with *Saladin*.

A caravan of *Moſlem* pilgrims intercepted.

Early

Hej. 583. A. D. 1187. Early in the year 1187, *Saladin* took the field with all the forces he could muſter. If we are to believe the *Chriſtian* authors, *Raymond*, by an excellent train of diſſimulation, had by this time reconciled himſelf to the king of *Jeruſalem*, the patriarch, and the other *Chriſtian* nobility there, by pretending to abjure all his connections with *Saladin*. But we are told that, in the mean time, he pointed out to the barbarian, the method how to conquer the kingdom of *Jeruſalem*; a piece of treachery very unlikely to be true, if he had himſelf an eye upon that crown. It is therefore much more probable, that, ſeeing the danger with which the kingdom was threatened by *Saladin*'s power, he became a real penitent, and broke off all correſpondence with the *Infidels*; and every ſtep of his after conduct, ſhows that to have been the caſe.

Saladin's intrigues with *Raymond* examined.

Saladin had then in the field above ninety thouſand foot, and a proportionable number of horſe, which were as many troops as that ruined country could ſubſiſt; but he never had been, before, at the head of ſo many good ſoldiers. His firſt operation was to block up *Al Carac*, in order to protect the pilgrims travelling to *Mecca*. He then ſent a large detachment, under his ſon *Malec*, to lay waſte all the country about *Ptolemais*, called by the *Turks Acca*, which he did with inſpeakable rapaciouſneſs; and that diſtrict being leſs exhauſted than the neighbouring ones, he returned to his father with a vaſt booty. Upon the return of the caravan in ſafety, *Saladin* moved to *Aſhtara*, where he was joined by all the detachments he had ſent out; and particularly by the troops of *Mawſel*. He then made a general rendezvous of all his army, which he marched towards the lake of *Tiberias*, near which he pitched his camp, about the end of *April*.

Saladin's army.

In the mean while, as it was now plain that *Saladin*'s intention was to beſiege *Tiberias*, a city of the utmoſt conſequence to the *Chriſtians*, a great council was held at *Jeruſalem*, to deliberate how they were to proceed. The princeſs *Eſclina*, who had brought to *Raymond*, whom ſhe married, the principality of *Galile*, of which *Tiberias* was a part, was then in that city; which by all accounts was but poorly garriſoned. The king of *Jeruſalem*'s council were divided in opinion. As *Tiberias* could not be relieved, but by bringing a great army into the field, which muſt be drawn forth from other garriſons, ſome thought it beſt not to attempt the relief of the place, ſince it might bring on a battle, that muſt give all *Paleſtine* to *Saladin*, if he was victorious; whereas, by keeping upon the defenſive, fatigue and heat muſt ruin his troops; while they, the *Chriſtians*, had a fair chance of receiving reinforcements from *Europe*. *Raymond*, on the other hand, repreſented, the indelible diſgrace that muſt attend their abandoning a princeſs, to the mercy of barbarians, and how unlikely it was, if *Tiberias* was not relieved,

He beſieges *Tiberias*.

A reſolution is taken to raiſe the ſiege.

relieved, that any other place durſt ſtand out againſt them; he added, they were able to bring into the field a force which, former experience told them, muſt be ſuperior to the barbarous, undiſciplined troops of the *Infidels*, however numerous they were.

Raymond was ſeconded in his opinion by many of the aſſembly, and particularly by four ſons of *Eſchina*, of a former marriage; and got upon his ſide, even *Sybilla* the queen of *Jeruſalem*; upon which it was reſolved, that an army ſhould take the field, and give battle to the *Infidels*. This army conſiſted of twenty thouſand infantry, and twelve thouſand cavalry, beſides militia, and undoubtedly, had they been well armed, and diſciplined, and fighting upon equal terms, the *Infidels*, numerous as they were, muſt have been defeated. For, tho' *Saladin* had introduced into his troops a moſt excellent diſcipline, yet they were not comparable to the *Chriſtians*, who had much better armour; but, excepting *Knights Hoſpitalers*, and *Templars*, not above one half of this army were ſoldiers, and they were to march againſt the moſt cautious, and moſt experienced, general in the world. *Saladin* had, by this time, taken by ſtorm the city of *Tiberias*; but the princeſs continued reſolutely to defend the citadel. It is allowed by *Moſlem* authors, that he was guilty of the moſt ſhocking cruelties againſt the inhabitants of *Tiberias*. He affected to call all the *Knights Hoſpitalers*, and *Templars*, *Bataniſts*, or *Aſſaſſins*. He gave fifty dinars for every one of their heads that were brought to him, and ſuffered none of them to receive any quarter. He was but too well countenanced in thoſe barbarities, by the practice of thoſe holy fraternities, who ſeldom themſelves gave quarter to *Infidels*; or if they did, kept them in chains in ſlavery. At laſt, receiving intelligence that the *Chriſtian* army was in motion to fight them, and perceiving he could not take the citadel of *Tiberias*, he ſet fire to that part of the town that was in his hands; and leaving part of his troops to block up the citadel, he made a moſt advantageous diſpoſition for receiving the enemy. *Saladin*'s cruelty.

On the twenty ſecond of April both armies met. According to *Chriſtian* authors, the ſituation of the *Chriſtian* army was highly diſadvantageous, and deplorable; and all owing to the perfidy of *Raymond*, who was choſen to conduct it. But the fact is, that *Luſignan* was hated by the great lords of *Paleſtine*, and *Luſignan* hated *Raymond*; ſo that upon the whole, there was no concord, and ſcarcely command amongſt them. The *Chriſtian* writers pretend that *Raymond* intangled the army amongſt rocks and mountainous paſſes, ſo that they fell an eaſy prey to the *Infidels*; who, by his advice, were poſſeſſed of all the moſt advantageous poſts. They pretend that this broke the *Chriſtians* into ſo many ſmall diviſions, that they could not act in a body: and that they could not get out of the defiles, but by two or three in a An account of the decifive battle of *Hittin*.

breaſt, which gave the *Infidels* an opportunity of cutting them off. It is certain, that the great maſter of the *Templars* acted with prodigious courage upon this melancholy occaſion; for he and his knights overthrew all oppoſition. The *Chriſtian* authors ſay, that they were ill ſupported by *Raymond*, who led the ſecond diviſion, (it being the prerogative of the maſter of the Temple to lead the firſt;) and that the diviſions after him being commanded by men in concert with him, none of them would venture to follow the *Templars*: every man of whom were either killed upon the ſpot or taken priſoners, and conſequently reſerved for certain death.

which *Saladin* wins.

The *Moſlem* writers, on this occaſion, ſeem to have been better informed. They tell us that the battle begun upon the twenty ſecond of April in the afternoon, and that it continued very fierce and bloody till night parted the combitants. The next day, the battle was renewed, but without any deciſive advantage on either ſide. But, on the twenty fourth, the *Chriſtians* having puſhed the *Moſlems*, towards the banks of the *Jordan*, and the latter being hemmed in on all ſides, found their ſafety in deſpair. *Raymond*, undoubtedly to wipe from himſelf all ſuſpicion, charged the *Infidels* in their firſt ranks, with unparallelled courage; but was oppoſed by the prince of *Hamali*, who received him ſo warmly that he obliged him to retreat, and in his retreat he loſt every man who attended him, by the ambuſcades of the *Infidels*, that had been planted in the defiles of the mountains, and he eſcaped ſingle to *Tripoli*. As this is a fact that is not contradicted by any writer of that time, it is a full proof that *Raymond* was not guilty of that atrocious treachery with which he is charged, upon this occaſion; it even ſerves to ſhow that he behaved with as much reſolution as any general who fought on the ſide of the *Chriſtians*. The flight of *Raymond* threw the *Chriſtians* into ſuch a panic and confuſion, that the *Turks*, attacking them on all hands, gained a compleat victory. The brave *Templars*, and *Hoſpitalers*, were all cut off, excepting two hundred who remained about the perſon of the king. Notwithſtanding this, the *Chriſtians* who ſurvived, formed themſelves into a body, and retired towards their camp, which lay upon a riſing ground, called the hill of *Hittin*; where they formed themſelves with ſuch a ſhew of reſolution, that *Saladin* durſt not attack them, and was about to have ordered his ſoldiers to retreat, when, by means of ſix deſerters, who came over to him, he underſtood, that the *Chriſtians* were ſo faint with thirſt and fatigue, that they could not handle their arms. Notwithſtanding this information, the tyrant did not think proper to attack them; but obſerving that their camp was ſurrounded by vaſt groves of combuſtible wood, he ordered his forces to advance and pen them up on all ſides, in as narrow a compaſs as poſſible. In the

mean

mean while, he cauſed the wood to be ſet on fire around them, and the dreadful conflagration obliged the *Chriſtians* to ſurrender at diſcretion. A *Moſlem* author, who was well informed, tells us, that a ſingle ſoldier of the *Infidel* army led off thirty of them, tied one to another with his tent ropes. The defeat of the *Chriſtians* finiſhed.

Saladin behaved towards the *Chriſtians*, as they, very poſſibly, would have behaved to his army, had it been defeated. He maſſacred all the common men, from whoſe ranſom he had nothing to expect. *Luſignan* the king of *Jeruſalem*, endeavoured to make his eſcape, but was purſued cloſely by *Tyo Kaddin*, one of *Saladin*'s nephews, and taken. The butchery of the common men being over, *Saladin* ordered the two hundred *Knights Templars* and *Hoſpitalers*, who had likewiſe been made priſoners, to be brought before his tent, where they were maſſacred under his own eyes. The *Chriſtians* maſſacred. This inhuman ſacrifice being performed, *Saladin* called for the two chief priſoners, and ordered them to be brought into his tent, which was moſt magnificently fitted up for their reception. Theſe were, *Luſignan* king of *Jeruſalem*, and the brave *Renaud*, who we have ſo often mentioned. He ſeated the firſt upon his right hand, and the latter upon his left. He called for a bowl of ſherbet, which had been cooled with ſnow water, and after drinking to the king of *Jeruſalem*, he gave it to his hand. After that prince, who was periſhing with thirſt, had drank, he preſented the bowl to *Renaud*, who was in the ſame condition. "Hold, called out *Saladin*, I will not ſuffer that execrable villain to drink, becauſe that would inſure his life, according to the noble cuſtoms of the *Arabs*." He then turned towards *Renaud*, and in a moſt unmanly manner, upbraided him with his impiety, in undertaking ſo many expeditions againſt the holy cities of *Mecca*, and *Medena*; in blaſpheming the name of *Mahomed*, and in killing ſo many *Pilgrims*, as had fallen under his ſword. But notwithſtanding all thoſe horrible offences, *Saladin* offered him his life, if he would turn *Mahometan*. But *Renaud* anſwering him like a man of virtue and reſolution, the tyrant drew his ſcymeter; and at one blow ſmote his head from his body. *Luſignan* ſat all this while trembling by; but *Saladin* perceiving his uneaſineſs, deſired him to take courage; telling him, that one king, ought not to put another to death. By this expreſſion, which is taken from the *Moſlem* authors, it appears as if this barbarian had ſome notion of the right which the law of nations gives ſovereign princes. He accordingly, by all accounts, treated *Luſignan* very reſpectfully; as he likewiſe did the old marquis of *Montferrat*, queen *Sybilla*'s father in law, who had come, according to the ridiculous cuſtoms of thoſe times, to perform his devotions at the holy ſepulchre in *Jeruſalem*. He likewiſe reſerved the grand maſter *Saladin* cuts off the head of the brave *Renaud*.

of the Temple, for whom he expected a large ranſom. Before we leave the ſubject of this battle, which proved ſo fatal to the *Chriſtians* in the Eaſt, we are to obſerve, that the *Chriſtians* who had taken *Jeruſalem*, had been lucky enough, to diſcover a piece of wood, which they imagined was the identical croſs upon which our Saviour ſuffered. This piece of wood they divided into two or more parts; and one part of it, in all their battles and encounters, had been carried in front of their army, by a biſhop, who thinking that his ſacred charge rendered him invulnerable, never had put on armour. It happened that on the fatal day of the battle of *Hittin*, *Rufin*, the biſhop of *Ptolemais*, was honoured with carrying the precious relique. But not being ſo ſtrong in faith, as thoſe who had the like honour before him, and who never had been either killed or wounded, he dreſſed himſelf in armour, but was ſhot thro' the heart by an arrow; and the holy wood fell into the hands of *Tyo Kaddin*, who layed it at his uncle's feet, as the nobleſt trophy of his victory.

History of the holy croſs,

and its bearer.

The victory which *Saladin* obtained at *Hittin*, if we are to judge by its conſequences, which are the moſt rational grounds of judging, was as compleat as any we read of. Though the places which the *Chriſtians* held, in *Paleſtine* and *Syria*, were ſo well fortified, that, if properly garriſoned, they would have been impregnable to the barbarians; yet as the flower of their garriſons had periſhed in the field, they could make but a feeble reſiſtance. It appears that the heroic princeſs *Eſchina* ſtill held out the citadel of *Tiberias*, the ſiege of which *Saladin* reſumed, immediately after the battle of *Hittin*; and it was ſurrendered to him, upon an honourable capitulation. From *Tiberias*, he marched his army to *Acca*, or *Ptolemais*. This city was then very flouriſhing; it had a vaſt trade, and a noble harbour, extreamly convenient for a fleet with proviſions, and the neceſſaries of war, which *Saladin* had ordered out of *Egypt*; and at that ſeaſon of the year, it was full of merchants, and the richeſt commodities of the Eaſt. According to the beſt authorities, this great and ſtrong city opened its gates to him, when he appeared before it; upon his granting them a capitulation, which was, that every man might retire with as much of his money and effects as he could carry: but that the conqueror's troops ſhould be intitled to all the reſidue. This happened upon the firſt of *May*, according to the *Moſlem* authors, ſo rapid was this barbarian's marches and conqueſts. They tell us likewiſe that he found four hundred *Moſlems* in chains in *Ptolemais*; all whom he releaſed: and that the booty he made there was immenſely rich. While *Saladin* continued in *Ptolemais*, his brother *Malec* took the ſtrong fortreſs of *Madeleyba*, near *Al Ramla*.

Conſequences of the victory of *Hittin*.

It

It cannot be imagined that the deſcendants of thoſe *Chriſtians*, who had conquered *Paleſtine* only eighty-eight years before, were very numerous. It is true, they had received a few acceſſions from *Europe*, but thoſe were very inconſiderable, as the conquerors, and their deſcendants, looked upon themſelves to be the abſolute proprietors of all their acquiſitions. The loſs of thirty thouſand troops therefore, who periſhed at the battle of *Hittin*, rendered *Paleſtine* bare of men; and many of thoſe who were left, with their families, fled towards *Jeruſalem*. It was therefore not ſurprizing, that *Saladin*'s conqueſts were ſo quick. He divided his army into detachments, for the ſake of expedition; and met with no oppoſition in taking *Nablos*, *Haifa*, *Cæſarea*, *Sepphoris*, *Nazareth*, *Maltha*, *Fawla*, and a great number of other places, in the neighbourhood of *Ptolemais*. In the mean while, *Malec* took *Joppa* by ſtorm. It appears that the good faith which *Saladin* ſhowed, in his obſerving the capitulation of *Ptolemais*, was of infinite ſervice to his affairs, and encouraged the inhabitants of all the places before which he appeared, to ſubmit to him. *Saladin*'s next attempt was upon *Tebnin*, a fortreſs of ſome ſtrength near *Acca*. It held out for ſix days, but was taken on the eighteenth of *May*; and the conqueror, to ſtrike the greater terror in thoſe, who preſumed to reſiſt him, ordered the place to be demoliſhed and the garriſon to be maſſacred. *Saladin* then marched to *Sidon*, which he took poſſeſſion of without reſiſtance; *Renaud*, the prince of it, whom we have already mentioned, being ſhut up in *Jeruſalem*. He then formed the ſiege of *Berytus*, which before had baffled his arms; and took it by capitulation on the twenty ninth of the ſame month. The prince of *Habeil*, a *Chriſtian*, was here taken priſoner, but it does not clearly appear, whether in the town or in the field, and *Saladin* obliged him to ranſom himſelf, by meanly delivering into his hands his principality. Tho' this prince is not mentioned by *Chriſtian* authors, yet we learn from the *Moſlem* ones, that he was in great eſteem amongſt the *Chriſtians* of *Paleſtine*; and is by them ſeverely cenſured for his puſillanimity. *Saladin* then appeared before *Aſkalon*, which, according to *Chriſtian* authors, was one of the bulwarks of *Paleſtine*, and ſo well fortified that, at that time, he was obliged to deſiſt from his enterprize. There is ſome reaſon for doubting of that fact. The beſt informed *Moſlem* authors ſay, that the ſiege laſted fourteen days; and that then the place was given up by capitulation: one of the terms of which was, that the king of *Jeruſalem* ſhould be ſet at liberty; but this condition ſeems to be incompatible with what we are told by *Chriſtian* writers, that *Luſignan* was a captive and attended *Saladin*'s triumphal entry into *Jeruſalem*. The *Moſlem* authors likewiſe tell us, that one, whom they called *Beth Gabriel*, the commandant of the fort, was likewiſe ſuffered to go with five hundred of his garriſon,

Remarks on the ſtate of the *Chriſtians*

Great progreſs of *Saladin*'s arms;

he takes *Aſkalon*.

to *Europe*. Whatever may be in this, it is certain that, about this time, *Saladin* took *Romla*, *Yafra*, which is called *Jabneh*, in holy writ, *Darun*, *Gaza*, *Bethlehem*, and other places, which cleared his way for beſieging *Jeruſalem*.

Dejection of the *Chriſtians*

The *Chriſtians* were as much dejected as their enemies were elevated by their looſing the battle of *Hittin*; and having neither the ſpirit nor means to oppoſe *Saladin*, his conqueſts ſcarcely coſt him a man. When he ſat down before *Jeruſalem*, his army was prodigiouſly numerous; for he had called in all his leſſer detachments, that he might make the conqueſt of that his great object, well knowing, that all the fortreſſes that ſtill ſtood out in *Paleſtine*, muſt fall of courſe, when *Jeruſalem* was reduced. It was the fifteenth of *July* before it was fully inveſted. The city was at that time overſtocked with inhabitants, but moſt of them women and children, who had fled thither from the *Infidels*. Queen *Sybilla*, the patriarch *Heraclius*, *Renaud* the prince of *Sidon*, and other perſons of great diſtinction were likewiſe within it, and their conſternation at ſeeing from the walls the prodigious numbers of the *Infidels* who beſieged them, was inexpreſſible. *Saladin* ſpent five days in reconnoitring the place, that he might make a proper choice of the part he was to attack. At laſt he planted his engines near the gate of *Amida*, and the church of *Sion*. Before he began his operations, he ſent a formal ſummons for the inhabitants to ſurrender; requeſting them, at the ſame time, to reflect upon his juſtice, moderation, and equity, and the punctuality with which he had fulfilled all his engagements; promiſing them greater advantages than he had granted to the inhabitants of the other places he had taken, and to preſerve them in all the privileges and immunities, they enjoyed under their kings.

Jeruſalem beſieged,

This ſummons being rejected with great indignation, *Saladin* began his operations; and he battered the place for ten days, with vaſt fury; upon that ſide which was leaſt defenſible. It does not appear that the *Chriſtians* were deſtitute of the means for a vigorous reſiſtance, but the vaſt number of ſouls encloſed within the walls, muſt have reduced them to famine, had *Saladin* even turned the ſiege into a blockade. For ſome time, however, the beſieged, as well as the beſiegers, behaved with the greateſt intrepidity, but the former ſoon perceived, that it was impoſſible for the place to hold out much longer, againſt the dreadful engines with which the *Infidels* battered it. Upon this, according to the *Moſlem* authors, one *Balian*, the prince of *Romla*, was ſent out by the beſieged to treat of a capitulation. *Saladin* at firſt received him with great haughtineſs, and told him he was determined to grant the beſieged no terms, but to take *Jeruſalem* as the *Chriſtians* had taken it, ſword in hand. Upon this, *Balian*, like a man of ſpirit, replied, that if that was his majeſty's anſwer,

battered and

anſwer, the inhabitants were determined to kill their wives and children, to ſet fire to all their valuable effects, and to endeavour with their ſwords, to force their way thro' the camp of the beſiegers. This language ſtruck the tyrant, who deſired *Balian* to wait till he ſhould call a council of war, which he accordingly did, and it was there reſolved to grant the beſieged a capitulation. The terms were, that the inhabitants might depart out of the place with freedom and ſecurity, upon paying the following ſums. For every man ten dinars, for every woman five, and for every perſon under a certain age two. Such are the terms, mentioned by the *Moſlem* authors, who lived at the time, and who ſeem to be much better informed, than the *Chriſtians*. They tell us farther, that *Balian* paid down thirty hundred dinars, by way of ranſom, for the poorer ſort, who were not able to pay any thing for themſelves. The *Chriſtian* authors ſay, that, by the ſame capitulation, no *Chriſtians*, excepting *Greeks*, *Syrians*, *Armenians* and *Jacobites*, were to be ſuffered to continue in *Jeruſalem*.

The *Chriſtian* writers have given prodigious encomiums upon *Saladin* for the generous manner in which he executed this capitulation. They tell us, that nothing but weeping and wailing was heard in the city, the night before the capitulation was to take place; and that the tyrant was extremely impatient to have the terms executed. According to them, the unhappy *Chriſtians* paſſed in a kind of a review before his face, and he was ſo moved, by their mournings, and diſtreſſes, that he gave to the wives of all who had been taken at the battle of *Hittin*, the liberty of their huſbands. They likewiſe ſay that he made magnificent preſents to all the young ladies who left the place, and whoſe quality was greater than their fortunes. taken. Partiality of *Chriſtian* writers,

As all thoſe circumſtances, ſo honourable to *Saladin*'s memory, had been related by his enemies, they ought to weigh in his favour; but as we have already hinted, the *Chriſtian* hiſtorians have diſcovered an unaccountable partiality for this mighty barbarian, which was, perhaps, owing to the diſſentions that reigned amongſt the *Chriſtians* themſelves, that made both ſides agree in giving *Saladin* thoſe virtues which they refuſed to one another. This is the more probable, as the *Moſlem* authors, ſome of whom are *Saladin*'s cotemporaries, are entirely ſilent on the head of his generoſity upon this occaſion. The money which each was to pay was laid down at the gates, and every one who paid were put under a guard that was to eſcort them to *Tyre*. According to the ſame *Moſlem* authors, the tyrant evaded, the generous intention of *Balian*'s preſent, for he put in chains, and threw into priſon, all who could not pay the ſtipulated ranſom; ſuch a mercenary conduct gives the lye to all the fulſome, ill judged panegyricks, beſtowed by *Chriſtians* upon this barbarian. It is likewiſe certain, that the to *Saladin's* character.

affliction of the *Chriſtians* within the place was nothing ſo great, as their hiſtorians have repreſented it; for the *Aſiatic Chriſtians* hated the *European* ones more than they did the *Moſlems* themſelves. One *Batith*, a *Melchite*, or *Egyptian Chriſtian*, a merchant and a man of great wealth, prevailed with the *Aſiatic Chriſtians*, who formed the bulk of the inhabitants at *Jeruſalem*, to ſhake off the yoke of the *Franks*, as the *European Chriſtians* were called, and to ſubmit to *Saladin*. The patriarch *Heraclius*, a man of intemperate zeal, but abandoned morals, was the only perſon, who had weight enough to have oppoſed this capitulation. But *Saladin* made him his friend, by permitting him to carry with him all the magnificent ſervices of gold and ſilver, and other rich furniture, of the church of the *Holy Sepulchre*. The *Moſlem* authors tell us farther, that *Saladin* perceiving that his machines had not the deſired effect on the weſt ſide where they were firſt erected, he transferred them to the north; and that, by ſapping a part of the wall which was contiguous to the valley of *Gahnion*, he made a breach, which facilitated the reduction of the place: no fewer than fourteen thouſand *Chriſtians*, who were unable to pay the ranſom, were detained in priſon upon this occaſion.

Heraclius ſaves the church plate for himſelf

Saladin, during the time of evacuating *Jeruſalem*, which continued for ſeveral days, refuſed to enter into that city. When the evacuation was compleated, he made his entry in the manner of a *Roman* triumph, at the head of his army, and according to the *Chriſtians*, with his illuſtrious priſoners, the king of *Jeruſalem*, the marquis of *Monferrat*, the high conſtable, and other *Chriſtian* lords, attending his chariot. His firſt care was to aboliſh all marks of *Chriſtianity* in that holy city. He cauſed the holy croſs, or a piece of wood which was believed to be part of it, all covered with plates of gold, to be taken down from the top of the church of the *Hoſpitalers*, where it had been erected, and to be dragged from thence with ignominy, to the tower of *David*. He then applied himſelf to cleanſing all the *Mahometan* moſques, or places of worſhip, and obliged his *Chriſtian* priſoners to purify them with roſe and common water, as they had been ſo indecently abuſed by the *Chriſtians*. He likewiſe ordered a moſt magnificent pulpit, which had been prepared for *Nureddin*, while he was meditating the re-conqueſt of *Nureddin*, to be brought thither, and erected in the chief moſque. But, far from imitating the brutality of the *Chriſtians*, he ordered the church of the *Holy Sepulchres* to remain in the ſame ſtate in which he found it; and he expreſsly commanded, that no inſult or indecency ſhould be offered to thoſe who paid their devotions there. But we are not to attribute this to *Saladin*'s generoſity, ſo much as to his avarice. He knew the ridiculous devotions of the times, and that, if

Saladin's triumphal entry into *Jeruſalem*

where he re-eſtabliſhes *Moſlemiſm*.

if he ſhould demoliſh, he would deprive himſelf of the immenſe ſums, that accrued from *Europeans* viſiting it.

It happened about this time, that *Conrade*, the youngeſt ſon to the old marquis of *Montferrat*, being diſguſted with his brother-in-law *Iſaac Angelus*, whom he had very ſignally ſerved, took upon him the croſs; and prevailed with ſome troops to follow his fortune. He then embarked on board ſome ſhips, and directed his courſe to *Ptolemais*; where, according to the *Moſlem* authors, he actually landed. *Afdal*, *Saladin*'s brother, then governed that city, and might eaſily have ſecured the perſon of *Conrade*, but the latter amuſed him ſo dexterouſly, who knew nothing of the place being in the hands of the *Infidels* before he arrived in it, that he ſlipt out of his hands, and putting to ſea, he landed in *Tyre*. That city was now the object of *Saladin*'s ambition, as it had a port extreamly commodious for receiving the troops and ſupplies which he expected out of *Egypt*. He had it likewiſe in his view, to retake in it the great wealth which had been carried thither out of *Jeruſalem*, and to oblige the *Chriſtians*, a ſecond time, to ranſom themſelves. But he was diſappointed, by the valour and judgement of *Conrade*; who landed juſt at the time when *Saladin* was about to attack it. *Conrade*, who, in ſome ſenſe, was a ſoldier of fortune, declared himſelf the protector of *Tyre*, provided, if he was ſucceſsful, the inhabitants would give him the ſovereignty of it; to which they agreed. He then applied himſelf with infinite aſſiduity to render the place as ſtrong as poſſible. *Saladin*, who had a maxim, to leave as little as he could to fortune, applied by his agents to prevail with *Conrade* to induce him to deſiſt from his undertaking, and offered upon that condition to ſet his father at liberty. His offers made no impreſſion on *Conrade*, and *Saladin* ordered five of his beſt ſhips to block up the harbour, to prevent the *Tyreans* from receiving any ſuccours by ſea, which were daily expected out of *Europe*; eſpecially from *Genoa*, and *Sicily*; and, at the ſame time, he beſieged it by land. But all his precautions were fruitleſs. *Conrade* made ſo many ſucceſsful ſallies, that he was obliged to draw off his troops by land, and the *Chriſtian* fleet appearing before the harbour, deſtroyed all *Saladin*'s *Egyptian* ſhips, with every ſoul on board; to the infinite mortification of the tyrant, who ſaw the action; but could afford his people no relief: and finally was obliged to raiſe the ſiege. *Conrade* then looked upon himſelf as ſovereign of *Tyre*; and, as ſuch, he ordered ſeveral perſons, who were ſuſpected to be agents from the earl of *Tripoli*, to be publicly executed, for intending, as *Conrade* alledged, to deliver the place into their maſter's hand. The ſuccours expected from *Europe* having now eaſy acceſs to *Tyre*, *Conrade* grew ſtrong enough to act offenſively againſt *Saladin*; and in one of his encounters, he made priſoner one of *Saladin*'s ſubjects, of ſo high quality,

as

as to be exchanged with his father, the old marquis of *Monferrat*.

Raymond, prince of *Antioch*, was, at this time held in the utmoſt deteſtation, by all *Chriſtians*. They imputed to him the loſs of the battle of *Hittin*, and of the kingdom and city of *Jeruſalem*; and being a man of a ſour, melancholy caſt, he was at very little pains to clear himſelf; tho it appears that he behaved with great courage at the battle of *Hittin*, nor indeed is there the leaſt room for thinking he had then any correſpondence with *Saladin*; who loudly reproached him, for breaking his treaty with him. During *Saladin*'s ſucceſſes, after his victory at *Hittin*, numbers of the inhabitants of the places he took were ſent to *Tripoli*, where, it is ſaid, that *Raymond* ſtript them of all the *Infidels* had left them; and then permitted them to ſtarve. This increaſed the general deteſtation againſt him, and he began now to be odious to his own ſubjects; ſo that he fell into a deep melancholy, a fate which the *Chriſtian* writers ſuppoſed to have been inflicted upon him by Heaven, as the juſt reward of his impiety.

Hej. 584. A. D. 1188. The *Moſlems* defeated by *Conrade*.

Whatever may be in this, it is certain that, in *January*, in the 584th year of the Hejra, *Saladin* beſieged *Cancab*, in the neighbourhood of *Tiberias*. But while he lay before the place, *Conrade* had defeated *Saifoddin*, one of his generals, at a place called *Afarbala*; and had gained a compleat victory. This news obliged *Saladin* to march againſt *Conrade*, who, by this time, had retired to *Tyre*, and to leave the ſiege of *Cancab* to the command of *Kaymaz*, one of his generals. It appears from many inſtances, that when the *Chriſtians* were united, and well commanded, they always proved ſuperior to the barbarians. Notwithſtanding the vaſt armies which *Saladin* at this time had in the field, this fortreſs was ſo well defended, that he ordered the ſiege to be entirely raiſed, and he himſelf went to *Damaſcus*; from whence he had now been abſent ſixteen months; with an intention of taking ſome repoſe. But he had not been there above five days, when he received an account, that *Conrade* had formed a deſign to ſurprize *Habeil*. This brought him again into the field; and *Conrade* thereby failed in his deſign. But *Saladin* now fell into the principality of *Antioch*, which he ravaged, and according to the *Moſlem* authors, the ſpoils which his generals brought to his camp, from that capital, were immenſe. He then took poſſeſſion of *Antaradus*, a fortreſs belonging to the principality of *Tripoli*, and, after demoliſhing it, he marched to *Marrakiya*, upon the ſea coaſt; which, like *Antaradus*, was deſerted by the *Chriſtians*; and *Saladin* immediately took poſſeſſion of it. He then marched againſt *Merkab*, but that place being provided with a garriſon, reſolving to defend it, he did not beſiege it, but proceeded to *Gabala*, which ſurrendered to him upon the firſt ſummons, upon condition, that the garriſon ſhould have leave to retire. He then undertook

dertook the reduction of the important city of *Laodocea*, which made a ſhew of reſiſtance; but, on the twenty fifth of *May*, the garriſon capitulated; and the inhabitants were permitted to retire, with all their money and effects, excepting their cattle of all kinds, their proviſions and military ſtores. On the twenty ninth of the ſame month, *Saladin* formed the ſiege of *Sebyun*; a place of prodigious ſtrength; but on the third of *June*, he obliged it to capitulate, on the ſame terms that he had granted to the inhabitants of *Jeruſalem*. On the ninth of the ſame month he carried the fortreſs of *Bacas*, by ſtorm; and put to the ſword, or carried into captivity, the garriſon: and in ſhort, he proceeded ſo victoriouſly that he ſtript the *Chriſtians* of every place of ſtrength in the Eaſt, excepting *Tyre*, *Joppa* and *Antioch*; tho' ſome of thoſe places, particularly *Barziya*, were ſo ſtrong, that they were deemed to be impregnable: and at laſt he even reduced the ſtrong caſtle of *Cancab*.

Great conqueſts of *Saladin*.

It appears from the detail of *Saladin*'s ſucceſſes againſt the *Chriſtians*, that the acquiſitions they had made, in *Paleſtine*, and *Syria*, formd upon the whole, a far more powerful empire, than *Chriſtian* writers have repreſented it to have been. But it appears likewiſe, that, from the cauſes we have already hinted, the *Chriſtians* were moſt miſerably divided; and many of them choſe to ſubmit to *Saladin*, who was always ready to grant them favourable terms, rather than be under the command of *Europeans*. There is likewiſe great reaſon to believe, that *Saladin*'s gold was more effectual than his arms were in the progreſs of this campaign. For being himſelf abſtemious, and temperate, he knew no uſe of money, but for the purpoſes of ambition; and then his liberality had no bounds. The inhabitants and garriſon, of every place before which he appeared, were treated according to their pliancy, or obſtinacy, either with lenity, or ſeverity: but we do not find, that *Saladin* often violated his capitulations; which undoubtedly contributed greatly to his ſucceſſes.

Diſunion of the *Chriſtians*

But notwithſtanding all the ſplendour of *Saladin*'s victories, he was far from being eaſy, even in his own army. The prodigious fatigues his troops had undergone, in the winter, as well as ſummer, for almoſt two years, rendered them clamorous for ſome repoſe; and *Amadoddin*, the ſame who had exchanged *Aleppo* for *Sanjar*, demanded leave to return with his troops, in ſuch peremptory terms, which ſhowed that he was reſolved not to be denied. *Saladin*, by this time, had marched as far as the famous iron bridge, on the *Orontes*, about ſix miles from *Antioch* itſelf: and then he took the caſtles of *Derbaſac*, and *Bagras*, which were ſituated, in a manner, at the gates of *Antioch*. He then formed the ſiege of that capital; but found himſelf unable to carry it on, on account of *Amadoddin*'s uneaſineſs. *Bohemond* was then prince of *Antioch*, and intimidated by *Saladin*'s almoſt uninterrupted career

Saladin's troops mutiny.

career of ſucceſs, he entered into a negotiation, and *Saladin*, greatly againſt his inclination, deſiſted from the ſiege, upon condition that all the *Moſlem* princes in *Antioch* ſhould be releaſed; and that the city ſhould be given up, if in ſeven months, for which time a truce was concluded, it was not relieved by the *Chriſtian* powers. *Saladin* then diſmiſſed *Amadoddin* and his troops, and the reſt of the tributaries who ſerved under him were very importunate for the like indulgence. But *Saladin* was far from complying with their requeſt, and all the anſwer they received, was, that life is ſhort, and its period uncertain. He however, for ſome time, ſuſpended his warlike operations, and after ſtaying a few days at *Aleppo*, he made his kinſman *Fakioddin* governor of *Cabala*, and *Laodocea*; and it was, indeed, one of the greateſt excellencies of *Saladin*'s government, that he made an excellent choice of his ſubſtitutes, who were generally extreamly faithful to him. This *Fakioddin* is remarkable for the magnificent buildings he erected at *Laodocea*, *Amar*, and other places of his government. *Saladin*, about the ſame time, performed a kind of a pilgrimage to the tomb of the califf *Omar*, and other places of devotion; and then returned to *Damaſcus*: from whence he made a moſt magnificent progreſs all over his late conqueſts, and paid a viſit to *Jeruſalem*, where he kept the feaſt of the *Oblation*.

His regulations.

While *Saladin* was thus purſuing his conqueſts, a quarrel happened between the conductors of the pilgrims of *Syria*, and thoſe of *Irak*, about the right of precedency. The name of the conductor of the latter was *Taſtakin*, and, as he derived his authority from the califf of *Bagdad*, as the other did from *Saladin*, he not only oppoſed *Saladin*'s conductor, but killed him, in a very bloody encounter which happened on the occaſion. *Saladin*, notwithſtanding his veneration for the califf, was not a little piqued at what had happened, and the califf was obliged to ſend him a miniſter, diſclaiming all knowledge of what had been done by his ſubſtitute, or his giving him any orders for the ſame.

Quarrel amongſt the *Moſlems*.

Togrol, the ſon of *Arſlan*, was then the *Seljuk Sultan* of the *Perſian Irak*, and had differences with *Kizil Arſlan*, another *Seljukian* prince; but ſubject to *Togrol*, whom *Kizil Arſlan* drove out of his capital; and ſoon after retired to his principality of *Adherbijan*. Soon after *Togrol* returned to his capital; but he was made a priſoner by his own nobility, and *Kizil Arſlan*, by the perſwaſion of the califf of *Bagdad*, took upon himſelf the ſovereignty. But *Togrol* finding means to eſcape out of priſon, was ſoon at the head of a great army; and *Kizil Arſlan* applied to the califf *Naſer*, for aſſiſtance. The miniſter employed on this occaſion ſucceeded ſo well, that *Naſer* looked upon himſelf as a party in the quarrel, and ſent his vizir *Kilal* with an army to *Kizil*'s aſſiſtance; which advanced as far as *Hamadan* in the *Perſian Irak*. While they were in the neighbourhood of that

Hiſtory of *Togrol*.

that city, *Togrol* attacked them, and gave them a compleat defeat; the vizir himſelf being taken priſoner, and put in chains. After this victory, *Kizil* was put to death by his nephew *Kutluk*, who, in his turn, uſurped the ſovereignty. This *Kutluk*'s mother was ſtill alive, and was entertained in *Togrol*'s Haram or Seraglio; but was, by her ſon, prevailed upon, to undertake to poiſon the *Sultan*. *Togrol* however, was ſo much upon his guard, that he diſcovered the conſpiracy, and obliged the lady herſelf to ſwallow the poiſon; he then made himſelf maſter of *Kutluk*'s perſon; but generouſly gave him his life and liberty. Upon this, *Kutluk*, who was a man void of all honour and gratitude, applied to *Takaſh*, the king of *Karazm*, and invited him to undertake the conqueſt of the *Perſian Irak*. *Takaſh* accordingly invaded it, but he was defeated by *Togrol*, who proved ſuperior to all his enemies, and obliged *Kutluk* to fly to *Korazm* for refuge. After this, *Togrol* might have reigned glorioufly, but he abandoned himſelf to all manner of exceſs; and was generally drunk. This encouraged *Takaſh* again to invade *Irak*, to which he was invited, even by ſome of *Togrol*'s principal ſubjects, who were diſguſted with his manner of living. Tho' *Togrol* had ſufficient intimation of the preparations that were making againſt him, yet he could not be awakened to a ſenſe of his danger, till *Takaſh* was at the gates of his capital, *Ray*, attended by *Kutluk*. The *Sultan* was then perſuaded to put himſelf at the head of his troops, and repeating ſome diſtichs out of a *Perſian* poem, in a kind of bravado, he diſcharged a blow with a vaſt mace he had in his hand, which falling upon the fore legs of his horſe, brought both of them to the ground; and before *Togrol* could recover himſelf, *Kutluk* cut off his head at one blow, and *Takaſh* ſent it in a preſent to the califf of *Bagdad*, whom all the *Moſlem* empire, at this time, ſeemed to recognize as their head: and ordered the *Sultan*'s body to be gibbeted. The *Seljukian* dinaſty of *Irak*, ended in *Togrol*, who reigned about nineteen years. He is commended as a prince of the brighteſt qualifications, both in body and mind, till he ruined himſelf by intemperance; he having all the virtues of the *Seljukian* family, who owed their ruin to the too great power they veſted in their governors, particularly thoſe of *Karazm*, who ſucceeded them in the ſovereignty of the *Perſian Irak*. We know but of one ſon, left by *Togrol*.

Who is killed.

When the news of the loſs of *Jeruſalem* reached *Europe*, all orders and degrees of men, were affected by it in a moſt wonderful manner. In fact, the cruſade was not, as many imagine, intirely a matter of religion, for ſome of the *European* princes had begun to think it very practicable to drive the *Turks* out of thoſe fine countries. They had already ſeen one kingdom, two very powerful principalities, and a great many very conſiderable cities and governments, erected by

A new cruſade undertaken.

by the *Chriſtians*; and had it not been that *Saladin* had the good fortune to unite the *Moſlem* intereſt againſt them, or had they continued firm to one another, they might have made ſtill greater acquiſitions. But the hopes of ambition, and the fruits of piety, were now blaſted. Pope *Urban* the Third, died with grief, when the news of the loſs of *Jeruſalem* reached him, and his ſucceſſor *Gregory* the Eighth, publiſhed bills, by which he gave, to all who would take up the croſs a new, the ſame privileges, as had been enjoyed by the firſt Cruſaders. At the ſame time, he began ſo thorough a reformation amongſt his clergy, that the face of the church was intirely altered; and the luxurious cardinals, inflicted upon themſelves, the moſt rigid pennances, even to their reſolving to march on foot, with no other equipage than the croſs, at the head of the next cruſade. To ſecond thoſe pious intentions, *Gregory* compromiſed matters between the two powerful republics of *Genoa*, and *Piſa*; but, in the midſt of his labours, he was carried off by a fever. His death did not damp the public ardour for the cruſade. *William* Archbiſhop of *Tyre*, one of the ableſt men, as well as writers of his time, and the author of the hiſtory of the *Cruſaders*, down to the time of *Baldwin* the Fourth, had come to *Europe*, to lay before the princes there a true ſtate of the affairs of the *Chriſtians* in the Eaſt, and was joined by the pope, in a commiſſion with the cardinal of *Albano*, to compromiſe all differences, between *Philip Auguſtus*, and *Henry* the Second of *England*, who were the two leading monarchs in *Europe*. *William* acted with ſo much addreſs, that it procured an interview to be held, between thoſe two princes, at which he was preſent, and remonſtrated how much it concerned them, in a political as well as a religious capacity, to ſend ſuccours to *Tyre*, *Antioch* and *Tripoli*, which ſtill held out. His perſuaſions were ſo effectual, that the two monarchs embraced each other, in the ſight of their ſubjects, who called out as one man, to be led againſt the enemies of *Chriſt*, and to take upon them the croſs. The two ſovereigns were the firſt who ſet the example, and received that badge from the hands of the pope's legates; as did *Richard*, the king of *England*'s ſon, and almoſt all the chief nobility of *Europe*. The *French* being diſtinguiſhed by red, the Engliſh by white, and the *Flemings* by green croſſes. The two kings then erected a fund, for defraying the expences of the expedition; and ſubjected the real eſtates, of all who did not go upon it, to the payment of a tenth, which they called *Saladin*'s tythe, and even eccleſiaſtics were not exempted from this tax. Benefices, as well as lay inheritances, were rendered alienable for three years; and the Cruſaders during their abſence, were exempted from paying any intereſt for money they were owing; laſtly, all games at chance, ſwearing, blaſphemy, and other immoralities, were prohibited, under the higheſt penalties. Other regulations were

Conſternation of the *Chriſtians*.

The kings of *England* and *France* reconciled.

were made, with regard to extravagant expences in apparel and equipages. But the wiſdom of the heads of this cruſade was ſeen in nothing more, than their ordaining that no perſon ſhould take upon himſelf the croſs, excepting thoſe, who could afford to ſpend a certain ſum, and that only a few old women in the quality of landreſſes, ſhould be ſuffered to follow the Cruſaders.

The pope's legates went next into *Germany*, where *Frederick* duke of *Swabia*, ſirnamed *Barbaroſſa*, the ſame who had ſerved under the emperor *Conrade* in his cruſade, was emperor. *Frederick* was, about this time, near ſeventy years of age, and was eſteemed the moſt complete general in *Europe*; and a man, in other reſpects of great abilities. But he was touched with the epidemical diſeaſe of the time, and the legates found him, as much diſpoſed as they could wiſh, for anſwering their purpoſe. He held the diet of the empire at *Ments*, where he propoſed the cruſade, in ſuch a manner as ſhewed, that he was fully determined to undertake it; and, when he took the croſs, his example was followed by moſt of the great princes of the empire. *Frederick*, having vaſt experience, was intirely ſenſible of the cauſes thro' which the former cruſades had miſcarried; and endeavoured to avoid them. The *Sultan* of *Al Rum*, or *Iconium*, was then *Kilij Arſlan*, whom we have already mentioned; and who equally hated the *Greek* emperor and *Saladin*, but profeſſed a moſt profound veneration for the califf of *Bagdad*.

The emperor of *Germany* takes the croſs.

This *Arſlan* was one of the three ſons of *Maſud*, the *Seljukian Sultan*, amongſt whom he divided his empire; and being expelled by his other brothers, he was received and protected by the emperor *Manuel*, to whom he promiſed, if he was reinſtated in his throne, to reſtore many noble cities and poſſeſſions, that had been diſmembered from his empire. But tho' *Arſlan*, by *Manuel*'s aſſiſtance, was replaced on his throne, and proved ſucceſsful againſt all his enemies; and tho' he called *Manuel* father, yet he was ſo far from performing any of his promiſes, that he took from the emperor *Laodocea*, where he put to the ſword a great many *Greeks*, and, amongſt the reſt the biſhop; and committed a great number of other inſults upon the emperor. *Manuel* upon this raiſed a great army, with which he invaded the *Sultan*'s dominions; he was met by ambaſſadors from *Arſlan*, who propoſed to accommodate matters with him, and complained bitterly of his breaking his treaties. *Manuel* had with him ſome counſellors of ſober judgement, who informed him that the *Turkiſh* cavalry were excellent troops, and adviſed him by all means, to make peace; but his principal favourites were thoughtleſs, hot-headed young men, who reminded him of the *Sultan*'s ingratitude, and perſuaded him to return for anſwer to the ambaſſadors, he would treat with him when he had taken *Iconium*. The imprudence of this anſwer exaſperated the *Sultan*, who had lately received a great reinforcement

Remarkable war between the *Seljuks* and *Greeks*.

forcement from *Meſopotamia*; and he immediately laid hold of the paſſes of *Sabriza*, thro' which *Manuel* muſt paſs.

Preſumption of the *Greek* emperor.

The emperor, tho' ſenſible of his ſituation, had too great a contempt for the *Turks*, not to proceed. He divided his army into ſix bodies, and reſerved the command of the ſixth, conſiſting of the flower of his troops, to himſelf. The *Turks* ſuffered the firſt two or three diviſions to advance into the valley, which was bounded on all ſides with ſteep hills, and paſſes impracticable to horſe, but no ſooner had the laſt diviſion paſſed the narrow defile, by which they muſt enter the valley, than the *Turks*, upon an appointed ſignal, took poſſeſſion of that, as well as of a like paſs, which terminated the valley on the other ſide, and by, in a manner, barricading them, the *Greeks* were hemmed in on every ſide. Valour, and even deſpair, were now uſeleſs. The valley was ſo narrow, that the enemies arrows from both ſides of the eminences, where the *Turks* had entrenched themſelves, reached the centre of *Manuel*'s army, in which they made a horrible ſlaughter. The troops, who had been ſuffered to paſs on, were much in the ſame ſituation, with thoſe about the emperor's perſon; for the valley being intercepted with other narrow paſſes, which the *Turks* had fortified, they could not return to his aſſiſtance. In the mean while, a whirl-wind, which is very common in thoſe parts, aroſe, and added to the diſorder of the *Greeks*, whoſe bodies now lay piled upon one another; and the brooks that run thro' the valley were ſwelled with their blood. To compleat their misfortunes, the *Turks*, as ſoon as they thought they could do it with ſafety, their cavalry eſpecially, opening the barricades, ruſhed ſword in hand, upon the few guards that were left with the emperor, who fought with incredible valour, and, attended only by one horſeman, cut his way thro' the middle of his enemies, after being wounded in ſeveral parts, his buckler pierced, no fewer than thirty arrows ſticking in it, and his caſque all battered. Throwing himſelf under a wild figg-tree, he was attacked by ſeveral *Turks*, whom he and his horſeman diſpatched one after another; and at laſt, with incredible fatigue, he had the good fortune, attended by ten more *Greeks*, who had joined him, to come up with one of the firſt diviſions of his troops which had ſuffered the leaſt. Faint with thirſt, he called for water, but could get none, that was not mixed with blood, tho' a river run thro' the valley; and he had the mortification to be reproached to his face, with being the author of ſo much blood ſhed, and with the other enormities of his government. His troops, however, ſtood by him, and repulſed the *Turkiſh* cavalry, which attacked them on all ſides, till night came on. They continued ſtill ſurrounded by the *Turks*, who were ſo near them, that they could hear them encourage one another to renew the attack next morning, and not ſuffer a *Greek* to eſcape. The emperor's courage at laſt was ſhaken; and he imparted

Who is encloſed and defeated,

with vaſt ſlaughter.

His wonderful eſcapes.

imparted to thoſe about him, an intention he had to make his eſcape; and to leave his army. This was overheard by a ſoldier, who upbraided him with cowardice, and the emperor finding there was equal danger in going as well as in ſtaying, preferred the latter.

But next morning, while *Manuel* and his attendants, for he had now ſcarcely the face of an army, expected to be ſlaughtered, the *Sultan*'s moderation ſaved him. It happened lucky for *Manuel*, that his liberalities, had made many of the *Seljukian* noblemen his friends; and they adviſed him by all means to an accommodation. Accordingly *Arſlan*, the following morning ſent a miniſter, with the welcome offer of terms; and orders were given in the mean time, that hoſtilities ſhould ceaſe. In ſhort, *Manuel* agreed to whatever was propoſed, and having received the preſent of a fine horſe from the *Sultan*, he conſented to demoliſh the forts of *Doryleum*, and *Sableum*; which, the former eſpecially, were very incommodious for the *Sultan*. The peace being concluded, the emperor, who amongſt his other loſſes, ſuſtained that of his military cheſt, which was ſeized before his eyes, was reconducted to the mouth of the valley by which he had entered it, over the horrible carnage of his own ſubjects; and he proceeded on his march homeward, with all the ſpeed he could. But the *Sultan* is ſaid to have repented himſelf of the terms he had granted the *Greeks*; and ſent out parties to harraſs them in their return, when it was too late, and all that the barbarians could do, was to butcher the ſick, and the wounded. But this, if true, happened probably after the emperor refuſed to demoliſh *Daryleum*, and declared, that he did not think himſelf obliged to do it by a treaty, which had been extorted from him by force; an excuſe he would not have made, had the barbarians previouſly violated the capitulation.

He obtains a peace.

Returns, but is purſued.

Be this as it will, the *Sultan* reſented his refuſal ſo much that he ſent one of his *Attabecks*, or head noblemen, with an army of thirty thouſand choſen men, with orders not to return home without bringing him ſea water ſand, and an oar; or in other words, that he ſhould carry his conqueſt to the ſea coaſt. The *Attabeck* was proceeding with great ſucceſs in executing his maſter's commands; and had already laid all *Phrygia* waſte, with fire and ſword, when *Manuel* ſent his nephew, *Vataces*, with other two generals, at the head of an army, which attacked the *Turks* ſo critically, as they were paſſing the *Meander* incumbered with ſpoil, that every man of the barbarians were cut off; or drowned in the river. This and other advantages, which *Manuel* afterwards got over the *Turks*, diſcouraged them extreamly; and *Arſlan* being now very old, made a diviſion of his empire amongſt his ſons. They were ſo ingrateful, that not waiting for his death, four of them ſeized the territories allotted to them, and the eldeſt of them *Kothbeddin*, confined his perſon; but

The *Greeks* give a great defeat to the *Turks*.

he found means to eſcape to *Kay Koſraw*, the only ſon who remained loyal to him.

Such was the ſtate of affairs amongſt the *Seljuks* of *Rum*, when the emperor, *Frederick Barbaroſſa*, took upon him the croſs. *Arſlan*, had always profeſſed himſelf a great friend to the weſtern *Chriſtians*, who he knew hated *Manuel*, and therefore *Frederick*, before he ſet out ſent him an embaſſy demanding the liberty of paſſing thro' his territories, without moleſtation. He ſent a like embaſſy to *Manuel*, who granted his requeſt, but in a very awkward manner; and not till after he underſtood the anſwer that had been returned, by the *Seljukian Sultan*. *Frederick* ſent a third embaſſy to *Saladin*, requiring him to reſtore *Jeruſalem*, and to deliver up our Saviour's croſs to the *Chriſtians*; a demand, which he could not hope to ſucceed in. It is neceſſary, for the ſake of perſpicuity, here to attend the hiſtory of *Frederick* to his death, that we may fall more naturally in with the ſiege of *Acon*, which was at this time formed, by *Guy* of *Luſignan*; and proved one of the moſt memorable, perhaps, of any ever undertaken.

The *emperor Frederick* begins his march.

That *Saladin*, and the *Greek* emperor were in alliance together, is proved by unqueſtionable records in the *Moſlem* hiſtory; nor can we well ſuppoſe that *Frederick* was ignorant of it. In the ſpring of the year 1189, *Frederick* ſet out upon his expedition, and having taken his meaſures with wonderful ſagacity, he croſſed *Hungary*, without loſing a man, but was harraſſed in his march thro' *Bulgaria*, by the barbarians, during two months, tho' without any conſiderable loſs, but that of time. The *Greek* emperor *Manuel*, by this time, was dead; and his ſon murdered by the tyrant *Andronicus*, who was ſucceeded by *Iſaac Angelus*. This emperor is repreſented in very black colours by *Chriſtian* writers. All we ſhall ſay of his character is, that his alliance with *Saladin* was both natural and wiſe, ſince it tended to exclude from the empires of both, a ſet of lawleſs invaders, tho' dignified by the name of *Chriſtians* and ſovereigns. He accordingly made preparations to oppoſe *Frederick*, who was no ſooner arrived upon his territories, than he was attacked by ambuſhes on all hands; againſt which however he defended himſelf with wonderful courage and addreſs. It does not belong to our hiſtory to recount the particulars of the actions between him and *Iſaac*. It is ſufficient to ſay, that a ſmall handful of the *German* army routed a great army of the *Greeks*, under *Manuel Iſaac*'s general, and *Frederick* in a ſhort time, made himſelf maſter of all *Thrace*, *Nicopolis*, and *Adrianople*, and all the places between the *Egean* and *Euxine* ſea, with very little difficulty. *Iſaac* then, who had impriſoned the *German* ambaſſadors, ſet them at liberty, with a very bad grace, and offered to treat with *Frederick* as an emperor, (a title he had refuſed to him before) to grant him proviſion and ſhipping for tranſporting his troops, provided he

Arrives in the *Greek* territories which he conquers.

he did it ſpeedily. *Frederick* treated thoſe advances with infinite contempt, claiming the rights of conqueſt, and telling *Iſaac*, that he was to receive, and not to preſcribe, terms. That he was reſolved to winter in *Thrace*, which he had made his by the ſword. But at the ſame time, he told the ambaſſadors that in the next ſpring, if their maſter would have in readineſs a ſufficient quantity of ſhipping, and give twenty four of his principal lords as hoſtages into his hands, together with eighty others of a ſubordinate rank, and ſet at liberty the ambaſſadors of the *Sultan Al Rum*, whom he detained againſt the law of nations, he would evacuate his empire.

And preſcribes his own terms

Iſaac accepted thoſe terms with great pleaſure, and *Frederick*, after paſſing the winter with his army, in the richeſt provinces of *Greece*, in the ſpring, found a ſufficient quantity of ſhipping to carry it over the *Helleſpont*; which he paſſed without loſing a man. He then directed his march to the right, towards the *Meander*; and repoſed for ſome days at *Laodocea*, where he paſſed that river: and entered upon the territories of the *Seljukian Sultan*, of whoſe good faith he had a very high opinion.

He proceeds on his expedition.

It belongs to our hiſtory to remark here, that the *Chriſtian* writers have charged *Iſaac* with having been aſſiſted in this war, by a body of auxiliaries ſent him by *Saladin*. But this is extreamly unlikely, becauſe about the time that *Frederick* was entering upon the *Seljukian* territories, an ambaſſador arrived with a letter from *Iſaac* to *Saladin*, in which he informs *Saladin*, that tho' the *Chriſtians* had made an irruption into the *Greek* territories, yet they had given out a great many falſe reports, and that they had ſuffered a great deal more than his ſubjects had done; that they had ſpent all their money, loſt almoſt all their beaſts of burden, and that vaſt multitudes of their men had been put to the ſword; or had been carried off by malignant fevers. He added, that as his garriſons would during their march attack them, on all hands, they probably never would be able to annoy *Saladin's* frontiers; and if they ſhould, that they muſt be in ſuch a weak deſtitute condition, as to be unable, either to diſtreſs his ſubjects, or to benefit themſelves. "Why, concludes this curious letter, "is your highneſs "ſo unmindful of the alliance in force between us, that you "kept our majeſty in the dark, as to your intentions and "deſigns. Our majeſty can ſay with great truth, that the "friendſhip we have cultivated with your highneſs, has "been attended by no other advantage to our majeſty, than "by expoſing us to the rage and reſentment of the weſtern "*Chriſtians*." From this unqueſtionable authority, it appears no way probable that *Iſaac* was aſſiſted by any of *Saladin's* troops at this time; but rather that the barbarian, who hated all *Chriſtians* alike, had deceived *Iſaac*: and had made his territories, a kind of a frontier to his own. But the

Curious letter to *Saladin*.

profeſſed deſign of this letter, was to make a demand upon *Saladin* of the treaſure and effects, of a *Greek* ambaſſador, who had died at *Saladin's* court; that they might be diſtributed amongſt his relations. *Saladin*, exceſſively well pleaſed with the intelligence contained in this letter, entertained the ambaſſador with great marks of diſtinction.

Succeſs of the *German* emperor.

It appears from the beſt authorities, that when the emperor *Frederick* arrived upon the *Seljukian* territories, the old *Sultan Arſlan*, was not poſſeſſed of *Iconium*, which was held by his rebellious ſon *Kothboddin*; and that *Arſlan*, diſclaimed the obſtructions they met with, and ſent even an apology for that purpoſe, from *Taxara*, where he had taken refuge. *Frederick*, however advanced, and was ſo well received in *Laodocea*, that we are told, he prayed upon his knees, for the proſperity of that city, proceeding forward, finding himſelf beſet on all hands, and that it was impoſſible for his heavy armed troops, to get up with the barbarians, he feigned a retreat. This encouraged the *Turks* to fall upon his camp, which he left with a ſmall guard; who kept the barbarians in play ſo well, that about twenty thouſand of them deſcended to the plain, and were by a ſudden motion of *Frederick*'s army, ſurrounded, and entirely cut in pieces. By this victory, *Frederick* opened his way to *Iconium*, and at laſt arrived at the famous paſs, which we have already deſcribed, where the emperor *Manuel* loſt his army. *Frederick*, underſtanding before he entered the paſs, that the *Turks* had made the like diſpoſitions againſt him, wiſely offered rewards, to ſuch of his priſoners, as beſt knew the country, and they conducted him over a mountain, that was ſo extreamly difficult, that, in paſſing it, he loſt upwards of one thouſand of his cavalry; and as many of his draft and baggage horſes; who tumbled over the precipices.

His great difficulties

Deſcending however to a fine open country, were there was plenty of poviſions, *Frederick* repoſed for ſome days. But they were quickly ſurrounded with freſh armies of barbarians, who, tho' they made very little impreſſion upon the perſons of the *Chriſtians*, by reaſon of their armour, extreamly incommoded them in their march, and carried off part of their baggage; at laſt, the multitudes of the barbarians increaſed ſo much, that they ventured to encounter the *Chriſtians* upon more equal terms. They were commanded, according to a moſt curiousletter from *Bar Crecor* an *Armenian* general, (and probably a *Chriſtian*) (who correſponded with *Saladin*) by *Kothboddin*, and a battle was fought near the fort of *Filomelion* in which ſix thouſand of the *Turks* were put to the ſword: the reſt by the lightneſs of their armour eſcaping to their paſſes. According to the *Moſlem* authors, another battle was fought, in which the loſs of the *Turks* was much more conſiderable; but the laſt mentioned battle, ſeems to have been the ſame which we have already mentioned *Frederick* gained by ſtratagem.

His progreſs.

But

Bur tho' *Frederick* triumphed ſo glorioufly over the barbarians, he was unable to reſiſt the attacks of famine. Notwithſtanding the richneſs of the country, the infidels had rendered all that part of it, which lay within the reach of the *Chriſtians*, a deſert; and by their vaſt numbers, they had either ſurprized all the proviſions that were in the rear of the *Chriſtian* army, or had cut off all their convoys, and foraging parties; ſo that they could have no freſh ſupplies. In this diſtreſsful ſituation, they were obliged to feed upon their baggage horſes, and their mules, many of whom ſcarcely could drag themeſelves along, ſo that the ſoldiers were obliged to lead them on foot; according to the *Chriſtian* hiſtorians. But in this they are a little inconſiſtent with what follows afterward; when the *Moſlem* writers tell us, that the victory which followed was gained by the ſervices of the *Chriſtian* cavalry. Upon the whole, however, it is certain, that the miſerable condition of the *German* army, determined *Frederick* at all events, to puſh forward, and make himſelf maſter of *Iconium*. As it was a common cauſe of all the *Seljukians*, *Kothboddin* is ſaid to have brought to the field, upon this occaſion, two hundred thouſand men, which he poſted in the hedges, vineyards, and the avenues leading to his capital. *Frederick* wanted nothing more than to fight the barbarians upon terms ſomewhat equal. Notwithſtanding that advantageous ſituation, he ordered each horſeman of his army to take behind him a footman, lightly armed; and to charge the enemy in front. This was a very wiſe precaution; the horſemen, as well as the fore part of their horſes, were caſed in armour, ſo that they were proof againſt the arrows and darts of the barbarians, and the infantry, which was highly armed, being thus led up to the baracades, made a moſt horrible ſlaughter of their enemies. It appears, that the emperor, upon this occaſion, led the attack in perſon, and that he charged his ſon, the duke of *Suabia*, with the command of the rear, with orders to give the horſemen as they returned from the baracades, freſh ſupplies of infantry to carry back. The battle was very dreadful, and at laſt became general. But after the *Germans* had broken in upon the baracades, nothing but a butchery, was to be ſeen. Ten thouſand *Turks*, who had been brave enough to make a ſtand, were cut in pieces before *Kothboddin's* face, and incredible numbers of them were killed in their retreat. *Kothboddin*, who is ſaid, by the *Chriſtian* writers, to have behaved very bravely, eſcaped with difficulty, at the head of his reſerve, which was commanded by his brother; while the emperor, made himſelf ſome amends, for the loſſes and fatigues, he had ſuſtained, by being now in ſight of *Iconium*.

He is diſtreſſed by famine.

He marches to *Iconium*.

Fights a battle.

The loſs which *Frederick* ſuſtained, was ſo inconſiderable, and his victory ſo wonderful, that many viſionaries, under him ſaid, that they ſaw two chevaliers, mounted on white

Superſtition of his army.

horſes, who they took to be *Victor* and *St George*, fighting againſt the barbarians, at the head of their armies. This notion, however ridiculous, gave vaſt ſpirits to the *Germans*, and he encamped, within a ſhort diſtance of *Iconium* the very night of the day on which he gained the battle. *Kothboddin*, ſeeing what irreſiſtable enemies he had to deal with, offered to ſuffer *Frederick* to paſs upon his expedition, and to furniſh him and his army with all manner of proviſions, upon his paying down thirty thouſand crowns, and obliging the *Armenian Chriſtians* to reſtore certain forts, and territories, which they had taken from him, in *Cilicia*. *Frederick*, with indignation, rejected thoſe propoſals, which ſeemed to come rather from a conquering, than a conquered enemy; and made diſpoſitions for attacking the city. With this view, he divided his army into two parts; the one to be commanded by himſelf, and the other, by the duke of *Suabia*, and the earl of *Holland*. The enemy, on the other hand, notwithſtanding all their loſſes, ſtill kept the field, with upwards of two hundred thouſand men, beſides the garriſon of the city, which was very numerous, and which they could reinforce at pleaſure. *Frederick*, ordered his ſon, and the earl of *Holland*, to aſſault the city, while he undertook to cover them, againſt all attacks, from the main body of the barbarian army. *Kothboddin*, who was in perſon in the city, and his generals, who were in the field, ſeeing this diviſion of the *Chriſtian* army, thought that *Frederick* muſt now be ruined. *Kothboddin*, himſelf, made a ſally with a numerous body, upon the duke of *Suabia*, and the earl of *Holland*; but they were received ſo well by the *Germans*, that they inſtantly fled to the city, and before they could ſhut its gates, the *Chriſtians* entered them. It appears from *Chriſtian*, as well as *Moſlem* authors, that the *Chriſtians*, upon this occaſion, were guilty of vaſt exceſſes; and put to the ſword, great numbers of the inhabitants. This is confirmed by an original letter, written by the above mentioned *Bar-Crecor*, to *Saladin*, in which he calls the inhabitants of *Iconium*, *Perſians*: becauſe of the *Seljukes* coming from *Perſia*. It likewiſe appears, from the ſame letter, that *Arſlan*, had by this time, compromiſed matters with his ſon *Kothboddin*, who only commanded under him, and was reinſtated in the ſovereignty of *Iconium*.

He beſieges *Iconium*.

And his troops take it.

While the *Chriſtians* before the town were thus ſucceſsful, *Frederick* was engaged in a very doubtful, dangerous battle, with the barbarians in the field, who, upon this, fought with uncommon vigour and firmneſs. His troops, had been of late extreamly harraſſed, and had paſſed the preceeding night in the field, expoſed to a very heavy rain, which had greatly diſheartened them. But the emperor's vaſt courage, and diſcipline, made amends for all the diſadvantages he was under: and the enemy was at laſt obliged to retreat with great loſs. Inſtead of perſuing them, he marched

He fights another battle.

marched towards the city, which we are told he gave up to be plundered by his ſoldiers: reſerving to himſelf one hundred thouſand marks (a million, and half ſterling) which he found in *Arſlan's* treaſury. The other booty which his ſoldiers made was likewiſe immenſe; but their moſt valuable acquiſition was, the vaſt plenty of all kinds of proviſions, with which they recruited their ſpirits and perſons. Booty of the city.

Arſlan and his family, remained all this time ſhut up, in the ſtrong citadel of *Iconium*; but deſpairing to be able to hold out, he ſent a reſpectful meſſage to *Frederick* to yield, upon the latter's own terms. By the complexion of the hiſtory it appears as if *Frederick* had always entertained a good opinion of *Arſlan* himſelf; and attributed all the oppoſition he had met with, to his ſons. Thoſe princes could have no manner of idea, that a great emperor, would expoſe himſelf, as *Frederick* had done, to the moſt dreadful fatigues and dangers, upon the chimerical view of taking a city, which he probably never could take, and when taken, he had no farther to do with, than to ſay his prayers in it. They heard at the ſame time of other great armies coming from *Europe*, and the example of *Jeruſalem* had taught them, that the *Chriſtians* even in foreign countries, could maintain their conqueſts. The ſame in fact, were the ſentiments of Philip *Auguſtus*, and the moſt ſenſible amongſt *Chriſtian* princes; nor could they conceive, that a prince, having with immenſe loſs of blood and treaſure conquered a great and a flouriſhing empire, would relinquiſh all advantages accruing from his acquiſitions. But all of them were miſtaken in *Frederick's* character, which was that of being, thoroughly and ſincerely zealous, in the cauſe he had embraced. His great age made him impatient to finiſh his vow; and he would have thought it the worſt of ſacrilege, had he been diverted from it by any views of ambition however promiſing or glorious. It was therefore no hard matter for *Arſlan* to buy his abſence, by putting into the emperor's hands twenty of his prime nobility as hoſtages, for the performance of his engagements; which were, provided the emperor would evacuate his dominions, and leave *Iconium* in the ſame ſtate he found it, that the *Sultan* ſhould furniſh proviſions for the *Chriſtian* army during its march thro' his dominions. *Arſlan* could ſcarcely believe his good fortune, at getting rid of his gueſts upon ſuch eaſy terms. The *German* army repoſed for five days, according to the *Moſlem* authors, but for ſeven according to the *Chriſtian*, in or near *Iconium*; and then he proceeded on his expedition, towards *Tarſus*; according to *Arſlans* advice. An *Armenian* prince called *Laun*, by the *Moſlem*, and *Livon*, by the *Chriſtian* authors, the head of one of thoſe many little principalities, that had been ſet up in *Aſia*, by the firſt *Cruſaders*, when *Frederick* left *Iconium*, ſent ſome of his chief nobility to wait upon him, and perſwade His zeal. Makes him conclude a peace, and march forward.

ſuade him by all means to return, and keep poſſeſſion of that empire. This we learn from *Bar Crecor*'s letters to *Saladin*; by which there is reaſon to believe, that this *Laun*, was a friend to *Saladin*; tho' the *French* ſay he was originally of their country; and it is certain that the deſcendants of the firſt *Cruſaders*, looked with a very evil eye, upon *Frederick*'s expedition: for the reaſons we have already given. *Frederick* being obſtinately determined to proceed, the ambaſſadors returned, and according to *Bar Crecor*'s letter, *Laun* prepared to ſet out to have a perſonal interview with *Frederick*, to perſuade him to return to *Iconium*. *Frederick* in the mean while, was proceeding on his march in which he was harraſſed by the troops of the barbarians, which gave him a pretext for detaining the hoſtages of *Al Rum* of *Iconium*, till he arrived with vaſt difficulty in a vally watered by the river *Sydnus*. The beauty of this river, together with the intolerable heat of the ſeaſon which happened to be about the end of *June*, invited him to bathe in it; after making a hearty meal upon its banks; but the chilneſs of the waters were ſuch, that he died a few days after he came out of the river. Some ſay that he was drowned in paſſing it; but the beſt accounts of cotemporary writers, particularly of *Bar Crecor*, in his letter to *Saladin*, have repreſented the matter as we have.

His death

Upon *Frederick*'s death, *Saladin*, to whom we now return, was delivered from ſuch an uneaſineſs, as had almoſt brought him to a reſolution of returning to *Egypt*; and giving up all his conqueſts in *Paleſtine*. The intrepidity and perſeverance of that great monarch, made him think that he was equal to the conqueſt of all the Eaſt; and the fame of his conqueſts, had ſtruck him with terrible diſmay. *Frederick*'s ſon, as great a bigot as himſelf, immediately upon his father's death, took upon himſelf the command of the army: and *Laun*, the *Armenian*, whom we have already mentioned, according to *Bar Crecor*'s letter to *Saladin*, retired to one of his caſtle's which he fortified againſt the *Germans*. Finding himſelf however, by no means able to withſtand ſo great a power, as the duke of *Suabia* ſtill commanded, he was obliged to declare himſelf the duke's dependent, and ally; and his ſubmiſſion ſeems to be juſtified by *Bar Crecor*'s letter to *Saladin*.

He is ſucceeded in the command of the army by his ſon

We are now to return to the ſiege of *Acon*, or *Ptolemais* in which all the powers both in *Europe*, and *Aſia*, were intereſted. It was, as we have already ſeen, begun in a kind of fit of diſpair, by *Guy de Luſignan*; but the vaſt ſpirit of cruſading, which then obtained in *Europe*, ſent him ſuch a large body of recruits, that *Saladin* juſtly began to be apprehenſive for the conſequences. The *Chriſtians* hearing of the prodigious ſucceſſes of the *German* emperor, imagined upon his arrival, the ſiege muſt be determined in a very few days; but they were miſtaken. The duke of *Suabia*, had ſtill a tedious march to make; and was ſurrounded on all ſides with

Who loſes moſt of his army.

with enemies: either ſecret or avowed. By them, he loſt vaſt numbers of his men, but notwithſtanding all difficulties, he reached *Antioch*; where his army ſuffered, more by the ſudden change of want and penury, for luxury, than they had ſuffered in all their march. In ſhort, when he left *Antioch*, the diſeaſes of the climate, and the ſword of the enemy had reduced the *German* army, which originally was upwards of fifteen thouſand men, to about ſeven hundred infantry, and ſix hundred cavalry. It ſeems to have been greatly in the power of *Laun* the *Armenian*, to have interrupted the march of the *Germans*; but according to *Bar Crecor*'s letter to *Saladin*, when the duke of *Suabia*, convinced him that neither his father nor he, had the leaſt intention of making conqueſts, or any view but to proceed to *Jeruſalem*, he deſiſted from his oppoſition.

Luſignan ſet at liberty.

By the beſt hiſtories we find that *Chriſtians* and *Turks* of this age were equally diſregardful of good faith. *Saladin*, according to *European* writers, had agreed to grant *Luſignan* his liberty, upon the ſurrender of *Aſcalon*; but he ſtill detained him in priſon, and when at laſt he ſet him free, he exacted from him an oath, that he ſhould tranſport himſelf to *Europe*; and never more diſturb the tranquility of the Eaſt. *Luſignan*, when free from his impriſonment, conſulted his biſhops and clergy, whether he was obliged by that oath, and their determination was, that he was not. He therefore reaſſumed his character of king of *Jeruſalem*, and put himſelf at the head of all the troops he could muſter up at *Tripolis*. The *Cruſaders*, now, pouring in from *Europe*, his army ſoon amounted to thirty thouſand infantry, and two thouſand horſe. His firſt deſign was to have ſurprized *Tyre*. But that city as we have already ſeen, was in the poſſeſſion of the marquis of *Montferrat*, who aſſerted his ſovereignty over it. Thus the firſt attempt, which this diſtreſſed *Chriſtian* prince made, was againſt *Chriſtians*, tho' the *Infidels*, were the objects of the *Cruſade*; and every day gathering ſtrength in the field. *Luſignan* was perſuaded with great difficulty, to abandon this enterprize; and all of a ſudden, he marched to *Acon*, having ſent a detachment to attack the *Moſlems* at *Alexandretta*, who were diſlodged from thence, and the *Chriſtians* took poſſeſſion of the place. *Acon*, was at that time ſo prodigiouſly ſtrong, and was ſo well garriſoned, that *Saladin*, who lay with his army at *Shakif*, could not imagine he would have attempted it: but when he perceived that the ſiege was actually formed, he immediately ordered all his tributaries, dependants, and allies, to furniſh him with their reſpective contingencies, and he advanced to the relief of *Ptolemais*.

Gets an army.

Beſieges *Acon*.

This city happened to be then of vaſt importance to both parties. *Luſignan* wanted it, as being the only port within his dominions, from whence he could receive ſuccours from *Europe*, the marquis of *Montferrat*, being in a manner his declared

Importance of that city.

declared enemy: and it was extreamly convenient to *Saladin* as a port; for landing his troops, and receiving his *Egyptian* fleets. The *Chriſtian* authors are certainly in the right, when they tell us that there was a vaſt diſparity in the numbers of the two armies. The garriſon of *Ptolemais*, at firſt looked upon *Luſignan*'s attack, with ſuch contempt, that they did not think it even worth their while to ſhut their gates; and *Saladin*'s army was now ſo greatly increaſed, that he beſieged the *Chriſtian* camp, much more ſtreightly than the *Chriſtians* did *Ptolemais*. *Luſignan*, upon this occaſion, is moſt unjuſtly blamed by the *Chriſtian* hiſtorians, for fortifying his camp, upon an eminence called *Turan*: for it appears from *Moſlem* authors, had he not taken that precaution, his army muſt have been entirely ruined. Notwithſtanding this vaſt ſuperiority, *Chriſtian* hiſtorians admit that *Luſignan* and his army did wonders. No day paſſed without ſkirmiſhes, many of which might have been accounted battles; and the *Chriſtians* at laſt forced *Saladin* to remove his camp: to a ground leſs incommodious for them. The *Chriſtian* writers tell us, perhaps with ſome reaſon, that *Saladin* upon this occaſion, was guilty of an irreparable fault, in not ſtorming the *Chriſtian* camp, upon his firſt coming up. This they attribute to his too great ſecurity, as thinking he could do that at any time, for he thanked God, that the *Chriſtians* had now delivered themſelves up to his chains; and in the mean time he beſieged the fortreſs of *Beaufont*. But tho' the marquis of *Montferrat*, looked upon *Luſignan* with an eye of hatred and perhaps contempt, yet he was far from being an enemy to the *Cruſaders* in general, and was eaſily perſuaded to ſuffer the troops, who were daily arriving from *Europe*, to land at *Tyre*. At laſt, he agreed to join them with all his own forces, who were the beſt troops in the Eaſt; and the *Chriſtian* army, ſoon amounted to one hundred thouſand foot, and forty thouſand horſe, all of them well provided, vigorous, and in high ſpirits. *Saladin* trembled for the event, and tho' he kept *Luſignan*'s army ſtill coopt up; he ſaw himſelf beſieged in his turn. The ſituation of both parties, was equally ſingular as critical, *Luſignan*, who lay neareſt the town, was ſo far from being able to attack it, that he could not cut off the communication between it, and the camp of *Saladin*, who threw into it what reinforcements he pleaſed; nor could the *Chriſtians* who formed the grand army, numerous and brave as they were, pretend to force *Saladin*'s camp. *Saladin*'s numbers, without and within the city, were likewiſe ſuperior to thoſe of the *Chriſtians*; add to this, he now had had leiſure, to bring his men into an excellent diſcipline, and therefore he was far from declining a general battle, with the *Chriſtians*; who by this time had opened a communication with *Luſignan*'s army, ſo that their whole force, formed one great body. The right wing of the *Chriſtians*, was commanded by *Luſignan*, who had under him his own troops,

Progreſs of its ſiege

Saladin's overſight.

The marquis of *Monferrat* and many others join the beſiegers.

troops, with those of *France*, and *St. John* of *Jerusalem*. The left wing was commanded by the marquis of *Montferrat*, who was at the head of his own troops, and most of the *Italians*. The third division, which composed the center, was commanded by the landgrave of *Thuringia*, and consisted of *Germans*, *Danes*, and *English*. Besides those three divisions, a body of reserve was formed, under the great master of the temple, and the duke of *Guelderland*, consisting of their own troops, and some *Spaniards*. *Saladin*'s army, was divided into eight bodies, and was drawn up, by that great captain, with admirable foresight. For sensible as he was, that his troops were unable to stand the brunt of the *Christians*, he himself took the command of his strongest and best body, which he held as a reserve.

Who fight *Saladin*.

Every circumstance fell out as *Saladin* had foreseen. The *Christians* had an infinite contempt for the *Moslems*, and their cavalry charged with such vigour, that *Saladin's* main body was entirely routed; but the *Christians* instead of persuing, as they ought to have done, this fortune at the beginning, pushed on towards *Saladin's* camp, and dazzled with its magnificent appearance, where all the pomp and splendour of Eastern luxury was displayed, they fell to plunder. *Saladin* availed himself accordingly. He found not, upon all the field, a regular body of *Christians*, excepting the great master of the temple, whose generous band, despising plunder was persuing victory: him *Saladin* attacked with the flower of his troops; and notwithstanding the disparity of their numbers, the *Infidels* must have been routed, had not the *Christians* been flanked with six or seven thousand fresh men, who sallied from the city, and turned the scale in *Saladin's* favour: for the great master lost his life, as did many of his bravest officers, and his troops were put to the route. *Saladin*'s way was now clear to his camp, which he found the *Christians* intent upon plundering. Some of the most regular troops, rallied, and made a stand against him; but the *Germans*, instead of opposing him, quarrelled amongst themselves, concerning the booty, and especially, about a beautiful *Arabian* horse, richly caparisoned. In short, *Saladin* made such advantage of every circumstance, that, in a manner, he snatched the victory out of the hands of the *Christians*; and it must have been compleat on his side, had not *Lusignan* and the *French*, who guarded the camp, during the time they had been engaged, presented themselves to his front: upon which he ordered a retreat.

But lose a complete victory thro' avarice.

Such was the famous battle of *Ptolemais*, the honour of which, has been arrogated by the *Moslems*, to themselves: but the consequences evinced, that all they did, was to preserve themselves from a total defeat. Ten thousand *Turks*, were killed in the first charge, with many of the best of the *Moslem* generals; and *Saladin* lost as many more, in the course of the battle, whereas the whole loss of the *Christians*,

They have however the advantage

tians, did not amount to two thousand men. But the consequences of this battle, have irrefragably proved, the *Christians* to have had the honour of the day. For *Saladin* was now sensible, that the advantage he had gained was entirely owing to an accident, which he could not flatter himself would happen again, and it was with pain, he dissembled his uneasiness. He pretended sometimes to be afraid of a pestilence from the stench of the dead bodies, that remained unburied on the field of battle; and that it had already infected his own health, for which reason, he broke up his blockade of the *Christian* camp, and retired to a strong post at *Keruba*, which he fortified, and kept upon the defensive till he should be joined by the vast reinforcements he expected, under his brother *Adel*.

For *Saladin* retires.

This retreat, which was in a manner an acknowledgement of his having been defeated, left the *Christians* at liberty to continue without molestation, the operations of the siege of *Ptolemais*. They made two lines of cicumvallation, one against *Saladin*'s army, in case he should attack them; the other against the city. The marquis of *Montferrat*, was posted on the north, and commanded as far as the sea; on his left lay the knights of the hospital, and the *Genoese* upon mount *Mursard*. The *French*, under the command of their nobility, were encamped between the north and the East, and on the east lay the *English*; next to them were the *Flemings*. *Lusignan* king of *Jerusalem*, with his queen *Sybilla*, occupied their old camp upon mount *Turon*; and the *Germans*, *Danes*, and *Friezlanders*, possessed all the south quarters, while the *Pisans*, *Venitians*, and other *Italians*, extended themselves quite to the south.

Circumvallations formed.

Such were the dispositions made at this memorable siege, and the reader is not to be surprized, when we acquaint him, that most of the general officers amongst the *Christians*, were bishops, and other ecclesiasticks; the *English* in particular being commanded, by the archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the bishop of *Salisbury*. *Saladin* received his reinforcements from all parts of the *Moslem* dominions; his cause being considered, as the cause of Mahometanism itself; and in fact it was so, nor perhaps could any prince, but one of his experience and sagacity, have prevented the whole East, at this time, from falling under the *Christian* powers. He still kept up his communication with the city, and he sent an ambassador, *Bohahoddin*, the same who has wrote the history of this siege, to *Bagdad*, and all the other *Moslem* princes his allies or dependents, to persuade them to unite as one man, in the cause of *Mahomet*. *Bohahoddin*, as we understand from himself, met with success, answerable to the importance of his embassy; and was extreamly caressed at all the courts to which he went. The califf of *Bagdad* particularly sent with him one of his subjects, an engineer, who did *Saladin* prodigious service;

Ecclesiastick generals.

Saladin sends for reinforcements.

ſervice; for the *Chriſtians*, according to the awkward manner of beſieging in thoſe times, had erected a moſt ſtupendous tower, which overlooked the walls of the city, and which being filled with ſoldiers, muſt have put an end to the ſiege, had it not been, that this young man, made combuſtible compoſitions, principally of *Naphtha*, which reduced to aſhes this enormous machine, and all who were in it. About the ſame time, *Saladin's Egyptian* fleet, defeated one from *Europe*, and made a triumphal entry, with the ſhips that it had taken into the port of *Ptolemais*. All thoſe circumſtances, together with the daily increaſe of the *Infidel* army, diſcouraged the *Chriſtians*, in proportion as they had been elated before. The deſtruction of the machine, which was of *German* conſtruction, entirely diſheartened that nation, and the landgrave of *Thuringia* entirely abandoned the ſiege, not without a violent ſuſpicion of his having been bribed by *Saladin's* gold. *Saladin* laid hold of this *Criſis* to make himſelf maſter of *Shakif*, to the garriſon of which he gave a moſt honourable capitulation; and ſuffered them to march to *Tyre*. His acquiſitions.

The vaſt execution which had been done by the *Naphtha* compoſition, which it ſeems, was the product of the califf of *Bagdad's* dominions, made *Saladin* apply, to that court for a freſh ſupply; which was accordingly ſent him, together with ſome able engineers, and bills of credit drawn by the califf's court, or divan, upon certain merchants, for money payable to *Saladin*. That prince continued all this time at *Keruba*, where he often took the diverſion of hunting; but carefully avoided any general action with the *Chriſtians*. His diſpoſitions were ſo excellent, that the latter ſoon began to be in want of proviſions; and *Saladin's* ſuperiority at ſea cut off all their hopes of receiving any ſupplies. The famine at laſt, in the camp of the *Chriſtians*, grew ſo pinching, as to drive them to deſpair; ſo that the officers and generals, in a manner, loſt all their authority: and the common men, knowing how well *Saladin's* camp was provided, took an opportunity one day, that they underſtood he was at hunting, to make a deſperate attack upon it. But they were repulſed with great ſlaughter by *Saladin's* brother *Adel*; and in their retreat they ſuffered greatly by an ambuſcade, he had planted againſt them. It appears however, even from the *Moſlem* authors, that *Saladin's* men, ſuffered ſeverely upon that occaſion. The *Chriſtians* about this time received vaſt ſpirits, from the magnificent accounts they received of the emperor *Frederick's* victories, over the *Sultan* of *Iconium*; and *Saladin* was alarmed by *Bar Crecor's* accounts of the ſame. It was therefore reſolved on both ſides, that ſomething deciſive ſhould be done. *Saladin* had been joined by his ſon *Daher*, by the prince of *Aleppo*, and almoſt all his allies; ſo that his army was ſtronger than ever; and he left his camp of *Keruba* for another, nearer to that of the *Chriſtians*. The latter on the other hand, reſumed their operations

Diſtreſs of the *Chriſtians*.

Make a deſperate attack.

operations of the moving towers, and built three of a moſt amazing conſtruction: each of them being filled with men, and warlike machines of all kinds. In order to preſerve them from being burnt as the former were, they were ſecured with iron, and covered with the hides of oxen ſoaked in vinegar. But all thoſe precautions, could not defend them from the deſtroying flames of the *Infidels*. A brazier of *Damaſcus*, contrived a kind of pots, or ſhells, from which he diſcharged his combuſtible *Naphtha*, with ſuch execution, that thoſe machines, with all within them, were entirely deſtroyed.

Their machines deſtroyed.

This misfortune, with the growing famine in the camp of the *Chriſtians*, muſt have obliged them to give over the ſiege; had it not been for the brave marquis of *Montferrat*, who went to *Tyre* and fitted out a fleet, with which he engaged and defeated *Saladin*'s ſhips: and left the ſea open to convey proviſions to the *Chriſtians*; which came under the conduct of the earl of *Champaign*, who brought at the ſame time, a powerful reinforcement of ſoldiers. This turned the ſcale of war entirely in favour of the *Chriſtians*; but they were now divided amongſt themſelves. *Sybilla*, the queen of *Jeruſalem*, in whoſe right her huſband held that crown, together with her only child, had attended her huſband thro' all the inconveniences of the ſiege, during which both ſhe, and her daughter died. *Thoron*, the huſband of *Iſabella* queen *Sybilla*'s ſiſter then put in his claim to the crown in right of his wife; but *Luſignan* inſiſting upon his own recognition, he being crowned, and annointed king of *Jeruſalem*, refuſed to give up his title. *Mary* the dowager of *Elmeric* king of *Jeruſalem*, and mother to *Iſabella Thoron*'s wife, was ſtill alive. *Thoron* himſelf by all accounts, was a moſt deſpicable creature. The marquis of *Montferrat* on the contrary, had every thing to recommend him; a graceful perſon, wiſdom, reputation, riches, and courage: and notwithſtanding his having, no manner of legal claim to the crown of *Jeruſalem*, he laid a plan for acquiring it, but carried it on by moſt deteſtable means.

Their famine relieved.

The marquis of *Monferrat* claims the crown of *Jeruſalem*

For having gained the affections of *Iſabella Thoron*'s wife, ſhe and her mother queen *Mary*, who had married *Balvan*, the ſame who was mentioned in the laſt ſiege of *Jeruſalem*, cited *Thoron* before the biſhop of *Acon*, upon pretence, that *Thoron* had forced the princeſs when ſhe was under age to marry him. The obſequious biſhop, found the plea to be good, the marriage was diſſolved, the marquis of *Montferrat* married *Iſabella*, and aſſumed the title of king of *Jeruſalem*: to the vaſt ſcandal of every man of virtue. It is ſaid in particular that *Baldwin* archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, laid to heart ſo much, the diviſions which the marquis's ambition produced, that he ſickened and died in five days time. All the power and addreſs of the marquis of *Montferrat*, were

By marrying *Thoron's* wife.

inſufficient

insufficient to suppress the resentment of the public at his conduct. For tho' it undoubtedly was for the interest of the *Christians*, that he should be made king of *Jerusalem*, yet the flagrant injustice, that had been done, both to *Thoron* and *Lusignan*, rendered all disinterested persons, amongst the *Christians*, extreamly uneasy; so that the marquis of *Montferrat*, was obliged to compromise matters with his rivals; and to refer the decision of their differences to the emperor *Frederick*; who they understood was upon his march, tho' soon after they heard of his death. His son the duke of *Suabia*, who as we have seen, took the command of his army, still continued his march towards *Tyre*, but under prodigious disadvantages. For *Saladin*, who was minutely informed by *Bar Crecor*, of all *Frederick*'s motions, gave orders to all his governors of the territories, thro' which he was to pass, to harrass him as much as they could, and to cut off all his convoys. By those means, *Frederick* lost a vast number of his men, and his army was obliged to subsist itself upon their horses, by which, his march became extreamly tedious and fatiguing; he however with wonderful patience surmounted all difficulties, and reached *Tyre*, where he and his army was received on board, the marquis of *Montferrat's* fleet, and carried to the siege of *Ptolemais*. The disappointments the besiegers met with at seeing so miserable a handful, instead of a numerous triumphant army, is not to be expressed; but they were excellent soldiers, hardened to the field and the climate, and well disciplined. Their commander the duke of *Suabia*, was in high reputation, and he took up the quarters of the landgrave of *Thuringia*, being recognized in general, by the *Germans* for their head.

His claim referred.

The duke of *Suabia* arrives at the *Christian* camp.

Upon the arrival of *Frederick*, the *Christian* generals, immediately resolved to make a new attack upon the city, and if possible to carry it by storm. For this purpose they brought up some of their largest ships, they being now in possession of the harbour close to the walls; and erecting high towers upon their decks, they attacked the besieged from thence, with their machines. The assault was given with so much fury, that the *Christian* standards, were several times planted on different parts of the walls, and the place must have been carried, had not *Saladin*, at the very instant of the attack, attempted to storm their camp. This obliged the *Christians*, from being assailants, to become defendants. They saw their attack was no longer practicable, and the *Infidels* in the midst of their camp. They immediately drew off from the storm, and fell with such intrepidity upon the barbarians, that they cut off the foremost and the bravest of their troops; and *Saladin* himself, whose chief intent was to draw them off from the storm, with great difficulty escaped being killed, or taken prisoner.

The siege pushed on.

Saladin repulsed.

Notwithstanding

Death of the duke of *Suabia*

Notwithſtanding the loſs the *Infidels* ſuſtained, it was plain that when *Saladin* beſieged the beſiegers, it was impoſſible for the latter to take *Ptolemais*. The duke of *Suabia*, worne out by fatigue, fell ſick, and according to *Chriſtian* writers, he might have ſaved his life, by uſing of a female; but he refuſed to comply, the remedy being inconſiſtent with his vow. Whatever may be in this ridiculous ſtory, it is certain that *Frederick* died about this time; and the *Germans* in general, were ſo diſguſted, with diſappointment and fatigue, that they all returned home, excepting a few of the moſt zealous, who ſerved under *Leopold* duke of *Auſtria*; a prince, who had performed prodigies of valour during the ſiege. But beſides this deſertion, a mortality and famine, again afflicted the *Chriſtians*, and it was entirely owing to the marquis of *Montferrat*'s fleet, that they were not ſtarved. For *Saladin*, who by means of pidgeon meſſengers, ſo common in that country, had an almoſt inſtantaneous correſpondence with the different parts of his dominions, which were receiving daily freſh reinforcements; and threw what troops he pleaſed into the city. But he now reſolved to remain upon the defenſive in hopes that the famine and peſtilence, would finiſh the army of the *Chriſtians*. He therefore choſe a ſtrong camp upon mount *Shaferam*, where he knew he could not be attacked, with any probability of ſucceſs; about three miles diſtance from *Ptolemais*. The *Chriſtians* on the other hand ſought every opportunity to bring him to a deciſive engagement, which he as carefully avoided. For no ſooner did they make diſpoſitions, for attacking him, as the marquis of *Montferrat*, and prince Henry of *Champaign* often did; than they themſelves were attacked in the rear, by ſallies from the garriſon.

Saladin chuſes a new camp

His difficulties.

Notwithſtanding the diſheartning ſituation of the *Chriſtian* affairs, thoſe of *Saladin*, were not very promiſing. He himſelf thro' inceſſant fatigue, had contracted, a bilous diſorder, and numbers of the princes, who ſerved under him, particularly *Amadoddin* and *Zenki*, whom we have ſo often mentioned, demanded their diſmiſſion; and ſome of them were even bold enough to ſeparate from his army without leave; tho' a few of them were brought back by force. *Saladin*'s diſtreſs was increaſed by the *Chriſtians* remaining maſters of the field, and intercepting one of his ſhips, laden with money for the payment of his troops, the loſs of which had occaſioned *Amadoddin*, and others, to mutiny.

The characters of the kings of *England* and *France*.

In the mean while, the ſpirit of cruſading revived in *Europe*; and *Richard* king of *Englnnd*, with *Philip Auguſtus* king of *France*, having patched up their differences, made moſt prodigious preparations, for undertaking the expedition in their own perſons. Thoſe two princes, were, in every circumſtance, the reverſe of one another, in temper and diſpoſition; and agreed in nothing but their zeal againſt the Infidels.

Infidels. *Richard* was brave, even to temerity; *Philip* was cautious, almoſt to cowardice. *Richard*, was magnificent and generous, *Philip*, was frugal, if not parſimonious. *Richard*, had many great vices, and *Philip* few amiable virtues. *Richard*, had ſpared no means, even the moſt rapacious, to amaſs prodigious treaſures, that he might appear, with a pomp as well as a power, ſuitable to his high rank; which *Philip* however, conſidered as being ſubordinate to his, as being *Richard's* ſovereign in *France*; where the latter held vaſt poſſeſſions. Notwithſtanding this diſparity of characters, ſuch was their zeal, that before they ſet out, they had ſeveral interviews with one another, at which they engaged themſelves, to cultivate a mutual harmony, and if either died upon the expedition, the ſurvivor was to be heir to all the deceaſed's ready money; which he was to apply to the purpoſes of the *Cruſade*. The paſſion for this new expedition was greatly encreaſed, by a number of little pictures, or drawings, ſent over by the *Chriſtians* in the Eaſt, repreſenting ſometimes a *Turkiſh* horſeman, treading under foot, the holy church of the ſepulchre at *Jeruſalem*; ſometimes a *Moſlem*, whipping our Saviour with rods, and defiling the place of his burial with all kinds of impurities. Infinite numbers of thoſe delineations were ſent to *Europe* by the direction of the marquis of *Montferrat*, who was now conſidered by the *Chriſtians*, as king of *Jeruſalem*; or at leaſt the perſon, moſt worthy to wear that crown.

Who take the croſs.

It is foreign to this hiſtory to give any particulars of the adventures of *Richard* and *Philip* before they arrived at the ſiege of *Acca*. It is however neceſſary, to mention in general that they were perpetually embroiled with one another, and their differences broke out a freſh every day. *Saladin* was no ſtranger to the reinforcements that were expected from *Europe*; and the ſagacity with which he acted, upon this, and all other occaſions, is almoſt incredible. Finding it neceſſary to return to his former camp, that he might the more eaſily intercept the reinforcements that came to the beſiegers from *Europe*, he took priſoners, according to the *Moſlem* authors, one of the *French* generals, and *Philip's* treaſurer, whom he treated with the utmoſt politeneſs; even to the admitting them to ſit at his own table. He ſhewed the like moderation to all the princes who ſerved under him, and whom he perſuaded to remain with his army as long as he judged neceſſary. When he diſmiſſed them, which he did not before winter came on, he made magnificent preſents, and gave robes of ſtate, to them all, particularly to *Amadoddin* and his ſon; by which he gained their affections ſo much, that they engaged to rejoin him early in the ſpring.

And ſet out for *Acca*. Hej. 587. A. D. 1191.

Politeneſs of *Saladin*

The ſiege of *Ptolemais* had now continued upwards of two years, with prodigious loſs to the *Chriſtians*. The place was indeed of importance to *Saladin*, but was far from being in

Continuance of the ſiege.

in itſelf, worth the blood and treaſure he had expended in its defence, had it not been that the ſiege of it, amuſed and diverted the *Chriſtians*, from more conſiderable conqueſts; nor indeed, as they were ſituated, could they abandon it, without the moſt imminent danger. Hitherto, both parties had, during the ſeverity of the winter, remained inactive, but in the beginning of the ſpring, the ſeaſon was ſo ſtormy, that the marquis of *Montferrat*, found himſelf under a neceſſity of ſending his ſhips into harbour at *Tyre*. *Saladin* did not loſe a minute in improving this circumſtance to his own advantage. *Bohahoddin Karakuſk*, and *Hoſamoddin*, were the two generals, who had hitherto defended *Acca*, but both they and the garriſon under them were now worn out, with inceſſant labour. *Saladin*, therefore, now that the ſea was open, entirely changed the garriſon and threw into the place a freſh body of men, under *Saifoddin*, while his brother *Adel* covered the diſembarkation at *Haifa*, with a ſtrong body of troops, to prevent any interruption from the *Chriſtians*.

Its garriſon changed.

According to ſome of the *Moſlem* authors, however, the new garriſon, was far inferior in number, as well as experience, to the old one. *Saladin*'s next care was to throw a ſupply of proviſions into the place, which he attempted. This was a work of great difficulty, on account of the tempeſtuous weather; and ſeven tranſports, laden with money and proviſions from *Egypt*, were daſhed to pieces, in ſight of the garriſon. Notwithſtanding this misfortune, he afterwards found means to throw a whole year's proviſions into the city; while the garriſon covered their debarkation. The *Chriſtians* took this opportunity, of making a freſh and moſt furious attack, upon the place; and were very near taking it, had not the beſieged deſtroyed the ſcaling ladder; and received ſuch a diverſion from *Saladin*, that they retired with vaſt loſs. They however opened a breach in the walls, and next day renewed the aſſault, but with no better ſucceſs than before.

Difficulties of the *Chriſtian* army and deſertions from it.

Such a train of diſagreeable events, as had attended the *Chriſtians*, ever ſince the opening of the ſiege, and the dilatory repair of reinforcements from *Europe*, occaſioned by the diſagreement between the kings of *England* and *France*; but, above all, the famine which was renewed in the *Chriſtian* camp, drove, according to the *Moſlem* authors, a vaſt number of deſerters into *Saladin*'s ſervice. He entertained them all, and formed out of them, a body of ſeamen, whom he put on board a large ſhip, with orders for them to cruiſe off upon the *Chriſtians*; and to do them all the damage they could. Thoſe renegades, well knowing, that they had nothing but death to expect, if they were taken, intercepted a great number of tranſports, dropping in from *Europe*; ſome of them richly laden with money and plate; all which, together with the ranſom for the priſoners they took, *Saladin* wiſely gave up to the captors. According to the beſt accounts,

accounts, during this winter, little or no reſpite was given, by either party to the other; and the *Moſlem* authors have been very minute, in recounting even the ſmalleſt ſkirmiſhes that happened, eſpecially when to their own advantage, either by ſea, or land.

Arrival of *Philip* king of *France.*

Early in the ſpring, after a voyage of twenty two days, arrived in the *Chriſtian* camp before *Ptolemais*, *Philip Auguſtus* king of *France*. He was attended by a noble army, which he brought in a hundred tranſports, and ſix great ſhips of war; together with proviſions and ſupplies, of all kinds. If we are to believe the *French* authors, he was received by the *Chriſtians*, as their tutelar genius. He no ſooner landed, which he did on Eaſter eve, than he entered upon action; and he took up his quarters ſo cloſe to the walls, that they were within reach of the enemies engines. Having landed his battering machines, he played them ſo advantageouſly, that he ſoon made a breach in the walls. But, according to the ſame authorities, he was reſtrained by a ridiculous ſcruple from purſuing his advantage, and taking the place. He had made an agreement with *Richard*, that all their conqueſts ſhould be in common, and doubted whether he could in honour deprive *Richard* of his ſhare of glory, in taking the town before his arrival; and this ſcruple weighed ſo much with him that he withdrew from the attack.

His fooliſh ſcruples.

Richard king of *England* conquers *Cyprus.*

In the mean while, *Richard*, after a variety of delays, and diſappointments, which gave him vaſt uneaſineſs, put to ſea, from *Meſſina*, with a noble fleet and army, but his ſhips were ſo rudely handled by a ſtorm, which happened on *Good Friday*, that he was obliged to put into *Cyprus*. This Iſland was then governed by a prince of the houſe of *Comneni*, who had ſo long held the *Greek* empire; but he is ſaid to have been no other than an uſurper and a tyrant, and had acquired his power by the aſſiſtance of *Sicilan* fleets, which ſerved againſt the *Greek* emperors, of that family. Inſtead of giving ſhelter to *Richard*, he ordered as many of the ſhip wrecked *Engliſh*, as he could ſeize, to be plundered, and thrown into chains; and upon *Richard*'s complaining of this uſage, he had the inſolence to threaten him with the ſame treatment, if he did not inſtantly leave the Iſland. *Richard* reſented this brutality. He was the firſt who jumped aſhore from a ſhallop in the face of the tyrant and all his troops, and by amazing efforts of courage, firſt defeated them, and afterwards made himſelf maſter of the whole Iſland; and even of the tyrant's perſon, whom he reduced to ſubmit to the moſt mortifying terms, even to his parting with his crown: but the particulars of this conqueſt, which was ſo glorious for *Richard*, are ſo well known, that we ſhall inſiſt no farther upon them.

Richard having conquered *Cyprus*, and ſent the tyrant of it in ſilver chains to *Tripolis*, made diſpoſitions for joining

And proceeds to the ſiege of *Acca*.

the *Chriſtians* before *Ptolemais*; whoſe affairs, notwithſtanding the boaſted arrival of king *Philip*, continued ſtill in a very untowardly ſituation; chiefly through the diſſenſions, that ſtill prevailed, between the parties of *Luſignan*, and the marquis of *Montferrat*. *Philip*, had highly eſpouſed the intereſt of the latter, and *Luſignan* with his brother *Geffrey*, the princes of *Antioch*, and *Tripolis*, with others who were jealous of the marquis, had repaired to *Cyprus* during *Richard*'s continuance on that Iſland, and had engaged him in their intereſts; which he was ſufficiently diſpoſed to do, from his enmity for *Philip*. Having ſettled the affairs of *Cyprus*, he ſailed towards *Tyre*; where by the marquis of *Montferrat*'s orders, he was denied admittance. When he drew near *Ptolemais*, he obſerved a ſhip of an enormous ſize under *French* colours. This veſſel had been prepared by *Saladin*, and fitted up by that crafty *Saracen* in the nature of a fireſhip, with a vaſt number of combuſtibles, and according to the accounts of the *Moſlem* authors themſelves, ſix hundered and fifty ſeamen on board, in hopes of approaching under the *French* colours to the *Engliſh* fleet, and burning it. But *Richard*, diſcovering the truth, attacked this veſſel with ſuch fury, that ſhe ſunk to the bottom, without a ſoul on board being ſaved, but one ſeamen; who was taken up, and ſent by *Richard*, by way of bravade, to acquaint *Saladin* with what had happened. He himſelf however loſt five ſmall tranſports which fell into the enemies hands, but next day he ſunk another great *Egyptian* ſhip laden with proviſions and ammunition, for the garriſon of *Ptolemais*; and took priſoners two hundred of their principal officers, and engineers, who jumped over board.

His ſucceſſes at ſea.

Next day *Richard* landed, and entered the camp before *Ptolemais*, with great triumph. *Philip* by this time had got over his ſcruples, and having built ſeven towers of a new conſtruction, he had preſſed the town with great vigour, but without being able to take it. For *Saladin* again removed his camp to *Keruba*, and harraſſed the beſiegers ſo inceſſantly, as to give the garriſon leiſure to repair all the breaches of their walls and works. The arrival of *Richard*, who was looked upon to be incomparably the moſt powerful prince, and the ableſt general of all the *Chriſtians*, ſoon altered the ſtate of the ſiege. The garriſon informed *Saladin* in plain terms, that unleſs he relieved them, by gaining a general battle, they muſt ſurrender. But *Saladin*'s intelligence was too good for him to be directed by them. *Richard*'s ſiſter, who attended him on his expedition, had brought with her from *Sicily*, two *European Moſlems*, who had diſguiſed their religion, by pretending to be *Chriſtians*, and gave *Saladin* information of all that paſſed in the *Chriſtian* camp. He likewiſe found means to detach the marquis of *Montferrat* from the common cauſe, by perſuading him that *Richard*'s intention, was to deprive him of the principality of *Tyre*; and

He lands.

ſtreightens the city.

and the marquis with his troops returned to that city. It happened, at the ſame time, that *Richard* fell dangerouſly ill, ſo that his life was deſpaired of; and this for ſome days created a total ceſſation of the operations of the ſiege. Upon *Richard*'s recovery, he perceived that *Philip* had carried on his works ſo far, that the greateſt ſhare of the honour in taking the place, muſt fall to him, and therefore he was diſpoſed to an accomodation with *Saladin*; and even entered into a ſecret treaty on that head. Tho' this has been denied by *Engliſh* authors, yet there is too much reaſon, from *Moſlem* writers, to believe it to be true. For they all agree that *Richard* propoſed a perſonal interview with *Saladin*, by a *Moſlem* priſoner, to whom he gave his liberty for that purpoſe. But *Saladin*, either diſtruſting *Richard*'s ſincerity, or being determined by other motives of policy, rejected the propoſal; but did not ſeem averſe to treat with *Richard* by an interpreter, provided *Richard* would open to him the terms he propoſed as the baſis of the future treaty. Perhaps his chief reaſon was founded upon the vaſt reinforcements he was expecting, which accordingly joined him in the beginning of *June*; and which enabled him to draw his lines cloſer to the *Chriſtians*. But *Saladin*'s ideas of the *Chriſtian* power, were greatly altered by *Richard*. He had held the king of *France* in contempt, notwithſtanding all he had done againſt the city, and he gave a memorable inſtance of it, by his refuſing to return a white falcon, which was a favourite with *Philip*, and was taken by *Saladin*'s ſoldiers; tho' the *Moſlem* authors ſay, that *Philip* offered no leſs than a thouſand dinars for her ranſom. *Saladin* found another genius in *Richard*. He was himſelf at the head of every aſſault, and conceiving himſelf to have been affronted by *Saladin*, in refuſing him the interview, he gave the garriſon no reſpite; but kept them in perpetual alarms. They ſent to *Saladin* on the ſeventh of *June*, now that *Richard* was entirely recovered, a letter, expreſſing the exceſſive hardſhips they ſuffered from *Richard*'s vigour, and telling him, that they would be obliged to ſurrender the next day if not relieved, or be obliged to ſtand a ſtorm, and the chance of being every man of them put to the ſword. *Saladin* had ſome time before reinforced the garriſon with the flower of his troops, under *Maſhtub*, *Karakuſh*, and others, of his ableſt generals; ſo that the extremity they were reduced to, gave him vaſt diſquiet. The *Infidels* had been barbarous enough to carry on the war in a moſt cruel manner, and the *Chriſtians* had been but too exact in copying that example. On the nineteenth of *January*, *Richard*, as the beſieged had foreſeen, ordered a general ſtorm; and with the loſs of a hundred and fifty of his beſt troops, he carried the outer wall. Notwithſtanding this, *Saladin* was not without hopes, from the diviſions that reigned in the *Chriſtian* camp; and there is ſome reaſon for believing, that the two heads of the *Chriſtians*

He propoſes to treat with *Saladin*, who declines it

Acca reduced to extremity

Diſagreement between *Richard* and *Philip*.

hated each other more than they did *Saladin*: for we are told, that each accuſed the other of tampering with him. It is certain that there was a kind of an intercourſe between them, and that the barbarian behaved to them, with a politeneſs, very foreign to his diſpoſition. This was far from being the caſe of his generals, who ſtill believing that it was in *Saladin*'s power to relieve them, put to death in cold blood, ſix *Chriſtian* noblemen; who had fallen into their hands, at ſtorming the outer wall. One of thoſe noblemen, probably *Almeric Clement* marſhal of *France*, was a perſon of the higheſt diſtinction; and offered if they would ſpare his life, to procure good terms for the garriſon; but they barbarouſly put him to death. *Philip* was apprized of this inhumanity, by a ſpy, whom he had in the place.

The outer wall of *Acca* taken.

The outer wall being thus taken, *Saladin*, whoſe troops began to be very uneaſy at their ſituation, and who had been at ſuch immenſe expences, that he ſcarcely had any money left, intimated to the garriſon that it was out of his power to relieve them. Upon this, *Maſhtub*, was ſent out to capitulate, and he addreſſed himſelf to the king of *France*, as being a more placable prince than *Richard*. *Philip*, exaſperated by their barbarous murder of his noblemen, refuſed to grant them any terms, upon which *Maſhtub* fiercely replied, that they would then defend the place to the laſt drop of their blood; and accordingly returned to the city. *Saladin* in the mean while, addreſſed himſelf to *Richard*, who, according to the *Moſlem* authors, was the ſoul of the whole enterprize, and amuſed him with the hopes of returning all that he had taken, ſince the battle of *Hittin*; provided he would lend him thirty thouſand of his troops, who were to be employed againſt his other enemies. In ſhort, the barbarian acted ſo artfully, that the garriſon had time to run up another wall in the place of that which had been demoliſhed, ſo that the beſiegers found, that they in a manner had the ſiege to begin a new. Being now however entirely maſters of the ſea, and plentifully ſupplied with all kinds of proviſions, and their numbers being then increaſed by near thirty thouſand, the garriſon at laſt offered to capitulate upon certain terms. But this offer there is reaſon to believe, was made without *Saladin*'s conſent. For we are told that before any capitulation was ſigned, ſeveral of *Saladin*'s generals went privately on board a barque, and abſconded for fear of his reſentment; and one of them being taken, was by his orders put in chains.

The beſieged ſend to treat.

And after great difficulties comes

After great difficulties, the terms of a capitulation were at laſt ſettled, between the *Chriſtians* and the garriſon, but apparently, without the approbation or conſent of *Saladin*. Thoſe terms are very differently repreſented, by *Moſlem* and *Chriſtian* authors, but as the latter ſeem to be far more conſonant to truth, we ſhall follow them. They were firſt, that

that the garriſon and inhabitants ſhould be permitted to march out, with all their own money and effects. Secondly, that fifteen hundred *Chriſtian* priſoners, of the lower ſort, and a hundred of the higher, to be named by the princes of the cruſade, be releaſed. Thirdly, that *Saladin*, or the garriſon, ſhould pay on the eighteenth of *July*, and the 18th of *Auguſt*, at equal payments, two hundred thouſand dinars to the princes of the *Cruſade*; as an equivalent, for their private fortunes, which they were ſuffered to enjoy. Fourthly, that *Saladin* ſhould deliver up the true croſs of the crucifixion. Fifthly, that all military ſtores, ſhips, machines, and magazines, and arms within the city, ſhall remain to the *Chriſtians*. And laſtly, that they ſhould make a preſent to the marquis of *Montferrat*, and his troops of fourteen thouſand dinars, on account of his trouble in bringing about, and ſettling the capitulation. to terms of capitulation.

Saladin, upon this occaſion, behaved like a faithleſs barbarian, for upon receiving a copy of the capitulation, he refuſed to ratify it, and exclaimed againſt the commanders of his garriſon. The *Chriſtians*, however, had got poſſeſſion of the city, and underſtanding *Saladin*'s difficulties, they ſeized upon the perſons and eſtates of all the *Moſlems* there. This conduct, which certainly was juſtifiable by *Saladin*'s obſtinacy, gave him a handle for refuſing to ſet at liberty the *Chriſtian* priſoners mentioned in the capitulation He inſiſted upon the garriſon and inhabitants of *Acca*, being releaſed, or hoſtages being given him for that purpoſe, before he paid the moiety of the two hundred thouſand dinars; in which caſe he offered to give ſecurity, for the payment of the whole ſum. Neither party choſe to truſt the other, ſo that the conditions of the capitulation remained entirely unfulfilled. The *Chriſtians* however, propoſed, upon the payment of the firſt moiety of the money, to releaſe half their priſoners in terms of the capitulation; and to give ſecurity for the releaſing the remainder, on payment of the other moiety. *Saladin* refuſed to comply with this equitable propoſal, and it is ſaid, that he applied to his own uſe, the money, which his ſubjects had raiſed for the releaſe of the garriſon. This exaſpirated *Richard* to the laſt degree, and made him guilty of a ſhocking piece of cruelty. Which *Saladin* diſowns.

For being reſolved to make himſelf maſter of *Aſcalon*, before he attempted the reduction of *Jeruſalem*, he made a general review of his troops, and in the ſight of *Saladin*, whoſe army remained ſtill fortified on an oppoſite hill, he ordered three thouſand *Moſlem* priſoners to be cut in pieces; giving it as his reaſon, that as he muſt ſoon ſet out upon his march, it would be dangerous either to carry with him, or to leave behind him, ſuch a vaſt number of priſoners. The *French* hiſtorians, out of hatred to *Richard*, have made this number amount to five thouſand, and tell us, that *Saladin* treated an Cruelty of *Richard*.

equal number of his *Chriſtian* priſoners in the ſame manner, The truth is, *Richard*, who looked upon himſelf, as the conqueror of *Ptolemais* and *Saladin*, behaved with a haughtineſs, that was next to brutal; and could brooke no equal, or leſs a ſuperior, in command. The priſoners he had put to the ſword, were thoſe that, upon a diviſion, had fallen to his own ſhare; and he therefore claimed a right to treat them as he pleaſed. He had a pique againſt *Leopold* duke of *Auſtria*, one of the braveſt of the *Chriſtian* princes, and pulled down his ſtandard, from the walls of a tower he had taken, and threw it with his own hands into the common kennel. He was equally inſolent towards the king of *France*, and being too powerful to be controuled, that prince, under pretence of an indiſpoſition, left ten or twelve thouſand of his troops, under the duke of *Burgundy*, and ſet ſail with the reſt for *Europe*; to which he returned in ſafety.

His haughtineſs.

Philip returns to *Europe*.

Richard, becoming now the ſole commander in chief of the *Chriſtians*, gave orders for repairing in the moſt ſubſtantial manner, and refortifying, the walls of *Ptolemais*; where the *Chriſtian* religion was again reſtored, and the different nations were aſſigned their reſpective quarters in the city. But the return of the king of *France* to *Europe*, gave him infinite diſquiet, as imagining that he intended to take advantage of his abſence by attacking his *French* or *Engliſh* dominions. On the other hand, he was equally diſguſted with the conduct of the marquis of *Montferrat*, to whoſe children the crown of *Jeruſalem* had been adjudged to belong after the death of *Luſignan*. The marquis having obtained this judgement in his favour, had retired to his own dominions, where he was very powerful; and affected an entire independency on *Richard*, whom he knew to be his enemy, and whom he was much more jealous of than he was of all *Saladin*'s power. *Saladin*, was no ſtranger to their heart burnings, and artfully fomented their differences, by appearing to treat ſeparately with each; tho' in fact he was making all kind of diſpoſitions, for availing himſelf of *Philip*'s retreat. For all matters being ſettled by *Richard* in *Ptolemais*, he ſet out on his march at the end of *July*; and on the firſt of *Auguſt*, he reached *Heifa*, being harraſſed on his march by *Saladin*'s troops; but he was ſupplied with proviſions from his own fleet, which attended him along the coaſt. He proceeded to *Cæſaria*, and according to the *Moſlem* authors, part of his army fell into an ambuſcade, on the tenth of *Auguſt*, where a great many were killed on both ſides. *Richard*, on this occaſion was, it ſeems, deceived by two *Arabs*, who pretended to be deſerters; but finding their informations fallacious, he ordered their heads to be ſtruck off. Some circumſtances in the hiſtory of this expedition, give great weight to the *Moſlem* account of it. For beſides their being very accurate, as to dates, they tell us that *Richard*'s ſtandard, was affixed to a kind of a lofty wooden tower, which went upon wheels; and this

Richard diſguſted.

Marches for *Jeruſalem*.

this is the very deſcription, which the moſt antient Engliſh hiſtorians, have left us of the antient ſtandard of England. It appears that *Richard* was ſuperior in all encounters; and that no quarter was given to priſoners on either ſide. But *Saladin* by policy made up for all his other defects. He had taken into his pay, a body of *Turks*, who were reckoned the beſt troops in the Eaſt, and were advancing from *Turkiſtan* to join him, and till theſe could come up, he employed his brother *Adel*, to amuſe *Richard*, with the talk of an accommodation. *Richard*, notwithſtanding his paſſion for war, was by no means averſe to this propoſal, eſpecially as *Adel* inſinuated, that *Saladin* might be prevailed upon, to deliver up *Jeruſalem* and its dependencies. This flattered *Richard*'s love of glory, and he was prevailed upon to enter upon the negotiation; which continued no longer, than *Saladin*'s reinforcements arrived, and he had ſuch dependance upon them, that he reſolved, to take the firſt inviting opportunity of coming to a deciſive action.

Treats with *Saladin*.

It was not long before this preſented itſelf, at the paſs of a river in the plains of *Arſof*, which the *Chriſtians* were obliged to attempt. *Saladin's* army, according to the *Chriſtians*, who are not contradicted by the *Moſlems*, conſiſted of three hundred thouſand men, and that of *Richard* was reduced to one hundred thouſand, by the departure of the king of *France*, and other cauſes. *Saladin*, ſenſible of the neceſſity the *Chriſtians* were under to paſs the river, had lined both banks of it, with troops, while he remained hovering with the main body of his army, upon the adjoining eminences, to act as he ſhould ſee occaſion. The van of the *Chriſtian* army was commanded by a brave *French* knight, *James De Aveſnes*; the centre by *Richard*, at the head of his *Engliſh* and *French* troops, and the rear, by the duke of *Burgundy*. *Aveſnes*, made a moſt furious charge upon the enemy and twice broke them; but being ſupported by *Saladin* who had now marched down to the plain, he was killed in the third charge, and then the battle became general. But nothing could withſtand the dreadful impetuoſity of *Richard*; the river was fordable, and at the head of the *Engliſh*, he overthrew all before him, and reaching the bank, he plunged into the ſtream; and covering himſelf with his buckler, he paſſed to the oppoſite bank, amidſt millions of the barbarians darts. *Saladin*, watchful of every advantage, upon this, charged the rear of the *Chriſtians*, under the duke of *Burgundy*, with ſuch a ſuperiority of force, that *Richard*, who thought his victory had been compleat, perceived that the battle was but juſt begun; for *Saladin* by this time, had drawn his whole army down to the plains, in battle array. The perſonal courage of *Richard* alone ſaved the *Chriſtians* on that occaſion from being totally cut in pieces. He repaſſed the river like lightning, and found the rear with part of the van and centre, which had not paſſed, encompaſſed by the barbarians. He immediately

Whom he defeats in a great battle.

immediately gave orders for forming the whole of his army into a kind of hollow ſquare, preſenting every where a front to the enemy. *Saladin*, truſting to his numbers, and the excellency of his troops, made extraordinary efforts; and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the great execution he did amongſt his enemies. In ſtrength, in addreſs, and arms he was inferior to none of his ſubjects, and his actions ſoon attracted *Richard's* attention; as *Richard's* did that of *Saladin*. Each felt the impulſe of glory; they fought their way to one another, and engaged on horſeback hand to hand. *Saladin*, was armed as well as *Richard*, but the encounter was unequal; for tho' *Richard* was ſomewhat ſtaggered, by the firſt puſh of *Saladin's* lance, yet he ſoon bore the barbarian out of his ſeat to the ground; and would have finiſhed his life with his ſword, had not *Saladin's* guards interpoſed by thouſands, and given him an opportunity of remounting, and retiring from the field of battle, with a precipitation, that did no honour to his character. In the mean while, the bulk of the *Infidel* army, ſeeing their *Sultan* diſmounted concluded he was ſlain, and began to fly, which they did in ſuch confuſion, that the *Chriſtians* having now no trouble, but that of killing their enemies, put eighty thouſand of them to the ſword; if we are to believe their own authors. That the carnage was very dreadful, appears likewiſe from the *Moſlem* authorities, who acknowledge it; tho' they diminiſh their own loſſes upon all occaſions.

Single combat between *Richard* and *Saladin*.

Who is over thrown and his army defeated.

This ſignal victory cleared *Richard's* way to *Joppa*, called by the *Moſlems*, *Yaffa*, which he took poſſeſſion of; but not 'till after it had been diſmantled, as other ſea-port towns upon that coaſt were, by *Saladin's* order. Nothing could now have prevented *Richard* from becoming maſter of *Aſcalon*, but *Saladin's* caution; for he not only diſmantled, but deſtroyed that city; and then threw himſelf into *Jeruſalem*, with the choiceſt of his troops. *Richard* is juſtly blamed for being diverted upon this occaſion, from the great object of his expedition, the ſiege of *Jeruſalem*. But *Saladin*, by the agents he employed, left him in no doubt, that he would cede to him, all the country on this ſide *Jordan* to the ſea, and he therefore conſumed the moſt precious months of the year, in giving orders for the rebuilding thoſe cities on the ſea-coaſt that had been demoliſhed. By the beſt accounts, both *Chriſtian* and *Moſlem*, had *Richard* immediately marched againſt *Jeruſalem*, that city muſt have fallen into his hands. When *Saladin* arrived there, he found that ſome of the *Chriſtians* in the city, had entered into a correſpondence with *Richard*, which being proved, the heads of the conſpirators were ſtruck off; and *Saladin* gave orders for the fortifications of the place, which were in a moſt ruinous condition, to be repaired.

Saladin returns to *Jeruſalem*

In the mean while, *Richard*, who had a turn for pleaſure as well as for war, was enjoying, in a dangerous tranquility,

ty, the fruits of his late glorious victory. His chief diversion was hunting, and *Saladin*, who slipt no opportunity that could serve himself, planted for him an ambuscade, in which *Richard*, and some of his chief nobility fell. Notwithstanding all the brave efforts he made to defend himself, *Richard* must have been taken, had not a *French* nobleman, one *Pourcellets*, personated him, and called himself the king; upon which, the Infidels all rushed upon him, and gave *Richard* an opportunity to escape. *Saladin* knew his own interest too well, not to encourage such eminent loyalty in any subject. He treated his prisoner with great marks of esteem and distinction, and received as his ransom from *Richard*, ten of his chief noblemen, who had been made captives. The *Moslem* writers mention nothing of an ambuscade upon this occasion, they speak only of a skirmish, in which the king of *England* was in great danger of being killed or taken. But *Richard* soon had his revenge; he reduced to his obedience, *Ramla*, and almost all *Palestine*, excepting *Jerusalem*; and obliged *Saladin* to dismantle his strongest towns in that country.

Richard's danger.

He escapes.

For *Saladin*, finding that all his forces, numerous as they were, could not stand the brunt of the *Christians*, when fairly engaged, gave over all thought of acting against them in any other way, than by cutting off their provisions, by means of the great superiority he had in cavalry, which consisted of the finest horses in the world; from *Arabia*, *Egypt*, and *Persia*. But as *Richard* continued still master of the sea, we do not find that he was very successful, even in those attempts. In short, according, even, to the *Moslem* authorities, he found himself at last, utterly unable to keep the field, and would have given *Richard* his own terms; had he not been dissuaded from it, by the marquis of *Montferrat*, who offered him his alliance, and even assistance; provided he would put into his hands *Sidon* and *Bayrut*. The barbarian would gladly have accepted of this proposal, could he have trusted the marquis. He however, sent one *Najib*, as his ambassador, to inform the marquis, that he was ready to conclude the treaty, if, previous to the signing it, he would assist him in recovering *Ptolemais*; and give up all the *French* prisoners at *Tyre*, who had been left there by the king of *France*, at his departure. This request gave the marquis a suspicion of *Saladin*'s sincerity, and the negociation hung in suspence, when *Richard* had an intimation of it, and was greatly alarmed: for the marquis had, at his command, not only an excellent army, but a great fleet; so that *Ptolemais* was in the utmost danger. Upon this occasion, *Richard* was outwitted by *Saladin*; who employed *Adel*, his brother, to manage him, and amuse him 'till the severity of the season should oblige him to leave the field.

Saladin harrasses the *Christians*.

Negotiates with the marquis of *Montferrat*.

This *Adel*, was *Saladin*'s favourite brother, and was one of the greatest politicians, as well as captains, in all the East.

East. Perceiving that *Richard*, in all probability, would become master of *Jerusalem*, he insinuated himself so much, into that king's good graces, that they had many personal interviews together; and *Richard*, even listened to a proposal of *Adel*'s marrying his sister, the queen of *Sicily*; which we cannot suppose *Richard* would agree to, unless *Adel* had given him assurances, that he would renounce *Mahometanism*, and become a *Christian*. *Richard* had a great tenderness for his sister, and the proposal flattered him extreamly, especially, as *Adel* made him believe, that the state of *Saladin*'s affairs rendered it absolutely necessary for him to close, either with him, or the marquis of *Montferrat*. But that the reader may the more fully comprehend the nature of this treaty, it is proper to inform him, that *Adel* himself, was a very powerful prince; and was, at that very time, possessed in property, of all that had been re-taken from the *Christians*, in *Palestine*; and even, as there is some reason to believe, of *Jerusalem* itself; though it is likewise true, that he and all his estates, owned a kind of superiority in *Saladin*, as being the acknowledged head and protector of the *Moslem* interest. In short, during the time that this treaty was in agitation, *Adel* was fortifying *Jerusalem*; and at last, after great management on both sides, it was agreed; first, that *Al Adel* should marry *Richard*'s sister, and that he and she should be crowned, and declared king and queen of *Jerusalem*, and put in quiet possession of that capital. Secondly, that *Saladin* should yield to *Adel*, all his rights and possessions, in *Palestine*, and that *Richard*, in like manner, should cede to him *Ptolemais*, and all the conquests he had made during the campaign; with the whole country lying between that capital and *Ascalon*. Thirdly, that *Saladin* should give up to *Richard*, the true cross of the crucifixion. Fourthly, that the *Knights Templars*, and *Hospitalers*, upon the ratification of the treaty, should be suffered to repossess themselves of all the forts, towns, and territories, they had lost. Fifthly, that the prisoners on both sides should be set at liberty; and lastly, that the king of *England*, having established a firm friendship with *Saladin*, should return home; and that there should be a good understanding between the *Moslems* and the *Christians*.

And with *Richard*

Preliminaries of the treaty.

Reflection on them.

This remarkable treaty, which we give upon the strength of *Moslem* authors, who seem to have been well informed, is a remarkable proof of the impetuous, haughty disposition of *Richard*, who seems to have considered *Lusignan*, (though he acknowledged him to be king of *Jerusalem*), to be no other than a cypher. Though the conquest of *Jerusalem* was the common cause of all Christendom; yet it is plain, that he disposed of the capital of that kingdom, in favour of his sister, only; and that upon terms, which were extremely precarious, and improbable to be observed. This soon appeared, for when both armies

armies were obliged to go into winter quarters, and when the queen of *Sicily* and the clergy, demanded, that previous to the ſigning the treaty, *Al Adel*, ſhould be baptized, and profeſs himſelf a *Chriſtian*; both he and *Saladin*, flatly refuſed to comply.

It was in vain for *Richard*, who had, by this time, advanced within ſight of *Jeruſalem* itſelf, to exclaim againſt the inſincerity of the barbarians; he would gladly have denied the whole of the negociation; but it was too public, and his attempts to diſſemble, procured him hatred and diſreſpect, in his army. For, after trifling away autumn, and the beginning of the winter, in negotiating and refortifying the places he had taken, he pretended, that the ſeaſon was too far gone, for him to think of forming the ſiege of *Jeruſalem*, which he muſt defer to the ſpring; and that *Saladin* being ſhut up in that city, with the flower of his troops, would render the ſiege impracticable. *Richard* had ſtill a better reaſon for delaying the ſiege. He ſaid, that he expected great re-inforcements from *Europe*, in the ſpring; and that if he ſhould even take *Jeruſalem*, at that time, the bulk of his army, having ſatisfied their raging deſire of paying their devotions at the Holy Sepulchre, would immediately return to *Europe*, and leave him and his conqueſts, an eaſy prey to the Infidels. *Richard's difficulties*

Thoſe reaſons did not impoſe upon the *Chriſtians*. They very juſtly obſerved, that *Saladin*, by his barbarity, towards the garriſon, and inhabitants of *Ptolemais*, had loſt the affections of his army, who would not ſtand by him in the defence of *Jeruſalem*; and that he never would have ventured to have ſhut himſelf up in that city, had he not known, that he was to deal with a moſt friendly enemy. But *Richard* had it not now in his power, had he been willing, to have repaired his overſight, and was obliged to retire to *Ramla*. This diſguſted the dukes of *Burgundy* and *Auſtria*, the ſecond and third, in command under *Richard*, whoſe favourite view was ſtill to fortify *Aſcalon*. In an imperious manner, he ordered the duke of *Auſtria's* men to work upon the fortifications, which they refuſed to do; and after ſeparating from *Richard's* army, they returned to their own country; where the duke, afterwards, intercepted *Richard*, and by keeping him in a ſevere, not to ſay, diſgraceful captivity, gave him reaſon for repenting of his haughtineſs. As to the duke of *Burgundy*, *Philip* had left him with very little money; and *Richard*, who was rapacious, refuſed in very harſh terms, to ſupply him with any; upon which, he withdrew his troops to *Tyre*, *Ptolemais* and *Joppa*, and at laſt returned to *Europe*, to the great weakening of the *Chriſtians*, and the diſcredit of *Richard*, who ſtill proceeded in his favourite view, of fortifying *Aſcalon*. His army reproaches him

Saladin

Negotiation between *Saladin* and the marquis.

Saladin knew too much of *Richard*'s character, to think of impoſing upon him farther, and of his ſituation, to be afraid of him, ſo much, as he had been. He therefore reſumed his negociation with the marquiſs of *Montferrat*, who gave it a willing ear; and they were upon the point of concluding it, when the tragical incident of the marquis's death, gave a new face to affairs.

We have often mentioned the *Batoniſts*, who have been ſince ſo famous, under the name of aſſaſſins. Their prince, who called himſelf the prince of the *Iſhmalites*, and the *Old Man of the Mountain*, made a trade of murder; and had his practitioners in death, always devoted to his command. In executing them, they proceeded with the moſt unparallelled art, and cunning; and when they were executed, no tortures could extort from them, any confeſſion. This commerce in blood, rendered the *Old Man*, the deteſtation of the earth; though there was not a court in the Eaſt, who did not keep ſome of his aſſaſſins in pay. He was now become ſo powerful, that *Saladin* owned him for his ally, and he upheld all the magnificence of a court. He even, by *Saladin*'s favour, carried on a conſiderable commerce, and one of his ſhips, richly laden, happened, about this time, to be forced, by ſtreſs of weather, into the port of *Tyre*. The marquiſs immediately ſeized both the veſſel and cargo, and put the maſter to death, for offering to remonſtrate againſt ſuch a proceeding. This coming to the ears of the *Old Man of the Mountain*, he ſent a deputation to claim the ſhip, and ſatisfaction for the death of its maſter; but the marquiſs, inſtead of complying, ordered one of the deputies to be thrown into the ſea, which, however was not executed. The *Old Man* expreſſed no reſentment at this; but ſoon after, two *Chriſtian* monks, of *Arabia*, came to *Tyre*, with the moſt extraordinary profeſſions of authority, and religion; and were admitted to all companies, with great marks of love and eſteem. While they continued at *Tyre*, the marquis happened to dine with the biſhop of *Beauvais*, and in his return from dinner, he was ſtabbed to the heart by the two monks, who proved to be the ſubjects of the *Old Man of the Mountain*, in that diſguiſe. The moſt excruciating torments were applied to them; but all in vain, for they ſuffered death, without making any confeſſion, which made the ſuſpicion fall ſtrongly upon *Richard*; who was then at open variance with the marquis. Some of the *Moſlem* authors who hated him heartily, have even ventured to accuſe him in expreſs terms, but the charge is extreamly improbable, on account of *Richard*'s character; which was that of being but too open in his reſentments. It is likewiſe our duty to obſerve that the *Old Man of the Mountain* himſelf, related the cauſes of the murder, according to our repreſentation of them, and it would be a great injury to the memory of *Richard* to omit

Who is murdered

By *Aſſaſſins*.

the

the curious letter publiſhed by Mr. *Rymer*, from the original under the *Old Man of the Mountain*'s own hand, and which is as follows. Curious letter vindicating *Richard*.

"To Leopold duke of *Auſtria*, the *Antient of the Mountains* wiſheth health."

"Since many kings and princes, beyond ſeas, blame *Richard*, king and lord of *England*, concerning the death of the marquis of *Montferrat*, I ſwear by the eternal God, and by the law which we hold, that *Richard* is no way to blame in this reſpect, and that the death of that marquis happened as follows."

"One of our brotherhood was coming in a ſhip from *Saltelia* to our territories, and happened to be forced into *Tyre* by a ſtorm. Upon this, the marquis ordered him to be taken and put to death, and then he ſeized all his money. Thereupon we ſent our ambaſſadors to the marquis, with orders to demand the money of our brother, and ſatisfaction for his death, which he laid upon *Reginald* the prince of *Sidon*; whereas we had informed ourſelves, by friends whom we could truſt, that the marquis himſelf had ordered the murder to be committed, and the money to be taken away."

"We therefore ſent another ambaſſador called *Eruſius*, and him he was going to throw into the ſea; but our friends hurrying him out of *Tyre*, he came back to us in all haſte, and told us how he had been treated. We from that hour determined to kill the marquis, and we ſent two of our brethren for that purpoſe to *Tyre*, who killed him openly, almoſt in the ſight of all the people of that city."

"Such were our motives for the death of the marquis, and we aſſure you with great truth, that *Richard* king of *England* was no way blamable for the death of that marquis; and they who have done harm to *Richard* on that account, do it without juſtice, and without reaſon.

"Be aſſured we will kill no man in this world for reward, or for money, unleſs he firſt injure us."

"And know that theſe our letters are dated from our houſe in the caſtle of *Meſſiat*, about the middle of *September*, in the fifth year of pope *Alexander*."

Having, in juſtice to the memory of that great prince, laid before our readers ſo authentic a proof of his innocence of the marquis of *Montferrat*'s death, the ſame impartiality, obliges us to lay before our readers an equally curious and authentic record of *Richard*'s proceedings, after the ſeperation of the king of *France* from him; and we do it, with the greater propriety, as it correſponds ſo well with the *Moſlem* accounts. It is contained in a letter under *Richard*'s own hand,

His own journal.

hand, to his regency in *England*; and has been preſerved by *Richard Hoveden*, an almoſt cotemporary author

"Upon the retreat," ſays he "of his majeſty of *France*, the walls of *Acon* being repaired, and refortified, we propoſed, for the advancement of the *Chriſtian* expedition, and to compleat our vow, to march to *Joppa*, attended by the duke of *Burgundy*, and the *French* under his command, earl *Henry* of *Champaign* with his body, and many other earls, and barons, with an innumerable multitude of people. Our march between *Acon*, and *Joppa*, being long and tedious, we at length reach *Cæſarea*, with great loſs of our ſoldiers and prodigious hardſhips. *Saladin's* loſs was likewiſe very conſiderable, in the ſame march; and after the people of God had taken ſome refreſhment, they reſumed their march to *Joppa*. Our van guard having by this time reached, and encamped at, *Aſſun*, *Saladin* made a furious attack upon our rear; but by the help of God was repelled by no more than four ſquadrons, who made head againſt him. The *Chriſtian* horſe purſued him for a league; and *Saladin* that day, which was Sunday, and the eve of the Nativity of our Bleſſed Virgin, loſt more noble *Saracens*, than he had loſt in one day for forty years. We loſt only one perſon of note, *James de Aveſnes*. We then reached *Joppa*, which was fortified, with a deſign of effectually promoting the buſineſs of *Chriſtianity*; but *Saladin* after the day of the battle, durſt not engage the *Chriſtians*, but ſuddenly ruſhed from his ambuſhes, as a lion from his den, and cut off the friends of the croſs, like ſheep for the ſlaughter. Therefore hearing that we were marching for *Aſcalon*, he went thither before us and diſmantled that city."

Richard concluded this letter, which is a noble proof of his modeſty, by aſſuring his friends, that unleſs he received ſpeedy reinforcements he could keep the field no longer than Eaſter. All the winter was ſpent by *Richard* in repairing *Joppa*, and *Aſcalon*. But the *Moſlem*, as well as *Chriſtian* authors have been greatly in the dark as to this great monarch's final ſentiments, with regard to the *Holy Land*. He found *Saladin* and his family were not to be truſted, and therefore he gave over all thoughts of negotiating with them any further. He ſaw, at the ſame time, that the acquiſition of *Jeruſalem* by the *Chriſtians*, was impracticable, while the breach continued between *Luſignan* and the marquis of *Montferrat*. He therefore took the generous reſolution of ſacrificing all reſentments to the common cauſe, by recognizing the marquis's right to the crown of *Jeruſalem*; and he propoſed to indemniſy *Luſignan*, by giving him the iſland of *Cyprus*, to be held of the crown of *England* in homage. The murder of the marquis defeated thoſe noble intentions, which were perhaps not a little influenced by the ſituation of his affairs in *England*. That this matter had been fully compromiſed between the marquis and *Richard*, is

Difficulties of *Richard*.

His management.

is asserted by the *English* historians, who wrote from *Richard*'s own information; and seems, by the consequence, to be past all doubt. For *Isabella*, in whose right the marquis claimed, immediately upon his death, married the earl of *Champaign*, *Richard*'s favourite nephew; who succeeded thereby to all the rights of royalty which the marquis had claimed. *Isabella*, upon this marriage, took upon her the title of queen of *Jerusalem*, tho' we are told that the modesty of the earl of *Champaign*, declined that of king. This union of interests (*Lusignan* being neither inclinable nor able, to make any opposition) together with the accession of large supplies of troops from *Europe*, gave, in the spring, fresh vigour to the affairs of the crusade.

So early, if we believe the *Moslem* authors, as the month of *January*, or the beginning of *February*, *Richard* put a part of his army in motion, and advanced to *Darun*, near *Gaza*, and carried off all the inhabitants of the country prisoners; together with a thousand head of cattle. In his retreat he was followed, but without any effect, by *Saladin*'s troops. We know of no further operation this year till *May*, when he again advanced against *Darun*, which was one of the strongest fortresses *Saladin* had, and besieged it. The place was defended by a brave *Moslem* governor, but *Richard* having in his army some excellent engineers, whom the *Moslem* historians say he got from *Aleppo*, the place was reduced to such extremity, that the governor demanded leave to let *Saladin* know his situation; and promised, if he was not relieved, to surrender the place. *Richard*, far from consenting to this, carried the fortress by storm; and either took or put to the sword all the garrison. Having left a strong garrison in *Darun*, he reduced some other places of less consequence, and advanced against the town of *Joppa*, a place in *Saladin*'s possession; which was thought to be impregnable; and therefore *Richard* was obliged, with some loss, to desist from his intention of besieging it. Several other little skirmishes happened about the same time, with various success.

He takes *Darun*.

Joppa besieged.

The prodigious fatigues and losses which *Saladin*'s army had suffered during the preceeding campaign, had made it very backward in assembling this year. He himself remained greatly indisposed at *Jerusalem*. But, at last, he was joined by two fine bodies of troops, under *Bedroddin* and *Adzoddin*, with which he was enabled to take the field. *Richard* in the mean time marched to a place called *Netrun*, and defeated all the parties *Saladin* had sent out against him, with so much success, that he publickly declared his intention of forming the siege of *Jerusalem*, as soon as his engines and military stores could come up. After this, he was joined by the duke of *Burgundy*, and the *French* under his command, for after their separation from him, they had gone to *Tyre*, and the marquis of *Montferrat*'s dominions; and then *Richard*

encamped at *Bethanopolis* between *Joppa* and *Jeruſalem*; almoſt in ſight of the latter city. Here he underſtood that *Saladin*'s generals were waiting for reinforcements, with a deſign to attack him. Upon this, he immediately drew out his army, and fell upon them ſo opportunely, that he cut a great number of them in pieces, and ſeized all their baggage, which was very rich.

Richard defeats the *Moſlem* pilgrims.

Saladin, notwithſtanding ſome little advantages which his light horſe obtained over the *Chriſtians*, began now to be in great pain about the fate of *Jeruſalem*, and ordered a great convoy, with all manner of military ſtores, for its defence, to march from *Egypt* under an eſcort of ten thouſand men. *Richard* having timely notice of this, put himſelf at the head of five thouſand choſen horſe, and attacked the convoy with ſuch vigour, that he defeated its guard, and made prize of all its contents; taking, even according to the *Moſlem* authors, no fewer than three thouſand laden camels, and five hundred horſes. After this important blow was ſtruck, all *Saladin*'s hopes of ſaving *Jeruſalem*, lay in the diviſions of the *Chriſtians*; and it appears very plainly, that by the force of money he had opened a ſecret correſpondence with ſome of their heads: while *Richard* received ſuch accounts of the ſtate of his kingdom, and the inſidious practices of the king of *France*, as made him impatient to return home. Notwithſtanding his impetuoſity and fire, he could diſſemble upon occaſions, but ſtill with a tender regard to his honour. Before he left the army to meet the convoy, he held a council of war to deliberate upon the future operations of the campaign. The duke of *Burgundy* remonſtrated againſt ſuch a delay, and ſaid it was plain that the only buſineſs they could propoſe, or that was conſiſtent with their vow, was to beſiege *Jeruſalem*. Great debates and differences of opinion roſe, whether the ſiege of *Jeruſalem* or *Bagdad* ſhould be undertaken, and *Richard* propoſed that ten knights of the *Temple*, and *Hoſpitalers*, together with ten lay noblemen, ſhould be appointed as a committee of the whole to deliberate upon the matter, and to make their report upon his return. They accordingly made their report, which was for attacking *Bagdad*.

He reſolves to attack *Bagdad*.

The motives of this unexpected meaſure, lay deeper perhaps than they are commonly imagined. Little or nothing, but the empty honour of reſcuing the holy ſepulchre from the hands of *Infidels*, was to be got by taking *Jeruſalem*, and it ſeems, as if the meaſure of beſieging *Bagdad* had been privately ſuggeſted to ſome of the *Chriſtian* chiefs by *Saladin* himſelf. It was in fact, at this time, the repoſitory of all the riches of the Eaſt; for the califf of *Bagdad* ſtill continued to be regarded as the head of the *Moſlem* religion; and the princes of his perſuaſion, however they might differ in other reſpects, had ſo religious a veneration for the place of his reſidence, that it remained unviolated: and conſequently

was

was a kind of a ware-houſe for their treaſures and richeſt effects. The ſcheme of attacking it, however, was impracticable, by the vaſt length of the march, thro' open deſart countries in which they muſt be harraſſed, and have their proviſions cut off by *Saladin*'s horſe, which were well uſed to ſcour thoſe vaſt plains; not to mention that they had many dangerous paſſes to ſurmount, in which the *Infidels* might have an opportunity of cutting off the *Chriſtian* army.

The report of the committee, however, upon *Richard*'s return, gave him a handle for delaying the ſiege of *Jeruſalem*, and the rather, as the earl of *Champaign*, the queen's huſband, was not yet come up with the diviſion he commanded. But all *Richard*'s art could not ſtifle the murmurs of his army; and the breach between him and the duke of *Burgundy*, became now ſo wide, that the latter once more drew off his troops from the main army, and returned to *Ptolemais* and the towns in the neighbourhood. This ſeperation afforded *Richard* a freſh pretext for his renewing the negotiations with *Saladin*, who was now relieved from all his apprehenſions concerning *Jeruſalem*: and ſtood upon higher terms than ever. For before he would enter into any talk of a treaty, he inſiſted as a preliminary, that *Aſcalon* which had coſt ſo much in rebuilding and refortifying, ſhould be entirely demoliſhed. This *Richard* flatly refuſed to conſent to, and hoſtilities recommenced, with greater fury than ever. The retreat of the duke of *Burgundy*, and the great deſertions from the *Chriſtian* army, had obliged *Richard* to retire likewiſe to *Joppa*, to wait for reinforcements. This retreat, together with his viſible impatience to be gone for *England* at a time when the *Chriſtians* thought they were ſure of taking *Jeruſalem*, increaſed the murmurs againſt him, to ſuch a degree, that it was publickly given out that the *Engliſh* army was broken up; and encouraged by this, *Saladin* reſolved to lay ſiege to *Joppa*; having drawn twenty thouſand men out of *Jeruſalem* for that purpoſe, or to force *Richard* to a battle, in which there could be no equality of forces. *Richard*, underſtanding *Saladin*'s intention, immediately withdrew his garriſon out of *Darun*, and threw it into *Aſcalon*, and not chooſing to be ſhut up in *Joppa*, he retired to *Acca*, where he found the earl of *Champaign*.

Peace and its preliminaries treated of.

The very day that *Richard* entered *Acca*, *Joppa* was inveſted by *Saladin*. Upon this news, *Richard* thought of going on board a ſhip for *England*, and of leaving the management of the war in *Paleſtine*, entirely to the earl of *Champaign*, whom hiſtorians now call prince *Henry*. But the *Engliſh* who were about his perſon, repreſented to him, that ſuch a precipitate retreat, at ſuch a time, would be prejudicial, not only to the common cauſe, but to his own glory: and *Richard* took the generous reſolution, once more to take the

Richard's impatience to be gone for *England*.

field, and to relieve *Joppa*. This reſolution gave freſh ſpirits to the *Chriſtians*; they repaired again with great ardour to *Richard*'s ſtandards, and he, nettled at the imputations thrown out againſt him, as if he had acted in concert with *Saladin*, reſolved to eraſe them by his actions. He divided his troops into two bodies, taking to himſelf the command of the one, and giving that of the other to prince *Henry*. It happened that he had ordered the rendezvous of his fleet at *Acca*, and fifty ſhips for carrying him to *England* were actually in that port, and he immediately went on board, with his diviſion, ordering prince *Henry* to march to *Joppa* by land.

But while he was making ready for this embarkation, *Saladin* had taken the town of *Joppa*, and preſſed the citadel of it ſo hard, that *Richard* received a courier from the patriarch of *Jeruſalem*, informing him that the governor and he had become hoſtages to the *Infidels*, for the ſurrender of the caſtle, if it was not relieved by a certain day. This gave wings to *Richard*'s expedition, and his ſhips appeared in ſight of the citadel before the hour was elapſed, that had been appointed for the ſurrender. *Saladin*, had by this time, thought himſelf ſo ſecure, againſt all enemies, that he had given a looſe to his natural cruelty, by putting to death all the ſick and wounded, whom he found in the city; and lay encamped before the caſtle with very little precaution. *Richard*'s own ſhip was painted red, and its pendants, and ſtreamers were all of the ſame colour, and led the van. The whole of this fleet conſiſted of fifty veſſels of which fifteen were capital ſhips. *Saladin* was ſtruck with wonder and ſurprize, to ſee them enter the harbour, and ordered his army to draw off from the citadel and to line the ſhore, which he did, with ſuch prodigious numbers as ſeemed to render a landing impracticable. But *Richard* jumped into a boat attended by his braveſt captains in other boats, and when he came near the ſhore, plunged into the water, which took him up to the middle, and with his ſword and croſs bow, he was the firſt who got aſhore under a cloud of the enemies darts and arrows. At firſt, he was almoſt ſingle in the attack, and was ſurrounded by multitudes of the *Infidels*, whom he killed with his own hand; but being ſoon ſupported by the moſt forward of his troops, he led up the charge to *Saladin*'s thickeſt battalions, where he cut in pieces all who made reſiſtance, and forced his way firſt into the town, and then into the caſtle, which he ſtrongly reinforced.

Joppa relieved by *Richard*.

Saladin, amazed and confounded at *Richard*'s expedition, but more by his incredible acts of courage, found that he had been guilty of a great error in being ſo ſecure, and imagining that there was no ſafety near ſuch an enemy, he abandoned his camp with more precipitation, than became ſo great a commander; and *Richard* encamped that very night upon the ſame ſpot he had occupied. Two days after, that

that is the twenty ſecond of *July*, *Saladin* retired, or rather fled, to *Anja*, and the *Chriſtians* took poſſeſſion of *Cæſaria*. *Saladin* from thence went to *Jeruſalem*, where he had a perſonal interview with his brother *Adel*, while his army marched to *Netrun*; to which he himſelf repaired in two days after, having firſt taken the neceſſary precautions for the preſervation of *Jeruſalem*. Here he received vaſt reinforcements from *Egypt*, and other parts of the *Moſlem* dominions; but his own authors all agree, that he undertook nothing againſt the *Chriſtians* of importance anſwerable to his high character. The *Chriſtian* writers however, inform us of a fact, which is too well atteſted to be doubted of. Errors of *Saladin*.

Richard having thus repulſed *Saladin*, was guilty of the ſame error, that *Saladin* had fallen into before; of not taking ſufficient precautions for his own and his army's ſecurity. *Saladin* being informed of this, and that it was eaſy to ſurprize *Richard*'s perſon, promiſed great rewards to a ſelect body of his braveſt officers, if they would attempt to carry him off; and ordered them to be ſupported by ſeven thouſand of his beſt horſe. This project certainly would have taken effect, had not the *Infidels* been diſcovered about break of day by a *Genoeſe*, who alarmed the *Chriſtian* camp. *Richard*, who was ſtill in bed, immediately dreſſed and armed himſelf. It is allowed on all hands, that he had but ten horſes in all his army, of which, he rode one, himſelf. By their aſſiſtance however, he got under arms as many of his ſoldiers as checked the *Infidels*, who endeavoured to break in upon him, with their ſeven thouſand horſe. *Saladin*, in the mean time, perceiving that his deſign was diſcovered, put the whole of his army, under arms; and advanced to ſupport his horſe, ſo that at laſt the battle became general. The *Chriſtians* fought in a hollow ſquare, preſenting a front every where to their enemies, whom they kept off with their diſcharges of croſs bows, and the length of their pikes. But *Richard* diſdaining this defenſive war, attended by the few horſe he had, one of which was rode by the earl of *Leiceſter*, and another by prince *Henry*, who had by this time joined him, threw himſelf into the middle of his enemies, and killed all that were within his reach. One of *Saladin*'s generals, upon this, reproached his men for their cowardice and ſpurred his horſe, in ſingle combat againſt *Richard*. This illuſtrious combat created a kind of a pauſe in the battle, till *Richard* with one blow, ſtruck off the head and part of the ſhoulders of the barbarian; but before he could recover himſelf, he found himſelf and his ſmall party ſurrounded by vaſt numbers of the enemy; and the brave earl of *Leiceſter* a priſoner in their hands. *Richard*'s courage and addreſs however, ſurmounted all difficulties. He reſcued the earl at the imminent hazard of his own life, and of *Richard*. An illuſtrious combat,

and performed ſuch prodigies of valour, that the boldeſt of the barbarians drew off. The *Engliſh* hiſtorians acquaint us with an incident, which happened at that time, which is greatly to the honour of one of *Saladin*'s generals, whom they called *Saphadin*, for they tell us, that *Richard*'s armour and the capariſons of his horſe, being all briſtled over with the darts and arrows of the barbarians, and himſelf as well as his horſe, ready to ſink under their fatigue; this *Saphadin*, ſent him two *Arab* horſes, one of which *Richard* immediately mounted, and retreated time enough into the city to prevent its being ſurprized by the barbarians, who had wheeled off a great body of their troops, to attack it in an oppoſite quarter. In ſhort, the *Turks* were repulſed by a very ſmall body of the *Chriſtians*; which makes it probable that *Saladin* had found means to cut off the communication, between *Richard* and the main body of his army; and *Richard*'s cup-bearer, who was preſent at the battle, and wrote an account of the expedition, aſſures us that the loſs of the *Chriſtians* in this battle, was no more than two men, and that of the *Infidels* about ſeven hundred.

Richard defeats *Saladin*.

Richard, who, while combating, was ſuperior to all pain and fatigue, when he came to repoſe himſelf, found his right hand quite excoriated, by handling his ſword, and his ſpirits had ſuffered ſuch a fermentation, that he fell dangerouſly ſick. The news of this redoubled *Saladin*'s efforts, againſt him, and he ſent him an inſolent meſſage acquainting him that if he did not leave *Paleſtine* he ſhould make him priſoner. *Richard*, tho' then very ill, treated the barbarian with a noble contempt, and gave him to underſtand that he waited, for him nor ſhould his menaces make him retire. But as *Saladin*'s troops were growing every day ſtronger, *Richard* ſent prince *Henry* with an invitation for the duke of *Burgundy* to return to the army. But the duke, who had his inſtructions from *Philip*, meanly refuſed to ſtir, in hopes that *Richard* would be either killed or taken priſoner. *Saladin* who was no ſtranger to this refuſal, now made diſpoſitions for executing his threat; and *Richard*'s declaration that he intended to return to *Europe* as ſoon as he could with honour and ſafety, having taken from the cruſaders all hopes of conquering *Jeruſalem*, had occaſioned ſuch deſertions that he had not the face of an army to oppoſe *Saladin* in the field. *Richard*, therefore, propoſed to return in perſon to *Ptolemais*, and to leave the defence of *Joppa*, to the *Knights Templars*, with a reinforcement of the garriſon. But as the whole ſucceſs of the war was thought to depend upon *Richard*'s perſon and preſence, the *Knights* declined that ſervice as being deſperate.

Saladin's inſolent meſſage.

A truce concluded.

Notwithſtanding the vaſt ſuperiority of *Saladin* over *Richard*, yet the barbarian ſtill, in ſecret, trembled at the genius and reſolution of the *Engliſh* monarch, and was overjoyed when he underſtood by his brother *Adel* that he thought it poſſible

poſſible to diſpoſe *Richard* to an accommodation. Plenipotentiaries were immediately named on both ſides; and at laſt a treaty of truce, for three years and three months, was concluded between the two parties. By this treaty, the contents of which are more particular, in the *Moſlem*, than in the *Chriſtian*, hiſtorians, it was agreed, that the truce ſhall be both for land and ſea, and to begin the twenty ſecond of *Auguſt*. That *Joppa*, *Yabua*, *Majdel*, *Yafa*, *Cæſaria*, *Arſof*, *Haifa*, *Ptolemais*, with their reſpective dependencies and territories, ſhould remain with the *Chriſtians*. That *Aſcalon* ſhould be fundamentally demoliſhed. That *Lyda*, *Ramla*, and their territories, ſhould be divided between *Saladin* and the *Chriſtians*. That *Jeruſalem*, and all the places and territories in *Saladin*'s poſſeſſion, not ſpecified in the treaty, ſhould remain his property. That all *Chriſtians* ſhould be permitted to perform their pilgrimages to *Jeruſalem*, and their devotions at the holy places there, without being liable to pay any tolls, or tributes whatſoever; provided they enter the city unarmed. Ninthly, that the princes of *Tripoli* and *Antioch*, ſhould have liberty to accede to the treaty. Its terms.

When the contents of this treaty, the circumſtances of *Richard*, and the prodigious ſuperiority of *Saladin*, are all duely conſidered, it impreſſes the higheſt opinion of *Richard*'s character amongſt the *Infidels*. The poſſeſſions ſecured to the *Chriſtians*, were ſtill very valuable; and the great article of their being permitted to perform their devotions at *Jeruſalem*, was a noble triumph over the *Moſlem* bigottry. As to *Richard* himſelf, his late actions againſt the *Infidels* had cleared him in the opinion of his worſt enemies of all colluſion with *Saladin*; and he behaved in every reſpect like a great ſovereign. Being required to ſwear to the treaty, he refuſed it as inconſiſtent with the majeſty of a king; but offered his hand to *Saladin*, as the ſeal of his good faith in obſerving it. *Saladin* admired and approved of this magnanimity, and acted in the ſame manner. But *Richard*, even upon this occaſion, could not curb his indignation, for he told *Saladin* by the interpreter, that however his preſent circumſtances in *Europe*, obliged him to accept of the truce, yet the moment it was expired, he would return with an army, and compleat the conqueſt of the Holy Land. The anſwer of *Saladin* was polite and magnanimous. "Acquaint the king of *England* ſaid he, I take the law of the living God to witneſs, that were it my fate to loſe the crown in my own life time, I would chooſe it ſhould fall on his head, rather than on any man's alive, ſo much do I admire his courage and greatneſs of ſoul." Reflection. Magnanimity of *Richard*.

Even the concluſion of the truce, did not reſtore tranquility to *Saladin*. He could not be eaſy, till he ſaw *Richard* ſail for *Europe*; and omitted no act of kindneſs, reſpect, and generoſity, to keep him in his pacific ſentiments. Prince *Henry*, the great maſters of the *Knights Hoſpitalers*, and all

the *Chriſtian* princes, and commanders, who were left behind, ſwore to the obſervance of the truce, as did all *Saladin*'s ſons, brothers, and the princes and generals under him; and a particular proclamation was made thro' all the cities of *Saladin*'s dominions, importing that the intercourſe was now reſtored between the *Chriſtians*, and the *Moſlems*, that they might trade with one another; and that the *Moſlems* might now travel upon their pilgrimages, from *Syria* to *Mecca*. This proclamation had wonderful effects; and the *Infidels* and *Chriſtians*, ſoon behaved to one another, as if they had been one people. *Joppa*, and *Ptolemais* were filled with *Moſlem* merchants, and ſuch a number of *Chriſtians* repaired to *Jeruſalem* to pay their devotions, that *Richard* complained to *Saladin*, that he was left alone. *Saladin* anſwered that he could not drive out of *Jeruſalem* ſo many *Pilgrims*, as had left their friends and families, in the remoteſt parts of the earth, to perform their devotions there; and with this anſwer, which was ſo reſpectful to the *Chriſtian* religion, *Richard* remained ſatisfied.

Saladin's generoſity

to the biſhop of *Saliſbury*.

Amongſt the other *Chriſtian* pilgrims, who repaired to *Jeruſalem* to pay their devotions, was the biſhop of *Saliſbury*, whom, in honour to his maſter, *Saladin*, who had returned to that city, entertained with high marks of diſtinction; and promiſed to grant him any favour that was in his power. Upon this, the pious prelate petitioned, that two Latin prieſts and two deacons, might be permitted to celebrate public ſervice, in the churches of *Nazareth*, and *Bethlem*; as well as in that of the holy ſepulchre, to which *Saladin* agreed. As to *Richard*, he had by this time removed from the unwholeſome air of *Joppa*, to *Kaifas*; and from thence, finding his health a little better, to *Ptolemais*: and, wherever he went, he was attended by ambaſſadors and miniſters from *Saladin*, with magnificent preſents, and every accommodation that could contribute to his perfect recovery. *Saladin* was all this while extreamly intent upon repairing, increaſing, and compleating, the fortifications of *Jeruſalem*, and in endowing and ſettling a ſchool or college, which he had founded in that city; and of which he made, *Boahoddin*, the author who has left us his hiſtory, the ſuper-intendant, or provoſt. As to *Richard* he was equally intent in fitting out his fleet.

Richard's great ſpirit and magnificence.

It is but doing juſtice to *Richard*'s memory to obſerve, that his character and actions appear with greater luſtre, in the *Moſlem*, than even in the *Engliſh* hiſtorians. The *French* meanly endeavour to deny both; and all they allow to him is a ferocious courage, for they accuſe him of haughtineſs and diſreſpect even towards his ſuperior the king of *France*. But when we conſider that *Richard* contributed a much greater proportion, than any of the other princes did, of expences in the expedition; that almoſt the whole execution

of

of the war, reſted upon him alone, none of the other princes being found, in the leaſt, equal to it; great allowances ought to be made to him. *Philip* was peeviſh, jealous, proud, and poor; and almoſt all the other princes of this cruſade, excepting the duke of *Auſtria*, and the marquis of *Montferrat*, lived, in a manner, upon *Richard*'s pocket. We are not therefore to wonder that a prince, naturally impetuous, as *Richard* was, ſometimes aſſumed a ſuperiority that was diſguſting to others. As to his frequent treating with *Saladin*, with which his enemies ſo often reproached him, the charge was groundleſs; nor is it even alledged, that he ever made *Saladin* any offers prejudicial to the cauſe he was engaged in. He did not, it is true, attack *Jeruſalem* at the time his army expected he would, but he was not ſingle in his opinion, for it was that of a committee of the ableſt men, engaged in the cruſade; and in fact he only followed their opinion: which was founded upon their knowledge of the ſtrength of the place, and its garriſon. Whatever other meaſures *Richard* took after this, that were diſagreeable to the princes in the expedition, muſt be imputed to the practices of *Philip*, againſt *Richard*: and his returning to *Europe* at a time when *Richard* had every thing to apprehend for his dominions, from *Philip*'s ambition, and jealouſy; which are not diſſembled even by the *French* hiſtorians. In reality, the zeal of *Richard*, like that of many princes concerned in former cruſades, was much cooled, when he came to experience the diviſions that reigned amongſt the adventurers; the difficulties of the underraking, and the worthleſſneſs of its object. Notwithſtanding this, his amazing acts of courage againſt *Saladin*, cleared him, as we have already obſerved, from every ſuſpicion of underhand dealing, and he had the glory during this expedition, to give away two crowns, that of *Jeruſalem* to queen *Iſabella*, and her huſband, and that of *Cyprus* to *Luſignan*; whoſe family held it for twenty eight years. Nay he even ſtill retained the croſs, and aſſured thoſe two princes, that at the expiration of the truce, he would reſume the expedition, with more vigour than ever. It ought likewiſe to be remembered to his honour, that before he went on board, he ordered public notice to be given, for all his creditors to bring in their demands, which he ſatisfied to the utmoſt. We ſhall juſt only mention, that throwing himſelf on board a ſingle ſhip, not chooſing to wait for his grand fleet, he was wrecked near *Raguſa*, in the gulph of *Venice*; and when he was proceeding by land thro' *Sclavonia*, and *Auſtria*, he was diſcovered, taken, and impriſoned, by the duke of *Auſtria*, in mean reſentment of what had paſſed between them in the *Holy Land*, and, by him, delivered to the emperor; who detained him, till, with great difficulty and expence, he was ranſomed.

Diviſions amongſt the *Chriſtians*.

Saladin

Richard leaves the Holy Land

Saladin, who continued to behave with the utmoſt reſpect to the *Chriſtian* pilgrims, even to the giving them eſcorts for their ſafety, thought himſelf once more a ſovereign, when he heard the certainty of *Richard*'s departure. He immediately diſmiſſed the troop of *Arbel*, *Mawſel*, *Sanjar*, and *Hiſin*, all of them his tributaries, but exceſſively weary of the war; and retained with himſelf only his *Syrian* and *Egyptian* forces, whom he ſent into quarters of refreſhment as ſoon as he knew that the *Chriſtians* had retired into the countries and places ceded to them during the truce, which they did about the fourth of *September*. *Saladin*'s health, after ſuch a ſeries of fatigues as he had undergone, now required ſome indulgence; and having fully provided for the ſecurity of *Jeruſalem*, he intimated to his council, a deſign he had of viſiting *Mecca*. But as the perfidy of the *Franks* was a part of the creed of a true *Moſlem*, his emirs or great lords unanimouſly diſſuaded him from it; and he ſet out for *Damaſcus*, after an abſence of four years, intending in his journey to viſit all his maritime fortreſſes. In his journey, he was waited upon by *Bohemond* prince of *Antioch*, who was received by *Saladin* with great reſpect, and diſmiſſed with uncommon marks of the ſultan's generoſity; for we are told that he beſtowed upon him, lands and poſſeſſions to the amount of fifteen hundred dinars a year. After *Saladin* had performed his viſitation of the ſea coaſts, remedied the grievances of his ſubjects, in all the places thro' which he paſſed, aſſigned lands and eſtates to ſuch of his officers and ſoldiers who had ſerved him longeſt, and moſt faithfully; and had left every where uncommon marks of his liberality and magnificence, he entered *Damaſcus* in triumph; and there he found his favourite ſon *Daker*, and his other ſon *Afdel*.

Jealouſy of the Turks.

Difference between the califf and Saladin.

In the mean while, an incident happened, which ſhows how well grounded our conjecture is, that the project of the *Chriſtians* attempting the conqueſt of *Bagdad* came originally from the ſultan himſelf. The califf *Naſer* had eſtabliſhed a ſupreme council or divan, for the management of all his temporal concerns, and notwithſtanding all the luſtre of *Saladin*'s victories, *Naſer* did not fail to remind him from time to time, that he was but the ſecond perſon in the *Moſlem* dominions. *Takioddin*, *Saladin*'s nephew, a man of uncommon merit amongſt the *Moſlems*, had amongſt other great governments, obtained from the ſultan, that of *Edeſſa*, *Haran*, *Hamar*, and other places, which, altogether included the greateſt part of *Meſopotamia*. *Takioddin*'s ambition, prompting him to new acquiſitions, he invaded *Armenia*, and diſpoſſeſſed *Boctemar*, the prince of *Kalat*, or *Aklat*, an ally of the califf of *Bagdad*, of his dominions. This *Boctemar*, had been drawn from his allegiance to *Saladin*, by *Mohammed* the *Perſian* ſultan, whoſe daughter he married, but the divan of *Bagdad*, as the ſupreme tribunal of the *Moſlems*, laid before *Saladin*,

Saladin, the injuſtice that had been done him. They likewiſe repreſented the arbitrary proceedings of *Zinoddin*, the prince of *Ardel*, who kept in priſon *Hafjak*, another of the califf's friends They concluded with deſiring the *Sultan* to ſend the *Kadi Fadel* to *Bagdad*, as being the only miniſter who could reſtore a good correſpondence between the two powers. The divan of *Bagdad* had addreſſed their letters, not only to *Saladin*, but to his brother *Adel*; as being ſecond to him in power; and *Adel* ordered the *Kadi Fadel* to check *Takioddin* for his proceeding. About the ſame time, *Saladin* wrote a letter to the divan, the original of which has been preſerved by the *Moſlem* hiſtorians. He there ſays, that tho' *Takioddin*'s expedition had not been undertaken by his conſent, yet ſome particular circumſtances rendered it neceſſary; that he had, however, ordered *Takioddin* to evacuate the territories of *Aklat*, and to repair with his troops to his army, where he might be better employed againſt the *Chriſtians*. As to *Hafjak*, he repreſents him in the ſame anſwer, as a public nuſance, and a common robber; yet he ſays, that he had ordered him to be ſent to *Syria*, where he would give him ſome lands, and employ him againſt the *Chriſtians*: with regard to the laſt requeſt, that of ſending *Fadel* to *Bagdad*, he obſerved that miniſter was ſo infirm, that he could not undertake the journey, without the hazard of his life. Soon after this anſwer was diſpatched, *Saladin* received the news of *Takioddin*'s death, which affected him ſo much, that he burſt into tears, as did all who were about him. *Takioddin*, or as he is ſometimes called, *Al Modhaffer*, was the braveſt and moſt active of all *Saladin*'s generals; and had done him the moſt important ſervices. He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Al Manſur*, who demanded the inveſtiture of his father's poſſeſſions, in a manner that bordered not only upon independency, but rebellion. *Saladin* would have chaſtiſed him, but was diſſuaded from it by his brother *Adel*; to whoſe opinion he paid an almoſt implicit deference, and who plainly told him that neither he, nor any true *Moſlem* general, would fight againſt a prince of the houſe of *Ayub*, and the king of *England* at the ſame time. Notwithſtanding this, *Saladin* continued inexorable, till *Al Manſur* conſented to relinquiſh part of his pretenſions to *Adel*; who in conſideration thereof gave up ſome of his diſtricts in *Syria*, and *Egypt*; and promiſed to ſupply *Jeruſalem*, every year, with ſix thouſand meaſures of corn,

Death of *Takioddin*

When *Adel* was preparing to ſet out for the eaſtern provinces, that had been aſſigned him by his brother, he received freſh diſpatches from *Nafid*, the califf of *Bagdad*'s vizir, intreating him to mediate, and bring about the ſame good underſtanding that had formerly ſubſiſted between *Saladin*, and the court of *Bagdad*; and for that purpoſe to requeſt *Saladin* once more to ſend the *Kadi Fadel*, to compromiſe matters in an amicable manner. *Saladin*, at his brother's

Treaty between *Saladin* and the califf.

ther's perſuaſion, complied ſo far with this requeſt, that he ſent *Aldya* to treat at *Bagdad*; but he refuſed to part with the kadi *Fadel*, whom, next to his brother *Adel*, he eſteemed the moſt of all his counſellors. This was amongſt the laſt acts of *Saladin*'s glorious, though active and troubleſome, reign. He continued at *Damaſcus*, adored by his ſubjects, to the meaneſt of whom he gave audience, and redreſs, upon all occaſions. The ſplendor of his court was encreaſed by the appearance of *Kijar Sah*, one of the ſons of *Kihj Arſlan*, the *Sultan* of *Iconium*, who came to implore his protection againſt the injuſtice of his brethren, and whom *Saladin* received with ſuch diſtinguiſhed marks of favour, that he gave him his brother *Adel*'s daughter in marriage; and, when he took leave of him, he alighted from his horſe. When he was again mounting on horſe-back, *Kaijar* held his ſtirrup; and, when he was ſeated in his ſaddle, *Alaoddin*, the prince of *Mawſel*, adjuſted his cloaths. The courtiers, who were preſent, looked upon thoſe circumſtances as carrying *Saladin*'s glory to the higheſt pitch; and one of them made him this elegant compliment: "Son of *Ayub*, you need now care nothing concerning death, as a prince of the race of *Seljuk* has held your ſtirrup, and a deſcendant from *Zenki* has adjuſted your garments." Finely intimating, that *Saladin*, having now arrived at the ſummit of human glory, had no farther portion of it to hope for in this life. Before his death, he diſgraced his reign, by ordering his ſon *Daher*, the governor of *Aleppo*, to order one *Shahaboddin*, a fanatical phyſician and a philoſopher, to be ſtrangled in priſon, for ſome heterodox opinions he maintained in religious matters.

Inſtance of *Saladin*'s great ſplendor.

Saladin ſtill continued his favourite diverſion of hunting, but he now found his health ſenſibly impaired by his fatigues. His brother *Adel*, after viewing the fortifications of *Al Karac*, of which he was made governor, came to pay him a viſit ſome time before his death. *Saladin*'s court was at that time exceſſively ſplendid, and contained ambaſſadors from almoſt all the provinces, not only of the Eaſt, but of *Europe*; and every night was ſpent in magnificent entertainments given by the princes his ſons; the youngeſt of whom, *Daher*, ſenſible of his father's approaching fate, was ſeen one night to return ſeveral times to *Saladin*'s apartment, and take a moſt tender leave of him. At laſt his diſorder proved to be a bilious fever, which had a remarkable influence upon his manners, which had been always affable and gentle; for ſome of the *Chriſtian* ambaſſadors coming to the caſtle of *Damaſcus*, where he reſided, and being introduced to an audience, as *Saladin* was diverting himſelf with one of his little grand-children, the boy, frightned at the ſtrangeneſs of their dreſs, ſcreamed out; upon which the ſultan diſmiſſed them from their audience in a manner very unſuitable to his

Saladin's death.

uſual

uſual politeneſs. This peeviſhneſs encreaſed, his appetite failed him, and he fell into a kind of a lethargy; he, however, never relaxed in the duties of his religion, and, indiſpoſed as he was, he mounted on horſe-back to pay his reſpects to the pilgrims who had returned from *Mecca*, for the firſt time ſince his truce with the *Chriſtians*; and treated the doctors amongſt them with the uſual marks of his eſteem and veneration. Next day, which was the ſixteenth of *February*, he grew worſe, and none were admitted to him but his eldeſt ſon *Afdal*, the kadi *Boahoddin*, his hiſtorian, and the kadi *Fadel*. Next day he grew delirious, and, notwithſtanding clyſters, cooling medicines, and letting of blood, he continued ſo, excepting at certain intervals, to the time of his death. Hej. 589. A. D. 1193.

Saladin's end thus viſibly approaching, his eldeſt ſon, *Al Afdal*, ſummoned together the principal nobility of the court, and required them to recognize his right of ſucceſſion, according to his father's appointment. Some of them did this ſimply, and without reſerve, and bound themſelves by oath; others took the oath but with certain conditions. *Saladin* remained all this time given over by his phyſicians, but was night and day attended by *Moſlem* divines, particularly by one *Jaafar*, a man eminently holy, who read to him portions of the *Koran*; and *Saladin*, in the intervals of his diſtemper, expreſſed his aſſent to them with great fervor, ſaying, at ſome times, "This is moſt true." At laſt, on the twenty-ſeventh of *February*, this mighty prince expired in the arms of the kadi *Fadel*, when he was no more than fifty-ſeven years of age, of which he had been a ſovereign about twenty-four, leaving behind him ſeventeen ſons and one daughter. The two kadis, *Boahoddin* and *Fadel*, performed the whole ceremony of his funeral, which was done in the moſt magnificent and decent manner; and his body was interred in the place where he died. His behaviour on his death-bed,

Notwithſtanding all we have ſaid with regard to the character of *Saladin*, the latter part of his life leaves great room for farther remarks upon it. His courage, his moderation, and ſucceſs; and his conſtancy under misfortunes; may, perhaps, have been equalled by many of his own time and country; but he ſeems to have been unequalled in thoſe verſatile talents that are ſo neceſſary for eſtabliſhing a great ſyſtem of power. It is evident, that, upon occaſion, he could exhibit the moſt amiable, as well as the moſt inhuman qualities; but all were ſubſervient to his ambition. We have, in the courſe of this hiſtory, given the moſt ſtriking inſtances of his cruelty and ingratitude; all of them founded on the moſt undoubted *Moslem* authorities that are loudeſt in his praiſe. In ſhort, it appears plainly from his hiſtory, that he was never either cruel, or beneficent, but for ſome particular purpoſe of intereſt or ambition. That he was a man and character.

man without all kind of ſentiment or gratitude, appears from his treatment of the family of *Nureddin*, his prince, patron, and benefactor. His favourites were generally men of the ſame ſtamp with him, all, excepting his brother *Adel*, whoſe perſonal concerns obliged him to be often abſent from his court and camp; nor had he that virtue which was conſpicuous in *Nureddin*, of checking the oppreſſions of his ſubjects. His liberality was certainly unrivalled; and the great characteriſtical virtue he poſſeſſed, was, that he knew no uſe of money, but to beſtow it upon thoſe who ſerved him beſt. He is ſaid to have beſtowed fourteen thouſand horſes upon his officers and ſoldiers who had loſt theirs in the ſiege of *Ptolemais*; and he died ſo poor, that, notwithſtanding his immenſe revenues, he did not leave behind him, of ready-money, thirty ſhillings ſterling in his treaſury. The regularity of his devotion was remarkable and exemplary, as was his patience under his greateſt diſtreſſes; for we are told, that, on a certain time, being ready to periſh for thirſt, he called five times for water, without being minded; and all the reſentment he ſhewed, was his ſaying, "My friends and fellow-ſoldiers, I am ready to expire for want of water." He imitated *Nureddin* in his cares to repair the fortifications of his dominions, and all the waſtes which the injuries of time, weather, or war, had done his ſubjects. He is likewiſe celebrated for his munificence in erecting and endowing colleges and ſeminaries of *Moſlem* piety and learning. Some have affected to believe that he had, in fact, no religion; but almoſt every action of his life demonſtrates that he was a bigot, though perhaps not an enthuſiaſt; he ſtuck by the tenets and doctrine of *Al Shefei*, the famous *Moſlem* doctor, in oppoſition to the ſect of the *Shiites*, or favourers of *Ali*. In conſequence of this attachment to pure *Moſlemiſm*, he encouraged no men of genius and learning who did not apply their ſtudies entirely to the unintelligible jargon of *Mahometan* metaphyſics, traditions, and ſchool-divinity; and he deſpiſed all other learning: but, notwithſtanding all his vices and failings, he muſt be conſidered as one of the moſt extraordinary men not only of that, but of any other, age.

His uſurpation.

Having ſaid thus much, we cannot help here to throw out a reflection that ſeems not to have occurred to any hiſtorian who has treated of *Saladin*'s reign; which is, that he undoubtedly was an uſurper, if ſuch a term as uſurpation can be properly made uſe of when we treat of an impious, lawleſs people, who knew no other tenure of property but the ſword. Neither *Saladin*, nor any other *Moſlem* ſultan, conſidered empire in any other light; having no other regular ſyſtem of ſucceſſion but the affections they bore to their ſons, (who generally were of different mothers, and therefore had no tenderneſs for one another,) they left each of them juſt ſuch a partition of power as enabled the one to deſtroy

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the other, till, at last, all of them were so weakened, that they became an easy prey to the next bold invader; as will be easily seen in the sequel of the history of *Saladin*'s family, which we are now to pursue.

Partition of his dominions.

It does not appear that any of *Saladin*'s sons, excepting *Afdal*, the eldest, was at *Damascus* when he died; *Daher* was at his government of *Aleppo*; *Othman*, another of his sons, was in *Egypt*; while *Adel* was at *Al Carac*. *Afdal*, however, sent them all regular notice of his father's death. All of them immediately repaired to *Damascus*, where the court and inhabitants wore an universal mourning; and then the will of the late sultan was declared with regard to the partition of his empire; which was as follows. His eldest son, *Afdal*, had, for his inheritance, *Damascus*, *Jerusalem*, and the *Lower Syria*. *Othman*, or, as he is called, *Al Aziz*, had, for his portion, the kingdom of *Egypt*: and *Daher*, *Aleppo*, with the rich kingdom of *Upper Syria*. His brother *Adel* had already in sovereignty, as we have observed, *Al Carac*, with some other cities lying on the frontiers of *Palestine* and *Syria*, and the eastern provinces that had been dismembered from *Takioddin*'s government: and *Al Mansur*, *Takioddin*'s son, retained *Hamah*, and all the rest of his father's possessions. *Balbec* and its district was given to *Amjed*, another prince of the house of *Ayub*; and *Shairacuh*, the grand-son of the famous *Shairacuh*, to whom *Saladin* owed so much, had, for his portion, *Herus*, *Raba*, and *Tadmor*, the antient *Palmyra*. *Kider*, one of *Saladin*'s younger sons, had *Baira*, a very rich government, the sovereignty of which was in *Afdal*; and his favourite generals had the governments of the other towns and territories left by this mighty conqueror. Their names were *Sahikoddin*, *Naiferroddin*, *Bedroddin*, *Azzoddin*, and *Ibrahim*.

Succeeded by *Afdal*.

Thus this immense empire of the *Moslems* was portioned out amongst the descendants and favourites of a family that, forty years before, had hardly been heard of. *Afdal* chose, for his vizir, one *Nasrallah*, who was descended of a learned family, but appears not to have had great experience in business. By his councils, *Afdal* neglected the generals who had raised his father's glory and greatness. They were not long without employments, each of *Saladin*'s sons was dissatisfied with his own portion of power and territory, and those generals offered their services to *Daher* and *Aziz*, the sultan of *Egypt*. This last prince was extremely well beloved, that all his officers invited him to dispute the right of succession with *Afdal*; though it seems to be the general opinion of authors that *Afdal* was *Saladin*'s eldest son.

Death of *Boctamer*.

About this time, died *Boctamer*, the prince of *Aklat*, and the ally of the califf *Naser*. He was the declared enemy of *Saladin*, and there is some reason to believe he was a *Christian*, notwithstanding his connections with the court of *Bagdad*. *Azzoddin* the prince of *Mawsel*, of the *Zenki* family;

family died about the ſame time. The *Moslem* authors give thoſe two great men very different characters. The former they ſay, could not help expreſſing his joy at *Saladin*'s death, in a very indecent manner; and being ſoon after murdered by the *Bataniſts*, they look upon his fate as a judgement from heaven. He had been originally a mamluk, or bought ſlave, and he was ſucceeded in his ſovereignty by *Dahiroddin*, who had been a ſlave likewiſe.

Affairs of *Perſia*.

Naſer, the califf of *Bagdad*, ſeems to have taken little or no concern in thoſe great partitions, made in the *Moſlem* empire, upon the death of *Saladin*. He contented himſelf with amaſſing riches, and living in pomp and ſplendour, but not without, at the ſame time, minding the affairs of government. *Saladin*, and his ſucceſſors, had been too much employed againſt the *Chriſtians*, to think of extending their conqueſts over the noble empire of *Perſia*, and thoſe rich countries which lay towards the *Indus*; the poſſeſſion of which paſſed thro' many obſcure hands with ſuch rapidity, that it is equally difficult, as it would be unentertaining to recount their hiſtory. *Tacaſh*, the ſultan of *Kowarazm*, having killed *Togrol*, as before related, made himſelf maſter of the greateſt part of *Perſia*; which was governed under him by his ſons. *Malec*, his eldeſt ſon, was governor of *Kowarazm*; where, upon his coming to his father's court, he left his own ſon *Arslan* for his deputy. During *Malec*'s abſence, *Sanjar*, brother in law to *Tacaſh*, entered into a conſpiracy againſt the ſultan and his family; upon which *Tacaſh*, having privately diſcovered the affair, ordered *Sanjar* to repair to *Kowarazm*; which, not dreaming that his intrigues were diſcovered, he accordingly did: but was there thrown into priſon and deprived of his ſight. Soon after, however, at the interceſſion of the ſultaneſs his ſiſter, he was ſet at liberty, and obtained a large penſion.

The califf's army defeated.

Another of the ſons of *Tacaſh* called *Yunos*, who was governor of *Irak*, happening, about the ſame time, to fall into a diſtemper, the cure of which required a change of air, he came to *Kowarazm*, and left for his deputy one *Miangen*, who hated *Eubaner*, whom *Tacaſh* had made governor of *Iſpahan*. The califf *Naſer* of *Bagdad*, was very uneaſy at the progreſs of the *Kowarazmian* power, under *Tacaſh*; and as the ſultan of thoſe countries had always received the inveſtiture of them from him and his predeceſſors, he not only claimed the diſpoſal of them, but raiſed a great army, and gave the command of it to *Caſſah* his vizir; with orders to enter the territories of *Tacaſh*, by the way of *Irak*. *Miangen* raiſed ſome forces to oppoſe him, and was joined by others under *Ebaner*, who was the faithful friend of *Tacaſh*. But when *Ebaner* arrived in the camp, *Miangen*, who

who claimed the ſuperiority of the command, cut off his head, under pretence of his keeping a correſpondence with the califf. *Tacaſh* prudently diſſembled his reſentment for this barbarous action, of which he well knew the motives, and ſet out in perſon to command againſt *Caſſab*, who happened to die juſt at the time the two armies were drawn out againſt one another in order of battle. *Caſſab*'s death being concealed, the armies engaged; and that of *Tacaſh* proving victorious, the califf was obliged to leave him and his family in quiet poſſeſſion of *Irak*. *Tacaſh*, however, obliged the califf to ſend him the head of *Caſſab*, which he carried with him to *Kowaraſm*, as an indiſputable evidence of his victory.

Notwithſtanding the troops of the califf had been thus defeated, yet it is certain, that, at that very time, he was a powerful prince; and, upon the death of *Saladin*, his vizir *Caſſab* reduced the rich province of *Kuziſtan*, the antient *Suſiana*, to his obedience. The events that fell out in *Saladin*'s family, ſufficiently prove, that he was fully ſenſible of his own high rank and ſupremacy over the *Moſlems*. *Adel*, who, in genius, courage, fortune, and policy, was no way inferior to his brother *Saladin*, began now to project the ruin of *Saladin*'s houſe in favour of his own. For this purpoſe he entered into a confederacy with *Aziz*, the ſultan of *Egypt*, and younger ſon to *Saladin*, againſt *Afdal* the eldeſt, who was a man of wit and pleaſure, but without having any great turn for the affairs of government. *Aziz*, on the contrary, when he was very young, had been left governor by his father, and had acquired ſuch credit, and ſuch a party there, that the father, for the quiet of his family, was obliged to leave him in poſſeſſion of that great kingdom. *Aziz* and his uncle, having joined their armies, immediately invaded *Syria*, and laid ſiege to *Damaſcus*, the capital of *Afdal*, who was obliged to abandon it, and fly to *Sarkod*. *Damaſcus* then fell, ſome ſay by treachery, into the hands of the invaders; and *Afdal* was obliged to cede it and its territory, to *Aziz* his brother; who, according to agreement, appointed *Adel* its governor under him. *Aziz*, however, was mentioned in the public prayers, and had money coined in his name as ſovereign, though *Adel* was ſo in fact. *Afdal*, who was obliged to content himſelf with the precarious poſſeſſion of *Sarkod* and its territory, had no remedy for the injury that had been done him, but to apply to the califf of *Bagdad*, as ſupreme pontif of the *Moslems*, and arbiter of their affairs. This he did, after the eaſtern manner, in poetry; and *Ali* being one of his names, he compared himſelf to the califf *Ali*, who had been wronged of his right of ſucceſſion to the prophet his father-in-law, by *Abubeker* and *Othman*: "In like manner, my lord," ſaid *Afdal*, "am I wronged by my uncle *Abubeker* and my brother *Othman*;" for it ſeems thoſe two princes bore theſe among their other names. The califf *Naſer*, which word in *Arabic* ſignifies Protector, returned a poetical

Greatneſs of *Adel*.

He ſtrips his nephew of his dominions.

anſwer to this epiſtle; in which he obſerved, that *Ali*, the califf, had ſuffered injuſtice becauſe he had no naſer; but he aſſured *Afdal*, that he ſhould find a naſer in him who would oblige his uncle and brother to do him right, and give him his protection: we do not know, however, that the califf was ſo good as his word.

Hej. 595. A. D. 1198. Death of *Aziz*, ſultan of *Egypt*.

Soon after this, *Aziz*, the ſultan of *Egypt*, was killed by a fall from his horſe, leaving behind him an infant ſon; and the great lords, or emirs of *Egypt*, inſiſted, that, during his minority, his uncle *Afdal* ſhould be regent of the kingdom. Upon this, *Afdal* repaired to *Cairo*, and took upon himſelf the government: he then entered into a treaty with his brother *Daher*, whom he engaged to aſſiſt him in reſcuing his kingdom of *Damaſcus* from his uncle *Adel*, who was then beſieging *Maredin*. The two brothers accordingly joined their troops together, and beſieged *Damaſcus*. On the news of this, *Adel* raiſed the ſiege of *Maredin*, but found his two nephews ſo advantageouſly poſted, that he could attack them with no probability of ſucceſs, though the garriſon was upon the point of capitulating: he therefore had recourſe to a ſtratagem, which proved ſucceſsful in dividing the allies.

Siege of *Damaſcus* undertaken and raiſed.

According to the accounts of all cotemporary authors, the *Turks* of thoſe days were remarkable for the delicacy of their complexion, and the fine figures of their perſons; and it was owing to their beauty, as well as their courage, that they had been ſo high in favour with ſo many great princes: *Daher* had a youth of that nation for whom he entertained an unnatural paſſion; and whom his elder brother *Afdal* had, for that reaſon, ſecreted from him. *Adel* came to the knowledge of this, and, knowing *Daher* to be diſtractedly fond of the young *Turk*, he ſent a private intimation, informing *Daher* of what had been done, and diſcovering the places where *Afdal* had ſecreted the youth. This exaſperated *Daher* to the utmoſt; he ordered *Afdal*'s agents to be put in irons, reproached himſelf with great bitterneſs, and marched back, at the head of his troops, to his capital *Aleppo*; while *Afdal* was, for want of forces, obliged to abandon the ſiege of *Damaſcus*, when it was upon the point of ſurrendering.

Adel made ſultan of *Egypt*.

The attempt upon *Damaſcus*, which *Adel* now pretended to be his property, gave him a handle, for depriving his nephew *Afdal* of the regency of *Egypt*. The nobility of that country conſiſted of two ſorts of emirs, the *Aſadian* and the *Saladian*. The former had been raiſed by *Shyracuh*, *Saladin*'s great benefactor and uncle; and the latter, who were moſt of them *Mamlucks*, or purchaſed ſlaves, by *Saladin* himſelf. The *Aſadian* emirs hated *Saladin* for his ingratitude to the families of *Nureddin* and *Shyracuh*, and the *Saladian* emirs were men of no principles and very little underſtanding. It was therefore eaſy for *Adel* to form a party in that country

country to diſpoſſeſs *Afdal* of the regency; and he accordingly marched his army to *Cairo*, which he beſieged and took in eight days. Upon this, *Afdal* was obliged to reſign the regency to him, on condition of his being put in poſſeſſion of *Mayaforakin*, *Hani*, and *Tebal*. The two latter territories were accordingly ceded to him; but *Maher*, *Adel*'s eldeſt ſon, who was in poſſeſſion of the firſt, refuſed to deliver it up.

But *Adel*'s ambition was not ſatisfied with the regency, and he aſpired to the ſovereignty of *Egypt*. He was favoured in his views by the death of the kadi *Fadel*, which happened on the very day he entered *Cairo*; but he was ſtill at ſome loſs for a decent pretence to ſet aſide the infant prince. He had recourſe to religion; and, having bribed the mercenary divines of that country into his intereſt, he convoked a general aſſembly of them, and ſtated to them two caſuiſtical points. The firſt was, Whether the younger ought to govern the elder? This was reſolved in the negative. The next was, Whether the elder could rule in right of the younger? and the aſſembly declared, That the determination of the former queſtion determined that likewiſe; becauſe, if the younger had no right, as they had determined he had none, over the elder, the elder could derive none from him. Upon thoſe infamous deciſions, *Adel*, without any ceremony, took poſſeſſion of the government of *Egypt* in his own right. His firſt care was, to make an alliance with his nephew *Daher*, to whom he yielded ſeveral places and principalities. Thus the aſpiring *Adel* came, in a very few years after his brother's death, to be ſovereign of *Egypt*, *Jeruſalem*, and *Damaſcus*. His inſidious arts.

As we are now upon the eve of one of the greateſt revolutions that ever happened in human affairs, it is proper juſt to ſtate the ſituation of the other *Moslem* governments at this time. *Tacaſh*, the ſultan of *Kowarazm*, having loſt his ſon *Malec*, gave the government of *Kowarazm* to another of his ſons *Kothboddin*, and made *Maſud* his vizir. This *Maſud* aſſumed the name of *Nodham*, in honour of that great miniſter to *Malec* the Firſt, whom we have already particularly mentioned. *Tacaſh* then marched againſt *Bokhara*, which lay in the neighbourhood of his dominions, but was in poſſeſſion of the *Kaytayans*, the deſcendants of thoſe *Chineſe Tartars*, already taken notice of, who had made an irruption into theſe countries. *Tacaſh*, who was now far advanced in age, was blind of one eye; and the *Katayans*, in contempt of his power, dreſſed a one-eyed dog in royal robes, and, after expoſing him all over the city, diſcharged him from one of their military engines, calling out to the beſigers, "Behold your ſultan." *Tacaſh*, however, preſſed the city ſo vigorouſly, that he obliged it to ſurrender, and, notwithſtanding his provocations, he behaved to the inhabitants, History of *Tacaſh*.

bitants, not only with moderation, but with kindneſs. After this, he received an account, that his ſon's vizir, *Nodham*, had been aſſaſſinated by the execrable *Bataniſts*, who had ſeized ſeveral caſtles in his dominions; and he gave orders to his ſon *Kothboddin* to exterminate them: but, while *Kothboddin* was intent upon this expedition, *Tacaſh* himſelf died. He was one of the moſt fortunate princes of his time, and, though he acquired power by illegal means, yet he exerciſed it with virtue and wiſdom. He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Kothboddin*, who, as we ſhall ſee, was chiefly remarkable by the many misfortunes he underwent.

His death and character.

Hiſtory of *Arabia*,

Beſides the branches of the *Ayub* family, we have taken notice that *Saladin* had another brother, who was prince or governor of *Zabid*, in *Arabia Felix*, but made no great figure. We are told, however, that he found means, by oppreſſing his ſubjects, to amaſs great wealth, which he left to his ſon *Iſmael*. This prince reigning over the native country of the firſt califfs, was ill enough adviſed to take upon him that illuſtrious title; but a veneration for the califf of *Bagdad* was ſo deeply impreſſed upon the minds of his ſubjects that they rebelled againſt him, and put him to death, for uſurping the title of their prophet's ſucceſſor. Upon his death, the emirs recognized his brother, who was but an infant, for their ſovereign; and his mother was appointed regent: but the infant prince being poiſoned, ſhe married one *Solyman*, one of the ſons of *Takioddin*, of the houſe of *Ayub*. This perſon ſeems to have been the next heir to the young prince; and the princeſs-regent, probably, by marrying him, propoſed to keep the government in her own hands. But *Solyman* had, from his infancy, been devoted to a religious life; and had always lived amongſt the *Fakirs*, or the mendicant monks of the *Moslems*, and knew little or nothing of the affairs of the world; ſo that his ſubjects were obliged to depoſe him; and the houſe of *Ayub* ceaſed, for ſome time, to make any figure in *Arabia*; though we are told that it afterwards recovered ſome part of its luſtre, and that the prince who now governs that country, is deſcended from it.

and the *Seljukian* dinaſty.

The next great *Moslem* power we are to mention, is *Kay Koſrou*, of the *Seljukian* dinaſty. He was the eldeſt ſon of *Arslan*, who has been already ſo often mentioned; and had, for his inheritance, *Iconium*, *Sycaonia*, *Pamphilia*, and other countries. *Kothboddin* had, for his inheritance, *Melitene*, *Cæſaria*, and *Kolonia*. *Maſud* had *Amaſia*, *Ancyra*, *Doryl*æ*um*, and great part of *Pontus*. *Koknoddin*, the third ſon, had *Amyntas*, *Dockwa*, and other places on the ſea-coaſt. As all the *Seljukian* empire had been torn from the *Greeks*, there had commonly been a very bad underſtanding between the emperors of *Conſtantinople* and the ſultans of *Al Rum*, which ſtill continued. *Maſud*, the ſultan of *Anſira*, had encouraged

couraged an impoſtor to pretend to be *Alexis*, the ſon of the *Greek* emperor *Manuel*; and gave vaſt diſquiet to *Alexis Comnenus*, who was then emperor of *Conſtantinople*. But the impoſtor, in a ſhort time, being aſſaſſinated, *Maſud* carried on the war ſingly, and beſieged *Diadibris*; which he took, after defeating an army of the *Greeks* that were ſent to its relief. *Alexis* then ſaw himſelf obliged to make peace with the barbarians; and agreed to the ſhameful conditions of paying them in hand five hundred pounds weight of coined ſilver, and three hundred yearly by way of tribute, together with five hundred veſts of ſilk.

Kay Koſrou, about the ſame time, entertained one *Mangaſes*, who was in rebellion againſt *Alexis*, but was, by means of great preſents made him by that emperor, prevailed upon to withdraw his protection from him, and to conclude a treaty with *Alexis*: but this treaty was ſoon after broken, on account of ſome running-horſes, belonging to *Alexis*, that had been ſtopped by *Kay Koſrou*; and the war between them recommenced. *Alexis* ordered all the merchants, trading to or from *Iconium*, to be ſeized, and their effects to be confiſcated: and *Kay Koſrou* took *Karia* and *Tantalus*, with other cities upon the *Meander*; and would have ſurprized *Antioch* itſelf by night, had he not miſtaken the noiſe of a merry-making at a wedding for the voices of the enemy's garriſon, who had diſcovered his deſign. It is agreed, however, on all hands, that *Kay Koſrou*, upon this occaſion, behaved with vaſt humanity as well as policy; for, having made a great number of priſoners, he ſuffered no violence of any kind to be offered to either ſex; ordered all their effects to be reſtored, and, the weather being cold, he took an axe into his own hands, and fell to cutting down wood for their firing; thereby ſetting his ſoldiers an example, and telling them, that the priſoners could not do it of themſelves, becauſe they would be ſuſpected of a deſign to eſcape, ſhould they attempt it. He afterwards aſſigned them lands in his own territories for their ſubſiſtence, and promiſed them their liberty to return home as ſoon as he had concluded a peace with the emperor, and, in any event, in five years time. But the priſoners, who were moſt, or all, of them manufacturers, which the *Seljukian* dominions ſtood in great need of, felt their circumſtances ſo much altered for the better by their captivity, that they refuſed to return under the dominion of the *Greek* emperor, and ſettled in *Kay Koſrou*'s dominions. Their example, we are told, peopled this ſultan's dominions with many other *Greeks*, who preferred his government to that of their own empire. His policy, however, could not defend him againſt the ambition of his brother *Roknoddin*; for *Kothboddin* dying, *Roknoddin* and *Maſud* diſputed about his ſucceſſion, which *Roknoddin* carried; and then he fell upon *Kay Koſrou*, whom he ſummoned to deliver up his capital of *Iconium*.

and of *Kay Koſrou*.

Kay Kosrou dethroned.

We are told that *Roknoddin* had a particular ſpite againſt *Kay Koſrou*, becauſe the mother of the latter was a *Chriſtian*. This may well account for *Kay Koſrou*'s throwing himſelf under the protection of the *Greek* emperor, when he found that he was no match for his brother: but *Alexis* thought that his ſafety lay in the diſſentions of the *Turks*, and gave him only his protection, but did nothing effectually for him. Upon this, *Kay Koſrou* fled into *Armenia*, where he was civilly received by *Leon*, the *Chriſtian* prince, whom we have already mentioned, but without receiving any material aſſiſtance. He was therefore forced, once more, to repair to *Conſtantinople*, where he long lived in obſcurity: and thus the whole *Seljukian* empire of *Rum* fell to *Roknoddin*.

A freſh cruſade ſet on foot.

We are now to proceed to the hiſtory of the *Conſtantinopolitan* empire, without which that of the Eaſt cannot be underſtood. Upon *Richard*, king of *England*, being ranſomed, he returned to his own dominions, and a moſt dreadful war broke out between him and *Philip*. The emperor of *Germany*, *Henry* VI. ſon to *Frederick*, was ſolely intent upon the poſſeſſion of *Naples* and *Sicily* in right of his wife; and, in ſhort, all the powers of *Europe* were ſo much in purſuits of private ambition, that none of them thought of the cruſade. But pope *Celeſtin* the Third, tho' ninety years of age, and extremely infirm, no ſooner heard of *Saladin*'s death, than he applied to form a freſh expedition. For this purpoſe, he ſent his ambaſſadors, or legates, to all the princes of *Europe*, exhorting them once more to unity, that they might deliver the ſepulchre of our Saviour out of the hands of the infidels. The diſputes between *France* and *England*, notwithſtanding *Richard* ſtill wore the croſs upon his garments, took from his holineſs all hopes of ſeeing either of thoſe two monarchs again embark in a cruſade. He therefore applied himſelf to the emperor, and, notwithſtanding the vaſt differences they had with one another, *Henry* promiſed, after the example of his father, to head an army againſt the infidels. In conſequence of this reſolution, he called a general diet at *Worms*; where all the illuſtrious members took upon them the croſs: but the moſt remarkable perſon of this cruſade, was *Margaret*, ſiſter to *Philip Auguſtus*, and widow to prince *Henry* of *England*, and *Bela*, king of *Hungary*, who took upon her the croſs and joined her troops with thoſe of the other princes. The emperor, however, was not ſincere in his proteſtations; for, inſtead of marching to *Paleſtine*, he led his army, which was a very fine one, into *Italy*, where he exterminated the remains of the *Norman* party; after which he put his troops on board a fleet, and ſent them to *Acon*, where two other armies of *Europeans* had already arrived. As to his own perſon, he never had any intention to embark in the cruſade; but he managed ſo, that the chief princes of his empire joined in beſeeching him not to march to the *Holy Land*, and he ſuffered himſelf

The queen of *Hungary* takes the croſs.

to

to be prevailed upon. *Valeran de Limbourg* was the first of the *German* generals who arrived at *Acon*; and he gave a remarkable proof, how destructive enthusiasm is of all faith among men.

Saladin, during the short time he lived after his peace with *Richard*, had been scrupulously punctual in observing the truce. In this he was imitated by his brother *Adel*, and *Palestine* and *Syria*, for some time, enjoyed repose, to the great emolument of the *Christians*: but the crusaders thought it was impious in them to observe their words with infidels; and, without the least pretext of the breach of the truce on the part of the *Turks*, they no sooner arrived at *Acon* than they commenced hostilities against *Adel*. The truce broken by the *Christians*.

Alexius Angelus was still emperor of *Constantinople*, and thought his authority so well secured, that he set at liberty his brother *Isaac*, whom he had deposed. *Isaac*, and his son *Alexius*, secretly applied to *Irene*, wife to the *German* emperor, and daughter to *Isaac*, to prevail with her husband *Philip* to restore them to the throne. Though *Philip* was at that time embroiled with his competitor *Otho*, and could not give his father and brother-in-law the assistance they desired, yet the young *Alexius*, who had escaped from *Constantinople*, managed so well with the pope and the emperor, that they prevailed with the *French* and the *Venetian* crusaders, who were in *Dalmatia*, to undertake his and his father's quarrel. This was judged to be the more expedient, because their aversion to the infidelity of the *Greek* emperor towards the crusaders, was looked upon as the great causes of their being unsuccessful. A treaty between the young *Alexius* and his father, on the one part, and the *French* and *Venetians*, on the other, was, with some difficulty, concluded. By this treaty, *Alexius* engaged himself to pay two hundred thousand marks in silver, and to maintain ten thousand men for the purposes of the holy war, together with five hundred knights, well armed, who were to attempt the conquest of *Egypt*, and to garrison all the places that should be taken in *Palestine*. *Corfu* was appointed for their rendezvous, and *Dyrrachium* opened its gates to the young *Alexius*. From thence the army proceeded to *Chalcedon*, over against *Constantinople*, and there they landed: but here their whole enterprize was upon the point of being defeated by a mutiny amongst the troops, who were discouraged at the difficulties that must attend the siege of *Constantinople*; but this mutiny was happily subdued by the prudence of the princes, who were at the head of the expedition; and at last the siege of *Constantinople* was formed. *Alexis* restored to the *Greek* empire.

According to the best authorities, that city was at this time prodigiously strong. The *Greek* emperors, surrounded as they were on all hands by enemies, had exerted themselves in encreasing its fortifications both by sea and land; and the number of fighting men said to have been in it Strength and siege of *Constantinople*.

when this ſiegē was formed, appears to be incredible; ſome writers making them amount to one hundred thouſand horſe, and three hundred thouſand foot. This vaſt army, while the cruſaders landed at *Chalcedon*, lay encamped, with the emperor at their head, upon the banks of the *Boſphorus*, oppoſite to the cruſaders. But their emperor's vices had made them long forget what was due to himſelf and his ſubjects; he had been ſo long immerſed in luxury, that all diſcipline was neglected; ſo that his army could be computed only as a number of men weakened by effeminacy; for five hundred of them were cut in pieces, in ſight of both camps, by about eighty *French* men. But the capital error of the emperor, on this occaſion, was, his having neglected his marine ſo totally, that he was wholly unprepared to diſpute the paſſage of the cruſaders over the *Helleſpont*; ſo that they landed in ſight of his army, who retired with the utmoſt confuſion and terror. The *French* then made themſelves maſters of *Gulata*; and the *Venetians*, who were then the beſt ſeamen in the world, cut the chain which had been drawn acroſs the harbour, with prodigious ſciſſars of ſteel, worked by engines, and entering it they deſtroyed all the merchant-ſhips of the *Greeks*; while another party made themſelves maſters of the imperial camp, which the uſurping emperor moſt cowardly abandoned. It is foreign to this hiſtory to give the whole particulars of this celebrated ſiege; it is ſufficient to ſay, in general, that *Henry Dandolo*, the doge of *Venice*, though blind with extreme old age, was the ſoul of the enterprize. The place was battered, for ten days, by the *Venetians* by ſea, and by the *French* by land; and the *Greeks*, having ſome *Engliſh* mercenaries intermingled with them, made a much better defence than what was expected from their effeminacy. But a general aſſault being reſolved upon, *Dandolo* told the crew of his galley, that he would hang every man of them if they did not ſet him on ſhore; which menace worked ſo effectually, that, notwithſtanding the reſiſtance of the *Greeks*, he planted the ſtandard of St. *Mark*, that is of *Venice*, upon the battlements of *Conſtantinople*. He then made himſelf maſter of twenty-five of the baſtions; while the emperor, who, upon this occaſion, acted with all kind of miſconduct and cowardice, ſought to charge the beſiegers in the rear; but, being defeated, he privately ſhipped himſelf and his treaſures on board a ſmall veſſel, which carried him to *Zagora* in *Thrace*. In the mean while, the *Greeks*, a giddy, faithleſs people, delivered the old emperor *Iſaac* from the priſon, where he had been confined ever ſince the flight of his ſon, and again ſaluted him emperor. The cruſaders, however, notwithſtanding the eminent ſervices they had performed to him, had great difficulty in perſuading him to ratify the treaty they had concluded with his ſon; which at laſt he did, and then the father and the ſon were aſſociated in the government. The uſurper, nevertheleſs, had ſtill

It is taken by the Latins.

Iſaac reſtored.

ſtill great reſources; and his ſon-in-law, *Theodorus Laſcaris*, commanded a numerous army on the ſhore oppoſite to *Conſtantinople*. The joint emperors, therefore, prevailed with the cruſaders (or *Latins*, as they were called) to defer their original expedition to the *Holy Land* until they could be firmly ſettled upon the throne. When the *Latins* had agreed to this, they made diſpoſitions for attacking *Laſcaris*; which he no ſooner underſtood, than he diſmiſſed his army and fled to *Iconium*. The confederates then turned their arms againſt the dethroned uſurper, who had made himſelf maſter of *Adrianople*; from whence they drove him, and he, in like manner, ſheltered himſelf amongſt the *Turks*.

In the mean while, the old emperor *Iſaac* died; and the *Latins*, with their army, went to winter in *Conſtantinople*; where they were extremely importunate with the young emperor *Alexius*, for the great arrears of money due to them. *Alexius* knew they were his maſters as well as creditors, but, to increaſe his misfortune on this occaſion, the taxes he was obliged to lay upon his people, cauſed ſo univerſal a diſcontent, that the hatred of the *Greeks* towards the *Latins* now broke out with more fury than ever; and the inhabitants of *Conſtantinople* publicly accuſed their young emperor of having made them vaſſals to their old hereditary enemies. This diſcontent went ſo far, that a *Greek*, one *Murtzuphilus*, an able, but an ambitious man, formed a deſign to ſieze the empire; and, with his own hands, ſtrangled the young emperor. He then preſented himſelf before the people, as the revenger of their wrongs, and the aſſerter of their liberties; and was by them ſaluted emperor.

His death.

Murtzuphilus murders the young *Alexius*.

The confederates, without all doubt, might eaſily have prevented this tragical revolution from taking place: but the truth is, their chiefs began to think that the empire of *Conſtantinople*, and the fine provinces adjoining, were conqueſts far preferable to that of *Paleſtine* and *Jeruſalem*: and, to paliate their ambition, they publicly gave out, that it was abſolutely impoſſible to conquer the *Turks*, without being aſſured of *Conſtantinople* and the *Greek* empire. This doctrine was far from being diſagreeable to their followers, and they accordingly laid ſiege to *Conſtantinople*. *Murtzuphilus* was a brave general, and, conſidering what cowards he commanded, he made a noble defence: but the confederates, being excellently well provided with all battering artillery, and animated with the hopes of plunder, at laſt, made themſelves maſters of one quarter of the city, and proceeded to butcher and to plunder the inhabitants, with a barbarity and rapaciouſneſs that would have diſgraced the *Turks* themſelves. Night alone put a ſtop to the carnage, which was renewed the next day; and, though the richer citizens had ſecreted their beſt effects, the plunder amounted to an immenſe ſum. The chiefs of the expedition, it is true, ordered the ſlaughter to ceaſe, becauſe it brought them no plunder;

The *Latins* again beſiege *Conſtantinople*.

plunder; but pillaging was not only permitted, but enjoined; and the booty was carried to a common repoſitory. As to *Murtzuphilus* himſelf, his courage abandoned him with his fortune; after making an animated effort to rouze the courage of the *Greeks*, perceiving that they could not be animated to farther reſiſtance, he retired to his palace, which had a back gate to the port, by which he made his eſcape, with the empreſs *Euphroſyne* and her daughter *Eudoxia*, of whom he was paſſionately fond.

The tyrant flies.

Amongſt the other princes engaged in this ambitious expedition, was *Boniface*, the marquis of *Montferrat*. *Murtzuphilus*, finding he could not ſtand his ground againſt the confederates, had invited him to his aſſiſtance, and had even flattered him with the hopes of reſigning the empire in his favour. *Boniface* accordingly marched from *Antioch* to *Conſtantinople*; but, finding how deteſtable *Murtzuphilus* had become, both to the *Greeks* and the *Latins*, he joined the confederates, aſſiſted at the ſiege of *Conſtantinople*, and married *Margaret*, the widow of *Iſaac*, the deceaſed emperor. In the mean while, the flight of the tyrant by night being known, the *Greeks*, who hated the *Latins* to diſtraction, forced *Theodore Laſcaris*, who had thrown himſelf into *Conſtantinople*, to accept of a nomination to the empire. But he, perceiving himſelf unſupported, likewiſe made his eſcape. During the night, the confederates divided themſelves into two bodies; one of which was employed in the purpoſes of plunder, and the other in entrenching themſelves in the ſtreets and ſquares of *Conſtantinople*, to make head againſt the attack which they expected next day. But they were agreeably diſappointed when, inſtead of enemies, they ſaw themſelvs approached by ſuppliants, preceeded by the religious of all denominations, who, upon their knees, begged for mercy. This was granted them as to their lives, but the plundering ſtill went on; for, after this, it was not confined to the houſes of the nobility, and the other inhabitants of *Conſtantinople*; for thoſe ſons of rapine broke into churches, religious repoſitories, and even the monuments of the dead, from whence they carried off whatever was valuable. In ſhort, the exceſſes committed upon this occaſion, were ſuch, as the *French* and *Venetian* hiſtorians themſelves have, notwithſtanding all their art, not been able to paliate; and even the popes, zealous as they were againſt the *Greeks*, complained moſt bitterly of them.

The *Greeks* ſubmit.

Conſtantinople, though the greateſt, the richeſt, and the moſt powerful city in the world (if it was defended, as there is no reaſon for doubting it, by four hundred thouſand men, thus falling a prey to thoſe religious free-booters) the next conſideration was, by whom the imperial throne was to be filled. The adventurers laid it down as a previous maxim, to exclude all the race of the *Comneni*, and the other families who had held the empire; and to chooſe, for emperor, one of them-

Policy of the *Venetians*,

themſelves. For this purpoſe twelve electors were named; ſix of them *Venetians*, and ſix of them *French*, who, compared with the *Venetians*, were little better than barbarians. The aged *Dandolo* was incomparably the preferable competitor, had he choſen to put in his claim; but he generouſly and wiſely declined it, becauſe, had a *Venetian* doge filled the throne of *Conſtantinople*, the *Venetian* republic muſt have become an acceſſion to the *Greek* empire; and the riches of *Venice*, which depended upon commerce, muſt have ſoon been ſacrificed to a quarrel in which ſhe was likely to have ſo many enemies. *Dandolo* therefore prevailed with his country-men to drop all thoughts of raiſing any *Venetian* to the imperial throne; but to make ſuch acquiſitions out of the wrecks of the empire, as might tend to promote the commerce, and increaſe the naval power of *Venice*.

Dandolo being thus out of the queſtion, the competition, at laſt, came to lay between *Baldwin* earl of *Flanders*, and *Boniface* marquis of *Montferrat*. The pretenſions of the latter were undoubtedly the moſt ſtrong and ſpecious; but the *Venetians* conſidered, that, if *Boniface*, who was an able politician, as well as a great general, became maſter of *Conſtantinople*, he muſt ſoon raiſe a great maritime power, which muſt diſpute the gainful empire of thoſe ſeas with *Venice*. They had no ſuch apprehenſions from *Baldwin*, who was a young prince of but middling capacity, though of great zeal; and therefore, upon the day of election, the *Venetians* unanimouſly, to the great ſurprize of the *French*, named count *Baldwin* for emperor; and he was accordingly recognized as ſuch by all the electors. This election, however, did not paſs without great management; it was not the intereſt of the *Venetians* that the *Greek* empire ſhould remain under one head, *Theſſaly* was therefore erected into a new kingdom, in favour of the marquis of *Montferrat*, who, by poſſeſſing it, could give no umbrage to the *Venetians*. The *Venetians* claimed, and obtained, for their portion, the iſlands of *Archipelago*, ſome part of *Peloponneſus*, and ſome cities on the coaſt of the *Helleſpont* in *Phrygia*; having paid the marquis of *Montferrat* a ſum of money, for ſome pretenſions he had upon the iſland of *Candia*, or *Crete*. *Baldwin*, together with *Conſtantinople*, had *Thrace* aſſigned him, together with ſome other dominions which remained to be conquered. Several other principalities were at the ſame time erected, in favour of ſeveral *French* and *Venetian* noblemen, out of the ruins of the *Greek* empire.

who advance the earl of *Flanders* to the empire.

Having thus, in a ſuccinct manner, given the reader an account of this amazing revolution, ſo far as it is connected with our main ſubject, and that too from the moſt unqueſtionable authorities, we ſhall but juſt mention, that the *Moſlem* authors have given a very different, and indeed abſurd, account of it; for they tell us, that thirty thouſand of the *Franks* found means to conceal themſelves within the city

Accounts of the *Moſlem* authors.

of *Conſtantinople*, which they ſet fire to, and, during the confuſion, maſſacred the inhabitants, expelled the emperor, and elected the earl of *Flanders*. This account, however, is not wholly deſtitute of foundation; for, at *Saladin*'s requeſt, the *Greek* emperor had admitted vaſt numbers of the *Turks* to reſide at *Conſtantinople*, and had even given them permiſſion to build a church there. Upon the reſtoration of the emperor *Iſaac*, this moſque was a great eye-ſore to the zealous *Latins*, who plundered it; but, being attacked by the *Turks*, the city was ſet on fire during the engagement, and great part of it reduced to aſhes: but this misfortune had no effect upon the laſt revolution, which terminated in the election of earl *Baldwin*. We muſt not here omit to inform our readers, that, about this time, *Jenghiz Khan*, the greateſt conqueror that is mentioned in hiſtory, began to make his appearance amongſt the *Tartars*; but we ſhall forbear, in this diviſion of our work, to give any particular account of him, farther than is neceſſary to preſerve the thread of our hiſtory.

Succeſſes of the khalif *Naſer*.

During the continuance of the cruſades, the intereſts of the *Moſlems* underwent various revolutions; but *Naſer*, the khalif of *Baghdad*, continued to maintain his ſuperiority, and even to extend his dominions. His chief miniſter at this time was one *Sanjar*, who had been his ſlave; but, having raiſed himſelf by his merit, he had been made governor of *Khuziſtan*, which, at that time, formed part of the khalif's dominion; and *Sanjar* enlarged them by conquering a number of places in the ſouthern parts of *Perſia*, towards the *Perſian Gulph*, in the *Indian Ocean*. This ſucceſs enabled the khalif to give ſome relief to his ſubjects, by ſuppreſſing all duties upon commodities ſold by retail, and raiſing no other duties than what were paid by the firſt hand upon the whole-ſale. We likewiſe, about the ſame time, find that he made a preſent to *Adel*, when he was at *Damaſcus*, of a crown and a rich robe, or ſultan's kaftan. *Adel* beſtowed the crown upon his ſons, but wore the kaftan himſelf.

Chriſtianity encouraged in *Egypt*.

But, though *Adel* was contented to acknowledge the ſuperior dignity of the khaliff of *Baghdad*, yet he and his family ſeem to have been no great bigots to *Mahometaniſm*. They had a free, and even a friendly, correſpondence with *John* the *Jacobite* patriarch of *Alexandria*, whoſe friendſhip was of great uſe to him: for the kings of *Æthiopia*, pretending ſtill to be *Chriſtians*, continued to have all their metropolitans conſecrated by the *Alexandrian* patriarch, who took care to preſerve his ſupremacy over the monarch as well as the church. The najaſhi, or emperor of *Æthiopia*, at this time was remarkably ſuperſtitious; his dominions had been long without rain, a calamity which he attributed to his having no metropolitan to reſide in his dominions. He therefore ſent an embaſſy to the patriarch at *Cairo*, requeſting him to ordain a metropolitan, who might preſide over the

the churches of *Æthiopia*. It appears, that the patriarch did not venture to comply with this requeſt, without conſulting the ſultan *Adel*, or his ſon *Câmel*, the governor of *Egypt*, who agreed, that the najaſhi's demands ſhould be gratified. Accordingly, one *Kilus* was ordained metropolitan, and ſent into *Æthiopia*. Soon after his arrival, ſome rain happening to fall, he was reſpected by the emperor, and his nobility, as the tutelar angel of their country; the emperor himſelf viſited him in perſon, aſſigned him noble equipages, and a palace to live in; a favour unuſual in that country, where the emperor himſelf, and all his great officers of ſtate, lived in camps, which they occaſionally moved from one place to another. *Kilus*, however, did not behave with moderation equal to his good fortune. He charged one of the chief prieſts of the country, a man of intereſt and family, with having embezzled a golden verge, belonging to his church; and then, by way of puniſhment, he ſcourged him to death with his own hands. The relations of the deceaſed reſented this barbarous murder ſo highly, that *Kilus* was obliged to diſappear, and to return to *Egypt*. The *Æthiopian* church, being once more without a metropolitan, a moſt ſplendid embaſſy was ſent by the najaſhi to *Egypt*, and the ambaſſadors were loaded with preſents and curioſities of great value, both to the ſultan *Câmel* and the patriarch, with a new requeſt of having another metropolitan conſecrated and ſent to *Æthiopia*. Amongſt the preſents deſigned for *Câmel*, was an elephant, a lion, and ſeveral living creatures unknown in *Egypt*; but the najaſhi ſent to the patriarch a golden crown of moſt exquiſite workmanſhip, which they preſented to him in *Câmel*'s preſence. That ſultan admiring the exquiſite workmanſhip of the crown, the head man of the embaſſy told him, that his maſter would have ornamented it with jewels equal to an annual revenue of *Egypt*, had he not been afraid, that the patriarch's ſelf-denial, and modeſty, would not have ſuffered him to wear it. The ſame ambaſſador, who ſeems to have had his inſtructions from the najaſhi, aſſured *Câmel*, that, before he left *Æthiopia*, his maſter reviewed one of his armies, which contained no fewer than ſixty thouſand horſe. This magnificent account had, perhaps, ſome influence upon *Câmel*: and one *Iſaac*, a monk of more moderation than *Kilus* was, was made metropolitan of *Æthiopia*, where he met with a reception equal to that of his predeceſſor. In ſhort, *Câmel* behaved with extraordinary kindneſs to the patriarch and his clergy, which made ſome of the monks envy them, and endeavour to ruin them. One of them accuſed the clergy of having concealed immenſe treaſures in a pit, or well; as another did the patriarch of having amaſſed prodigious ſums, which he deſigned to carry out of *Egypt*; but *Câmel* could not be prevailed upon to give any ear to either of the accuſations.

Its progreſs in *Æthiopia*.

Câmel's kindneſs to a patriarch.

The

New cruſaders arrive at *Acon*.

The conqueſt of *Conſtantinople*, where *Murzuphlus* had been formally executed for his crimes, encreaſed the ſpirit of cruſading in *Europe* ſo much, that greater numbers than ever now took upon them the croſs. Had they been united in one view, and not diſtracted by ambition and jealouſies among themſelves, it is admitted, by the beſt authorities, that they might have made a total conqueſt, not only of *Paleſtine*, but the whole Eaſt. The numbers which arrived at *Acon*, were ſuch, that a peſtilence broke out by their being pent up in ſo narrow a place; and raged with ſuch violence, that every hour deſtroyed about two thouſand of the adventurers. This damped them ſo greatly, that the few who ſurvived the calamity returned to *Europe*. Some of the *Chriſtians*, who had not ſhut themſelves up in *Acon* or *Ptolemais*, engaged themſelves in a territorial diſpute between *Leon*, the *Armenian* prince, whom we have already mentioned, and *Bohemond*, the earl of *Tripolis* and prince of *Antioch*. The former was ſupported by *Daher*, the ſultan of *Aleppo*; and the latter by the *European Chriſtians*, whom *Daher* ſurprized, and cut in pieces, or made priſoners, almoſt to a man. Notwithſtanding thoſe misfortunes, ſuch was the indefatigable zeal of the pope, that freſh ſupplies of cruſaders ſtarted up in *Europe*; even women and children took upon themſelves the croſs; and a monk, one *Harloin*, headed a vaſt army of deluded *Bretons* with the ſame bad ſucceſs that *Peter* the hermit had done before; for moſt of them periſhed through his miſconduct, or by the ſwords of the infidels. Some critical deaths happened at this time: the firſt was, the death of the counteſs of *Flanders*, wife to the emperor *Baldwin*, who died with exceſſive joy, at *Ptolemais*, when ſhe heard her huſband was elected emperor; the next was that of *Emeric de Luſignan*, the nominal king of *Jeruſalem*, in right of his wife *Iſabella*, the widow of the marquis of *Montferrat*. *Iſabella* died at the ſame time, as did her young ſon *Emeri*; by which the title of queen of *Jeruſalem* devolved upon her eldeſt daughter *Mary*, by the marquis of *Montferrat*. This princeſs was unmarried, and the chooſing for her a huſband, who might be capable to retrieve and ſupport the intereſts of the *Chriſtians* in the Eaſt, was a matter of the utmoſt difficulty. At laſt, the princes engaged in the cruſade agreed to apply to *Philip Auguſtus* for a huſband to the young queen. *Philip* made choice of *John de Brienne*, a *French* nobleman, who had ſcarce any poſſeſſions but his ſword, who married the queen, and promiſed to bring a ſtrong reinforcement of *Chriſtians* to *Paleſtine*.

They are cut off by peſtilence.

Remarkable deaths.

The news of this marriage, and of the vaſt preparations carrying on in *Chriſtendom* for a new cruſade, made ſuch an impreſſion upon *Adel*, whom the *Chriſtian* writers call *Safadel*, and the other princes of the houſe of *Ayub*, that they offered to renew the truce; but the *Templars* refuſed it.

Adel,

Adel, however, recovered his conſternation, when he underſtood, that the new king was ſo far from being able to perform his promiſes, that he brought with him no more than three hundred knights, who ſerved at their own charges, and a very inconſiderable ſum of money. Notwithſtanding this, *De Brienne*, who was very brave, being crowned at *Tyre*, took the field with the army he could muſter up, and gained ſome advantages over the infidels. But at laſt, he was obliged to retire to *Acon*, where he was ſhut up by *Daher*, and the other princes of the houſe *Ayub*, and, in a ſhort time, his principal officers, ſeeing their own weakneſs, and incapacity for acting offenſively againſt the rebels, ſlipped home to *Europe* in their ſhips, which lay at *Acon*. *Brienne* made king of *Jeruſalem*. His bad ſucceſs.

The pope, all this while, was endeavouring to compoſe the troubles in *Germany*, which had rendered the arms of the cruſaders ſo backward, and was daily publiſhing his invitation to all *Chriſtian* princes, for holding a general council, where the affairs of the *Holy Land* might be taken into conſideration. He likewiſe thundered out excommunications againſt all *Chriſtians* who ſhould ſell any armour to the *Saracens*; a practice which, at that time, it ſeems, was very common. Not contented with this, his ridiculous zeal carried him ſo far, that he wrote a ſerious remonſtrance to *Adel* himſelf, repreſenting his injuſtice, in detaining *Jeruſalem* from the *Chriſtians*, and the great advantage that muſt accrue to his dominions, if he would reſtore it to their hands; but all his arguments were treated, by *Adel*, with the contempt they deſerved. The zeal of his holineſs, however, had a moſt fatal effect upon the minds of the young *Germans* and *French* of that age, who, to the number of fifty thouſand, took upon themſelves the croſs, and were headed by prieſts and other enthuſiaſts. As to the *German* youths, they were, almoſt all of them, cut off in their march. The *French* came, in great numbers, to *Marſeilles*, where two deſigning villains offered them ſhips, at their own expence, to carry them to the *Holy Land*; accordingly, they embarked on board ſeven large veſſels, two of which were ſhipwrecked; but the other five, by direction of their owners, ſailed to *Egypt*, where the poor youths were all of them ſold for ſlaves, and underwent all kinds of miſeries. Great zeal of the pope.

The *Greek* empire ſtill remained in the hands of the *Latins*; but *Theodorus Laſcaris* reigned at *Nice*, and the princes of the *Commeni* family had eſtabliſhed, what they called, an empire, at *Trapezond*. The emperor *Baldwin* had been unable to recover *Adrianople*, which he beſieged; and the *Greeks*, who held it, applied to *John*, king of *Bulgaria*, for aſſiſtance. *John*, accordingly, marched to their relief, and, by pretending a retreat, he drew the unhappy *Baldwin* into an ambuſcade, where he was ſurrounded by great numbers of barbarians, who put all his troops to the ſword;

Defeat and death of *Baldwin.*

ſword; and, being himſelf taken priſoner, he was, by *John's* order, put to death, under the moſt exquiſite torments.

But though the *Latins* had thus got poſſeſſion of the *Greek* empire, they had ſtill to deal with two powerful neighbours who were their implacable enemies; the one was *Theodore Laſcaris*, who, as we have already ſeen, eſtabliſhed his empire in the city of *Nice*, and took upon himſelf the title of *Greek* emperor. As to the ſultans of *Rum*, and *Iconium*, their empire underwent a variety of revolutions which are not taken notice of by the *Chriſtian* hiſtorians; for we are told, that *Kay Koſrou*, who, from his name of *Gayathoddin*, the *Greeks* have called *Yathatines*, or *Jathatines*, being expelled by his brother *Roknoddin*, fled to *Conſtantinople*, where he was kindly received by the emperor *Alexius*, and fled along with that uſurper, when *Conſtaninople* was recovered by young *Alexius*. But *Kay Koſrou*, hearing of his brother's death, and that he had left only an infant ſon, repaired to *Iconium*, where he reaſcended the throne, and took poſſeſſion of the whole empire; over which he reigned with great glory. *Alexius*, hearing of this, repaired to *Iconium*, and begged of *Kay Koſrou* the like protection he had once before given him, and that he would lend him troops for recovering that part of *Aſia Minor* which was ſo unjuſtly uſurped from him by *Theodorus Laſcaris*. *Kay Koſrou*, partly out of gratitude, and partly from policy, ſent ambaſſadors to *Laſcaris*, requiring him to reſign his empire to its true owner. But *Laſcaris*, having been ſucceſsful againſt all his other competitors, reſolved to make good his claim. *Kay Koſrou*, however, before he had received a direct anſwer, marched, together with *Alexius*, and, with twenty thouſand men, laid ſiege to *Antioch*, on the *Meander*. *Laſcaris* knew the vaſt importance of this city too well, not to attempt to raiſe the ſiege; but he was able to bring no more than two thouſand men to its relief. The ſultan could ſcarcely be perſuaded that *Laſcaris* would be raſh enough to attack him, and drew up his forces to give him battle. The attack was begun by eight hundred *Italians*, who charged with ſuch fury, that they broke thro' the *Turks*; but, being ill ſupported by the *Greeks*, the barbarians cloſed upon, and ſurrounded, them, and put every man of them to the ſword. This diſheartened the *Greeks*, but the barbarians, by their numbers, cut off their retreat, and *Kay Koſrou* diſtinguiſhing *Laſcaris*, whom he knew by his imperial purple, attacked him in perſon, and aimed a blow at the *Greek*, which ſtunned and ſtruck him off his horſe. *Laſcaris*, however, ſoon recovered, drew his ſword, hamſtrung the ſultan's horſe, and, as he fell, ſtruck off his head; and all with ſuch velocity, that the combatants upon neither ſide could account for the manner in which the fatal blow had been given. *Kay Koſrou's* head, according to cuſtom, was elevated on the point of a ſpear, which ſtruck the *Turks* with ſuch terror, that they fled with great

Kay Koſrou invades the dominions of *Laſcaris*;

who engages and kills him.

great loſs from the field, leaving their camp in the hands of the *Greeks*. As for *Alexius*, he was taken priſoner, and impriſoned in a monaſtery at *Nice*. *Kay Khoſrû* left behind him two ſons, *Azzòddin*, and *Alaòddin*, who ſucceeded one another; but we are told, that the blow their empire had received from *Laſcaris*, obliged them to ſtrike up a peace with him; which they obſerved inviolably. This left *Laſcaris* at liberty to oppoſe the arms of *Henry*, who had ſucceeded his brother *Baldwin* in the empire of *Conſtantinople*; and a bloody war prevailed between them for ſeveral years. *Laſcaris*, however, was, at laſt, obliged to recognize *Henry*'s authority, his own empire being, on all hands, attacked by the princes of the *Comneni* family; againſt whom he made head, and died with great reputation for his courage and conduct. *Laſcaris makes peace.*

In the mean while, the pope had, after ſurmounting vaſt difficulties, been able to convene a general council at *Rome*, which was extremely ſplendid and numerous. In it aſſiſted the patriarchs of *Jeruſalem* and *Conſtantinople*, who were now both of the *Latin* church, with deputies from thoſe of *Antioch* and *Alexandria*; together with ſeventy-one archbiſhops, four hundred and twelve biſhops, beſides proxies; above eight hundred abbots and priors, and ambaſſadors from all the great princes in *Europe*. It is incredible with what quickneſs and zeal this aſſembly proceeded, in eſtabliſhing a new cruſade. All the privileges and advantages granted to the firſt cruſaders, were ſolemnly renewed in this council, with many additional ones; the ſame contributions, for its ſupport, were exacted from the clergy; and his holineſs promiſed to furniſh ſhipping, and large pay, for all the *Romans* that ſhould take upon them the croſs. It was farther agreed, that they ſhould all be in readineſs to paſs into *Paleſtine* by the firſt day of *June* in the following year; that, in the interim, thoſe who reſolved to be of the land army, ſhould come to the rendezvous which ſhould be appointed, whither the pope ſhould ſend his legate; and that thoſe who choſe rather to go by ſea, ſhould repair to the port of *Brindes* in *Pavia*, or to *Meſſina* in *Sicily*, where he himſelf would be preſent, to take care and give orders for what ſhould be needful, ſince he was not, as he paſſionately deſired, permitted to paſs beyond the ſeas, and undertake the voyage with the cruſaders. *A new cruſade preached up.*

Soon after this, the pope died, and was ſucceeded by *Honorius* the third, who was equally zealous, as his predeceſſors had been, in the affairs of the cruſades. He could not, however, prevail with the emperor *Frederick* the Second, who had, more than once, taken upon him the croſs, to head this cruſade in perſon; ſo that that honour devolved upon *Andrew* king of *Hungary*, who was the only king in *Europe* whoſe domeſtic affairs permitted him to embrace it. He was attended by the dukes of *Auſtria*, *Bavaria*, *Death of the pope; and the king of Hungary heads the cruſade.*

varia, *Moravia*, *Brabant*, and *Limbourg*; the counts palatine of the *Rhine*, of *Juliers*, *Holland*, and *Wida*; the marquis of *Baden*, the archbiſhop of *Mayence*, and the biſhops of *Bamberg*, *Paſſau*, *Straſburg*, *Munſter*, and *Utrecht*; together with moſt of the *Hungarian* prelates. Thoſe adventurers, and their ſubjects, who were extremely numerous, took different routs. The general rendezvous, for thoſe under *Andrew*, was, firſt, at *Cyprus*, from whence they ſailed to *Acon*; to which place, the embarkation that had been directed by the pope, likewiſe arrived; as did *John de Brienne*, king of *Jeruſalem*, with the few troops he ſtill had about him, and the *Knights of the Hoſpital*, *Temple*, and the *Teutonick* order: and, likewiſe, *Luſignan*, the king of *Cyprus*. It appears, from the relations of *Chriſtian* authors, that the progreſs of time had not at all corrected or abated the religious follies of the cruſaders. Having taken a review of their army, the patriarch of *Jeruſalem* moved forward, at the head of a great proceſſion of the clergy, carrying in his hand part of the wood of the holy croſs, which, we are told, *Guy de Luſignan* had ordered to be cut off from the main beam, on the morning of the great defeat near *Tiberias*. This ſeaſonable fiction gave vaſt ſpirit to the adventurers; and they reſolved to ſet out to fight the infidels, wherever they could find them; were their numbers ever ſo great.

His progreſs,

Al Adel, and the princes of the houſe of *Ayub*, were, at this time, greatly embarraſſed, by revolts and factions amongſt their own ſubjects, by powerful rebels, and upſtart uſurpers, beſides a famine and peſtilence, which had deſolated all *Egypt*; ſo that it was not in their power to bring to the field a force ſufficient to oppoſe ſo formidable an army. One of thoſe princes, however, whom the *Chriſtian* writers call *Coraddin*, but who, probably, was *Daher*, ſkirted their army with a body of troops, and, ſometimes, made a ſhew of attacking them; but always carefully avoided it. This conduct gave the *Chriſtians* great confidence and courage; and they had the pleaſure, while they were upon their march in ſearch of their enemies, to bathe themſelves, as they did, with moſt formal and fervent devotion, in the river *Jordan*, and other ſtreams mentioned in the ſacred writ; beſides viſiting all the places in the country of *Paleſtine*, where our Saviour had performed his miracles. At laſt, this proceſſion, rather than march, being finiſhed, they returned to *Ptolemais*, with all the priſoners and booty they had made; which, we are told, were very conſiderable.

We are not, nevertheleſs, in this place, to omit, that, however impreſſed theſe cruſaders might have been with enthuſiaſm, their views were not totally void of intereſt. Their own writers admit, that the *Germans* were guilty of the moſt ſhocking exceſſes againſt the *Chriſtians* who were ſettled in *Paleſtine*, *Cyprus*, and *Egypt*; for it appears from *Moſlem* authors, that a part of the cruſaders had penetrated within

and exceſſes.

within ſight of *Cairo*, and that they deſtroyed all the countries, through which they paſſed, with fire and ſword; and they, particularly, plundered the famous monaſtery of the *Malkhites*, which had been ſpared even by the *Turks*, before their return to their ſhips, which carried them back to *Ptolemais*; all this time, we are told that, *Al Camel* found himſelf obliged to keep within *Cairo*.

The main body of the cruſaders, under king *Andrew*, being returned to *Acon*, they reſolved to do ſomething worthy of their great profeſſions; and they, accordingly, projected the ſiege of a fortreſs that *Adel* had built upon the famous mount *Tabor*, which was extremely troubleſome to *Ptolemais*. The ſacred name of this mount, and of the places adjacent, raiſed the devotion, and, conſequently, the courage, of the beſiegers. The place, however, we are told, was extremely ſtrong, for it had been, lately, refortified with no leſs than ſeventy-ſeven towers, a new citadel, and it was provided with ſo numerous a garriſon, that they made excurſions for ſeven or eight leagues about the bottom of the mount, almoſt to the gates of *Ptolemais*. It was about the beginning of *December* before this ſiege was formed; and it was found it would be, in the main, an impracticable attempt. *Bohemond*, prince of *Tripolis*, who, ſecretly, diſliked the whole attempt, had, notwithſtanding, joined in the cruſade, to ſave his own dominions, and repreſented, in very ſtrong terms, the dangers they expoſed themſelves to, by ſo wild an undertaking. But the patriarch of *Jeruſalem*, attended by the other clergy, ſnatching up the wood of the holy croſs, called upon the army to follow them, and begun to aſcend the mountain, which was exceſſively ſteep, ſinging hymns; and the army, led on by the king of *Jeruſalem*, animated by their example, at laſt gained the top of the mountain, againſt all oppoſition, the king himſelf killing two of the principal officers of the infidels, upon which the latter retired into the main body of the place. They beſiege mount *Tabor*.

A council of war, of the *Chriſtians*, was then called, and the moſt experienced amongſt them plainly ſaw, that they had done nothing; and that, if the infidels ſhould ſeize and fortify their camp at the bottom of the hill, they muſt be ſtarved into a ſurrender. This conſideration, with that of the impregnable ſituation of the place, notwithſtanding all the remonſtrances of the patriarch, clergy, and other enthuſiaſts, determined the moſt knowing generals to regain their camp. It was in vain for the patriarch to threaten, that he would no longer carry the holy wood before ſuch a cowardly army, for they began to deſcend the mountain with ſome precipitation, and not without great loſs; being purſued by the enemy, who killed great numbers of them, by rolling down ſtones, in their deſcent. Their loſs

Another council of war being held, it was determined, notwithſtanding the rigour of the ſeaſon, to make a new ir-

ruption into *Phœnicia*, and other territories of the infidels. But this proved a fatal expedition. They found all the paſſes guarded by *Turks* and *Arabs*, who, together with the rigour of the ſeaſon, cut off prodigious numbers of them; and at laſt, upon *Chriſtmas* evening, they were overtaken in the plains between *Tyre* and *Sarepta*, with ſuch dreadful tempeſts, attended with thunder and lightning, as had almoſt finiſhed their deſtruction. Upon the return of the remainder of this army to *Acon*, it was viſible that their zeal was cooled. A moſt melancholy proſpect preſented itſelf; they had done nothing, of the leaſt conſequence, towards their main undertaking; and they were in danger of being ruined by famine and peſtilence, if they continued to be pent up in their quarters in or about *Ptolemais*; it was, therefore, reſolved, that the army ſhould ſeparate. The king of *Jeruſalem*, the duke of *Auſtria*, and the great maſter of the *Hoſpital*, with numbers of the biſhops, marched to *Cæſarea*, which they refortified with wonderful expedition. The great maſters of the *Temple of the Teutonic order* fortified an old caſtle near mount *Carmel*, between *Acon* and *Cæſarea*; and, in digging in its ruins, they found a treaſure which was more than ſufficient to defray their expence. *Andrew* king of *Hungary*, and the king of *Cyprus*, diſguſted with the miſconduct of the expedition, joined with *Bohemond*, and went to *Tripolis*, where the king of *Cyprus* died in a few days, and *Andrew* declared, that he was reſolved to ſeize the firſt opportunity of returning to his own dominions; where his preſence was become abſolutely neceſſary. This reſolution rouzed the zeal, or rather the fury, of the patriarch of *Jeruſalem*, to ſuch a degree, that he excommunicated him, and all his followers who ſhould attend him to *Europe*; but *Andrew* paid no regard to this frantic action; and his example was imitated by a vaſt number of other cruſaders who remained at *Ptolemais*, where they took ſhipping for *Europe*.

They raiſe the ſiege.

They are reinforced from the north of *Europe*.

Notwithſtanding this gloomy proſpect on the part of the *Chriſtians* in the eaſt, by an unexpected accident, their affairs, all of a ſudden, aſſumed a better face than they had ever done before; and, had they not been miſmanaged by enthuſiaſts, they might actually have poſſeſſed themſelves of the kingdoms of *Egypt* and *Paleſtine*. The king of *Norway* was then, next to the *Venetians*, the moſt conſiderable naval power in *Europe*; and, though he could not attend the cruſade in perſon, he freely furniſhed it with a great number of ſhips, on board of which many of his own ſubjects embarked: but the great bulk of this armament conſiſted of *Cologners* and *Friſons*; and, in ſhort, the northern people were as forward as the ſouthern had been. Their fleet, we are told, conſiſted of no fewer than three hundred ſhips; and, about the end of *May*, it was joined, in the mouth of the *Maeſe*, with a fleet under the earl of *Holland*; and the whole proceeded towards the *Streights* of *Gibraltar*, in their

their way to *Acon:* but, when they came upon the coasts of *Spain* and *Portugal*, this noble fleet was overtaken with such bad weather, that it was separated; tho', at last, after losing several ships, the rest met together in the *Tagus*; and the earl of *Holland* went to *Lisbon*, to provide materials for refitting them. It was now the middle of *July*, and the *Moors*, at that time, had made an irruption into *Portugal*, where they had seized *Alcazar*, and threatened that kingdom with an absolute conquest. *Alphonsus* the second was then king of *Portugal*, and he luckily bethought himself of availing himself of the armament that had been thrown upon his coasts. He applied to the earl of *Holland*, and represented how impracticable it was for him, at that time of year, to get his ships ready, and to reach *Ptolemais* before the season of action was over; and how much more glorious it would be to assist in expelling the infidels out of *Portugal*. The earl laid this proposal before the great council of the crusade, where it was differently received. The *Frisons*, the *English*, and several other of the northern nations, thought they should be guilty of perjury, should they engage in any expedition but that for which they had taken up the cross; and they immediately set sail, leaving with the earl of *Holland* not above one hundred ships. The earl, however, undertook the siege of *Alcazar*, but without any great prospect of success, till, on the ninth of *September*, he was informed, that a great army of *Andalusian Moors* were within a league of him to relieve the place. The earl immediately attacked and defeated them, notwithstanding their vast superiority of numbers; and then returned to the siege of *Alcazar*, which did not surrender till the twenty-first of *October*, a month after the victory. The pope ordered public thanks to be given for this seasonable service to a *Christian* prince; but informed the earl and his followers, that he could by no means dispense with a performance of their vow, and that he must, at all hazards, set sail, early in the spring, for *Ptolemais*. The earl was all obedience, and, with some difficulty, reached that city in the end of *April*, before any of the adventurers, who had left him, could arrive; they being detained, during all the winter, by cross winds, upon the coast of *Europe*.

Portugal relieved from the infidels.

Upon the arrival of the whole, the king of *Jerusalem*, the duke of *Austria*, and other heads of the crusade, met in a council of war, to deliberate upon their future proceedings. The arms of the great *Jenghiz Kan* began then to make a most terrible impression upon the finest provinces of the *Moslems*. *Al Daher*, who had married *Adel*'s daughter, and was one of the chief supports of the house of *Ayub*, was dead, and had left a son, only of three years of age, to succeed him; by which his dominions were torn in pieces by his brother *Abdel* and the sultan of *Iconium*, who got possession of almost all of them, excepting his capital of *Aleppo*.

Distress of the *Moslems*.

In ſhort, all the great houſes of the *Moſlems*, thoſe of *Zenki*, *Ayub*, *Gazni*, *Seljuk*, *Khowârazm*, and others, were, at this time, either divided amongſt themſelves, or ruined by *Jenghiz Khan*. Upon the whole, therefore, it was thought expedient to attack *Egypt* itſelf, by a vigorous invaſion; and to lay ſiege to *Damiata*, the only place in it that was capable of reſiſting the arms of the cruſaders, and the chief port for all the rich commodities that came to *Egypt* by the *Red Sea*. This city, which was exceſſively ſtrong, was ſituated within a mile from one of the mouths of the *Nile*, on the eaſtern coaſt of its ſecond branch, and about twenty miles diſtant from *Peluſium*. This ſiege being reſolved upon, a general rendezvous was held at *Pilgrims Caſtle*; and, in three days, the van of the fleet, which conſiſted of *Friſons* and *Cologners*, reached *Damiata*, and effected a deſcent without oppoſition, which ſecured the landing of the other adventurers.

Damiata beſieged.

Such were the ſuperſtition and ignorance of the times, that an eclipſe of the moon, which happened about the time when the ſiege was formed, gave the army an undoubted aſſurance of victory over the ſultan. This frantic notion precipitated them to attempt one of the ſtrongeſt towers of the city. It ſtood upon the *Nile*, and could be attacked only by ſhipping; clumſey engines were erected upon their largeſt ſhips; and draw-bridges, placed upon ſcaffolds raiſed as high as the walls, were conſtructed, by which the ſoldiers were to remove from the ſhips to the walls. The attack was undertaken from three of their largeſt ſhips, provided in this manner, by the duke of *Auſtria*, the *Friſons*, the knights of *St. John of Jeruſalem*, and the *Knights Templars*. But the foundation of the ſcaffolding on which the unwieldy machines were erected, giving way in all the ſhips, the attack proved unſucceſsful; and vaſt numbers of the braveſt men in the army tumbling into the river, with all their weighty armour upon them, miſerably periſhed. The beſiegers, however, had better ſucceſs in paſſing by the ſame tower, through the channel of the *Nile*, in their ſhips, by which they became maſters of the navigation above the city, and ruined a bridge which preſerved the communication between the tower and the city. The execution of this attempt had been thought ſo impracticable by the infidels, that they had not ſufficiently provided againſt it, nor was it effected without great danger and ſome loſs.

Progreſs of the ſiege.

Notwithſtanding this ſucceſs, it was plain that the city could not be taken but by the help of the ſhipping; and one *Olivier*, who had been a *German* ſchoolmaſter, but was now a keen cruſader and preacher, undertook to conſtruct a machine, upon two of their largeſt ſhips chained together, that ſhould take the tower. The formation of this machine ſeems greatly to have exceeded the common engineering of thoſe days. It was compoſed of three ſtories; the uppermoſt, which was covered with raw hides, was higher than

Machines to take the place,

the

the walls of the tower; the middle, which was parallel to them, was provided with draw-bridges, to be let down from the uppermoſt ſtory; and the lower ſtory had, in like manner, draw-bridges, to be let down from the middle one, upon which miners and engineers were to be employed in making breaches in the wall. This huge machine was towed by a great ſhip to the place of attack; biſhops and prieſts of all denominations ſtood on the ſhore, fervently praying for its ſucceſs; and, to prevent all jealouſy of preference, drafts were made from every nation who ſerved in the expedition, which were to be put on board the machine; and the whole was to be commanded by *Leopold*, duke of *Auſtria*, who was acknowledged to be the beſt general upon the ſervice.

The beſiegers ſeem not to have been wanting to themſelves in a vigorous defence, but they chiefly truſted to their combuſtibles, which they played ſo furiouſly upon the middle draw-bridge, that it yielded on one ſide, and the duke of *Auſtria*'s ſtandard-bearer fell into the river: but *Olivier* had provided againſt all accidents, and, by the help of his engines, the fire was extinguiſhed, and the machine repaired, ſo that the aſſailants had firm footing on it; and, driving the infidels from their poſts, they planted the *Chriſtian* ſtandards upon the battlements. But, as this glorious action was performed only by a few, while others were endeavouring to follow them, the *Saracens* once more endeavoured to bring their fire machines againſt the draw-bridge, and would have deſtroyed it, had not the miners and ſappers below, who were equally keen and forward, in the mean time made a breach in the walls; by which they entered the tower, and either deſtroyed, or took priſoners, all that were in it.

are ſucceſsful in part,

The chief advantage attending this ſucceſs, was, that the *Chriſtians* were thereby enabled to remove a great chain, or boom, that run acroſs the mouth of the harbour; by which their whole fleet had liberty to attack the city on the ſide of the water. This advantage, however, does not ſeem to have been ſo deciſive as they had imagined. The ſiege had continued a long time, and the action of the late attack had laſted above thirty hours, ſo that the troops, in fact, required ſome repoſe; but, during this repoſe, heats and jealouſies broke in amongſt the commanders; by which they ſlipped the favourable opportunity, their late ſucceſs had given them, of reducing the city.

but the *Chriſtians* get an advantage.

Al Adel, the ſultan of *Egypt*, a man inſatiably ambitious, when the *Chriſtians* firſt landed upon his dominions, was employed in conquering *Aklat*, *Kabar*, and *Niſibin*, and had laid ſiege to *Sanjar* when he received the accounts of the deſcent of the *Chriſtians*, which obliged him to return to the defence of his own dominions. It does not appear that he ſhut himſelf up in *Damiâta*, for he ſeems to have left the defence of that city to his ſon *Al Camel*; to have kep t the field

with an army, and to have employed himſelf in providing for the defence of the reſt of his dominions. It is, however, ſaid, by *Chriſtian* hiſtorians, that he died of grief, upon his hearing of the ſucceſs of the *Chriſtians* againſt *Damiâta*. But there is no manner of occaſion to aſſign any other cauſe for his death than, perpetual fatigue and old age, being in his ſeventy-ſixth year. His character and ſucceſs, as has been already hinted, were pretty much the ſame with thoſe of his brother *Saladin*. After the *Chriſtians* attacked his dominions, he treated his own *Chriſtian* ſubjects with vaſt harſhneſs, contrary to the practice of his ſon *Câmel*, who knew he had nothing to apprehend from them in favour of the invaders. *Adel* left behind him ſeven ſons, and each a ſovereign; *Câmel*, of *Egypt*; *Moadhdhem*, of *Damaſcus*; *Aſhraf*, of *Harran*, *Edeſſa*, and *Aklat*; *Gazi*, of *Mayyafarakin*; *Hefed*, of *Jabar*; *Aziz*, of *Banias*; and *Saleh*, of *Baſra*. We are told he had nine more ſons, all of them excellent princes, beſides daughters.

Death of *Adel*.

Though the ſplendour of *Saladin*, and *Saffadin*'s acquiſitions, have left *Câmel* but a ſecond or third name in this period of the *Moſlem* hiſtory, yet he ſeems to have yielded to neither of them, either in civil or military abilities; and to have exceeded them both, in true wiſdom and moderation. Upon his father's death, he found the inhabitants of his capital of *Cairo* ſo greatly alarmed, by the progreſs of the cruſaders, that they were upon the point of abandoning that city; but, by the meaſures he took to re-aſſure both them, and the reſt of his ſubjects, he not only preſerved them in their duty, but diſpoſed them to a vigorous reſiſtance. He demoliſhed the *Chriſtian* church of *St. Mark*, in the ſuburbs of *Alexandria*, the roof of which was exceſſive high, leſt the *Chriſtians* ſhould, if they attacked that city, have battered it from thence; but above all he ſecured the coaſt of the *Nile*, by rebuilding and fortifying the important city of *Manſurah*, which lies on the ſpot where two branches of that river divide.

Succeeded by *Câmel*.

The inactivity of the *Chriſtians*, during all this time, was amazing; but was partly excuſeable, by the vaſt deſertion which now prevailed amongſt their troops, notwithſtanding all the exhortations and menaces of the clergy. Moſt of the *Friſons*, on whom there was great dependence, and ſix thouſand *French*, in one body, returned to *Europe*; and the *Chriſtian* writers remark, that few of them eſcaped being ſwallowed up in the deep: but, in a ſhort time, through the indefatigable cares of pope *Honorius*, the army received a vaſt ſupply of cruſaders. The cardinal *de Albano*, the pope's legate for the holy war, headed the firſt diviſion, which conſiſted of the nobility of *Rome*. Vaſt numbers came from *France* and *Germany*; and prince *Edward*, eldeſt ſon to *Henry* the third, king of *England*, brought with him ſome excellent troops of *Engliſhmen*. But this reinforce-

Deſertion of the cruſaders.

They are recruited.

ment,

ment, promiſing as it was, inſtead of forwarding, retarded the ſiege, by a freſh diviſion amongſt the *Chriſtians*, which, in the end, proved the ruin of their army; for the pope's legate, *Albano*, a *Spaniſh Benedictine*, had ſecret orders from his maſter, to inſiſt upon commanding the whole army; and entered his claim in a full aſſembly of the princes and generals. *John de Brienne*, as king of *Jeruſalem*, had always been conſidered as the general of the cruſade, which was, indeed, principally undertaken upon his account; and he refuſed to yield the command to the legate. But the latter pertinaciouſly ſupported his claim, by alledging, that his competitor, being king only by permiſſion of the pope, who was at the head of the church, by whom the cruſade was raiſed, the cruſaders were not ſubject to the king of *Jeruſalem*, but to the pope, in whoſe right, as his legate, he demanded the command. This ridiculous diſpute divided the troops; and the haughty prelate perſiſted ſo inflexibly in his claim, that *Brienne*, fearing the loſs of the whole expedition, durſt not peremptorily oppoſe him; and was contented to act in a kind of ſubordinate ſtation to the legate. Inſolence of a legate.

An army thus divided, could make but little progreſs in a great and a difficult undertaking. Moſt of the cruſaders, eaten up as they were with religion, diſdained to be commanded by an ignorant prieſt; while others, who were diſobliged with *Brienne*, ſubmitted to him: and thus the troops, for many months, remained in a ſhameful inaction. This encouraged the infidels, to the number of ten thouſand, according to the *Moſlem* authors, to attack the camp of the *Chriſtians* with prodigious vigour; but, as they ſeem not to have been under any regular command, and had taken the field only for the ſake of plunder, they were repulſed, and the whole of them cut in pieces. The deſtruction of thoſe banditi was rather a relief, than a loſs, to *Câmel*. *Egypt* was this year afflicted with ſcarcity, and the *Chriſtian* fleets, being maſters of the ſea, prevented the inhabitants receiving any ſupplies; ſo that *Câmel* found great difficulty in ſubſiſting his own army and the garriſon of *Damiâta*, which, according to ſome authors, amounted to forty thouſand men. The *Chriſtians*, by a moſt unaccountable fatality, had never yet paſſed the *Nile*, to attack the city upon the land ſide, where *Câmel* lay encamped with his army, which was far more numerous than that of the *Chriſtians*. He had found means to throw a bridge of boats acroſs the river; and, it being ſtrongly guarded at both ends, the difficulty of the army paſſing to the other ſide appeared to be very great, and even inſurmountable. Danger, at laſt, united the *Chriſtians*; and it was reſolved, at all hazards, to attempt the paſſage in their veſſels. But, on the thirtieth of *November*, before they had made their proper diſpoſitions, a moſt dreadful tempeſt aroſe, followed by an inundation which had almoſt overwhelmed the *Chriſtian* army by land, as it actually deſtroyed, Siege of *Damiâta* continued.

ſtroyed ſeveral of their largeſt and beſt ſhips upon the river, by daſhing them againſt the walls of the town; while the deſtruction of others who eſcaped the beſt, was finiſhed by the combuſtibles which played againſt them from the garriſon. The army, however, eſcaped ſomewhat better; for, before the water ſurrounded them, they gained ſome adjacent riſing-grounds, by which they were ſaved. The tempeſt ſubſiding, the *Chriſtian* army purſued their reſolution of paſſing over with the remaining part of the fleet, and landing in ſight of the ſultan. In the mean while, ten brave men of the *Chriſtian* army, performed one of the moſt reſolute actions recorded in hiſtory; for, throwing themſelves into two boats, they rowed directly againſt the bridge of boats, and, notwithſtanding the ſhowers of darts and arrows poured upon them from all hands, they cut the chains and ropes that faſtened the boats together, ſome of which they carried off with them, and thus rendered the bridge uſeleſs. *Câmel*, from the ſhore, beheld this prodigious action; and it is uncertain what effect it had upon him, or whether he thought nothing was impoſſible to be performed by men ſo reſolute and ſo brave. Be this as it will, we are told, by *Chriſtian* writers, that, while the cruſaders were embarking, to paſs the river, *Câmel* was ſeized with ſuch a pannic, that he abandoned his army, and poſted to *Cairo*; upon which, his troops, thinking themſelves betrayed, diſbanded themſelves.

Câmel retires to *Cairo*.

The news of this fortunate event was brought to the *Chriſtians* by a *Chriſtian* renegade; but, though they found it to be true, and though no enemy oppoſed them, yet they had great difficulty in landing, eſpecially the cavalry, through the ſteepneſs of the banks, and the depth of the mud. There is ground, however, for believing, that *Câmel* had other reaſons than fear for going to *Cairo*; he was then forming a confederacy of all the princes of the houſe of *Ayub* and their allies; and the people of *Cairo*, as hath been already hinted, were upon the point of abandoning that capital for fear of the *Chriſtians*. Such probably were the reaſons that determined *Câmel*; and thoſe become the more probable, when we underſtand, that he was abſent but a few days, and returned to the relief of the place with a far greater army than he had before, having been joined by the troops of his brother *Moadhdhem*; the prince of *Damaſcus*. But *Câmel*, notwithſtanding his vaſt ſuperiority of numbers, was apprehenſive that the *Chriſtians* muſt, at laſt, carry their point. He had certain intelligence, that moſt of the garriſon of *Damiâta* had periſhed by famine, diſeaſes, and the ſword; and, that the remainder were ſo much reduced by ſickneſs, that they could not long hold out. He knew, that nothing could withſtand his enemies, if *Damiâta* was taken; and, though he had no regard for *Jeruſalem*, he foreſaw, that, fortified as it was, if it fell into their hands, their poſ-

ſeſſion

ſeſſion of it might endanger his whole empire, there being now, as in *Saladin*'s time, no ſingle prince ſo powerful, as to be able to wreſt it from them; the arms of *Jenghiz Khan* having already ſubdued moſt of the provinces of the old khalifat. Theſe conſiderations prevailed with him to cauſe his brother *Moadhdhem*, over whom, and his other brothers, he had, by his father's laſt will, ſome ſuperiority, to demoliſh the fortifications of *Jeruſalem*, which was done about this time, all, excepting the tower of *David*. Being then joined by the garriſon of *Jeruſalem*, and the garriſons of all other places which were leſs tenable, he ſeized all the advantageous poſts round the *Chriſtian* encampment; which he fortified to ſuch advantage, that, without hazarding much, he, in a manner, beſieged the beſiegers. It was lucky for the latter, that their numbers were every day increaſed by freſh cruſaders from *Europe*; for the unwholeſomeneſs of their ſituation, and ſcorbutic diſorders, had deſtroyed great numbers of them; and *Moadhdhem*, whom *Chriſtian* writers call *Koradham*, was a very enterprizing general; for, not contented with keeping on the defenſive, he, ſeveral times, attacked the lines of the *Chriſtians*, and, in one attack, would have forced them, upon a *Palm Sunday*, had he not been repelled by the duke of *Auſtria*; who, ſoon after, returned to *Europe*, and was followed by great numbers of the braveſt cruſaders.

The lines of the *Chriſtians* attacked.

But *Câmel* and his brother ſeem to have committed ſome overſights upon this occaſion, by reducing the *Chriſtians* to a ſtate of deſpair, and yet attacking them. Had they kept entirely upon the defenſive, they muſt have been ruined, as they lay before the moſt impregnable part of the town; but, on the laſt of *July*, *Moadhdhem* ventured a general engagement, in which, at firſt, he had a great probability of ſucceſs on his ſide; and the *Chriſtian* army had been deſtroyed, had it not been for the valour of the *Engliſh* troops, who ſnatched the victory out of *Moadhdhem*'s hands, and gave the reſt of their army time to rally. But *Moadhdhem*, encouraged by a ſally of the garriſon, which, with their combuſtibles, did great damage to the beſiegers works, renewed the attack three ſeveral times; and was as often repulſed, with vaſt ſlaughter. In the mean while, the *Venetians*, the *Genoeſe*, and the *Piſans*, who had the charge of the *Chriſtian* marine, attacked the city with their ſhips, carrying towers, and galleries, moſt of which were deſtroyed by the *Egyptian* combuſtibles, called, by the *Chriſtian* writers, *Greek Wildfire*; ſo that they were obliged to deſiſt, with great loſs, from the attack.

They are ſaved by the *Engliſh*

Though *Moadhdhem* was thus repulſed, yet the *Chriſtians* could not boaſt of a victory. They ſaw themſelves ſurrounded by the ſame calamitous circumſtances, as before the battle. This misfortune was aggravated by a diſſention that aroſe between the infantry and cavalry of the army:

Diſſentions amongſt the cruſaders.

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the latter, being moſt of them noblemen or gentlemen, thought themſelves exempted from the ſeverer parts of duty; while the former complained of bearing all the fatigues of the field. Their diſputes terminated in a moſt abſurd appeal to the ſword, and both parties agreed to attack the enemy, in order to adjudge the prize to either. It was in vain for the princes, and heads of the army, to repreſent how impracticable the attempt was, for they were obliged to yield, and to lead their troops on to action. It proved, as had been foreſeen, unfortunate, and the retreat of the *Chriſtians* to their camp muſt have been cut off, had it not been for the valour of the *Engliſh*, and the *French* ſubjects of the king of *England*, which ſtopped their purſuit, and forced the barbarians to retire in their turn: the *Chriſtians*, however, in this frantic attempt, loſt ſix thouſand of their beſt troops, beſides a great number of illuſtrious priſoners.

who are defeated.

About this period, arrived in the *Chriſtian* camp, one of thoſe aſtoniſhing prodigies of enthuſiaſm, that were ſo common in that age. This was the famous ſaint *Francis of Aſſiſe*. He had, by this time, eſtabliſhed his order, and had now no farther ambition than to make converts, and merit the crown of martyrdom: and, with this view, he and his companion *Illuminatus*, ſet out for the *Egyptian* camp. He was, perhaps, encouraged in this frantic extravagance by the character of *Câmel*, who, even in his father's life-time, was thought too favourable to the *Chriſtians*; and, upon this occaſion, he was far from declining an interview with the two enthuſiaſts. They offered to prove the truth of the *Chriſtian* religion, by throwing themſelves into the flames, and coming out unhurt, if the imans of *Mohammed* would ſtand the ſame teſt. *Câmel* ſmiled at their extravagance; and ſaint *Francis* then offered to go into the flames by himſelf. The ſultan told him he did not want ſo dangerous a proof of the truth of his miſſion; he then commended his zeal, and finding the ſaint, in other reſpects than that of enthuſiaſm, an acute, ſenſible man, he endeavoured to convince him, how much it would be for the advantage of the *Chriſtians* to abandon the ſiege of *Damiata*. But all his arguments would have made little impreſſion, had he not offered them to give up *Jeruſalem* and *Paleſtine*, with the original holy croſs; and that he would releaſe all the *Chriſtian* priſoners he had. The ſaint then began not to diſlike the terms, and *Câmel* had generoſity enough, not only to overlook his enthuſiaſm, but to admit him into ſome degree of familiarity; and, after loading him with magnificent preſents, he ſent him back to the camp of the *Chriſtians*. To give a farther proof of his ſincerity, *Câmel* had ordered all the *Chriſtian* priſoners that had been taken during the ſiege, to be treated with the utmoſt humanity, and releaſed, without demanding any ranſom, the moſt illuſtrious amongſt them, after making them ſenſible of the equity of his propoſals;

Enthuſiaſm of ſaint *Francis de Aſſiſe*.

poſals; which he ſent, in writing, to the following purpoſe: "That he would reſtore to them the true croſs that "was taken by *Salahadin* at the battle of *Tiberias*; that he "would reſtore to the king all that he held in the realm "of *Jeruſalem*, and that he would give ſo much money as "ſhould be ſufficient to rebuild the walls of that city, and "put it into the ſame condition it was in before. That he "would releaſe all the priſoners that had been taken in "*Egypt* and *Syria*, not only during this, but all the pre-"ceding wars; that the ſtrong-holds of *Thoron*, of *Sephet*, "and *Beaufort*, ſhould be ſurrendered to the *Chriſtians*, in "the ſame condition which they are now in; and, in ſhort, "that he would keep nothing but the two cities of *Carac*, "and *Montreal*, on the other ſide of *Jordan*, in regard they "were neceſſary for the ſecurity of the pilgrims which "ſhould travel to *Mecca*; and that theſe two cities ſhould "alſo be, in ſome ſort, under the authority of the king of "*Jeruſalem*, by paying him a moderate acknowledgement "of tribute, during the time of the peace, or truce." Terms propoſed by *Câmel*,

Nothing, but the moſt ſtupid infatuation, could have prevented theſe propoſals, which were likewiſe ſigned by *Moadhdhem*, from being immediately accepted of; but they were oppoſed by the legate and the clergy. It was in vain for the king of *Jeruſalem*, and the other heads of the expedition, to repreſent, that they contained all they were fighting for; and that, if they ſhould take *Damiata*, which was very uncertain, if not improbable, they would be glad to exchange it for *Jeruſalem*, without which all their labour was loſt, and that the blood of ſo many brave men ought to be ſpared. The legate and his creatures would hear no reaſoning on this head, they inſiſted upon it, that infidels were not to be truſted, that all their propoſals were deluſive, that in fact, they offered no more than what would ſoon be their own by force of arms; and that, as to the holy croſs, it was certain that *Salhadin* had deſtroyed it. The princes, and all the men of ſenſe, would not have regarded this fooliſh reaſoning, had not the party of the legate, who continued to act as general of the whole army, been too ſtrong; they, therefore, deſiſted from their opinion, and the operations of the war recommenced, with more vigour than ever. are oppoſed by the legate. The war continued.

By this time, the city was, in a manner, depopulated, by famine and peſtilence; and *Câmel*, whom the *Popiſh* writers abſurdly pretend ſaint *Francis* had converted and baptized, upon his having offered his body to the fire, found that he could give it no relief. There was a particular tower, upon which the battering engines of the *Chriſtians* had made a breach, and the legate, taking advantage of a dark, tempeſtuous night, ordered the king to ſtorm it: he obeyed; but his troops found no reſiſtance, though they had two other walls to maſter before they could take the place, and, next morning, the *Chriſtian* ſtandards were ſeen flying upon *Damiata* taken at laſt.

upon the battlements of *Damiata*, after a ſiege of near two years. When the *Chriſtians* entered the city, they could eaſily account for their meeting with no reſiſtance; for of eighty thouſand men, of which the garriſon and inhabitants conſiſted, not above three thouſand were left alive; and, of thoſe, not above one hundred could ſtand to their arms: the houſes were filled, and the ſtreets were covered, with unburied dead. It is ſaid, however, that the beſieged, before their deaths, had taken ſo good care to conceal their treaſures, that the plunder of the city was not ſo conſiderable as might have been expected. The legate-general ordered it to be depoſited in a common bank, but the moſt conſiderable part of it was in maſſy veſſels of gold and ſilver, rich ſtuffs and jewels; for there was not above one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds found in ready money, and that ſum was diſtributed equally amongſt the troops. The *Chriſtians*, then, with great difficulty, and danger of peſtilence, buried the dead, cleaned the city, and converted its moſt magnificent moſque into a church. After this, the city was, by conſent, or, rather, order, of the legate, annexed for ever to the crown of *Jeruſalem*; and the fleet proceeded up the *Nile*, in purſuit of farther conqueſts, till they came to *Taniticus*, a very ſtrong fortreſs, which they took without reſiſtance; ſuch an impreſſion had the taking of *Damiata* made upon the ſpirits of the *Egyptians*. But we are now to return to other parts of the *Moſlem* hiſtory.

Affairs of the *Moſlems*.

It appears as if *Câmel* had engaged his brother *Moadhdhem* more cloſely in his intereſt, by giving up to him all the ready money that was found in their father's treaſury, together with all his jewels, horſes, arms, and furniture, and the peaceable poſſeſſion of *Damaſcus*. But the ſame unanimity did not prevail amongſt the other *Moſlem* princes. *Mohammed*, the emperor of *Khoroârazm*, was, at this time, exceſſively powerful, but had failed in his duty to the khalif *Naſer*, the ſupreme pontiff of the *Moſlems*; for this reaſon the khalif, as pope of *Aſia*, gave his dominions, by patent, and juriſdiction, to *Shahbâoddîn*, the *Garian* ſultan, who had carried his arms into *India*, where he had made vaſt conqueſts. This brought on a war between him and *Mohammed*, in which the latter was victorious; and *Shâhaboddîn* being murdered by aſſaſſins, *Mohammed* made himſelf maſter of *Gaſna*, the capital of his empire, and its archives; amongſt which he found the khalif's patent in favour of *Shahâboddîn*, making him a preſent of his dominions. This ſtriking evidence of the khalif's inſolence, exaſperated the *Khowarâſmian*, who was now the moſt powerful prince of all the antient khalifat. He ſeems never to have recognized the power of the khalif, and, his rebelling in this reſpect, is mentioned as one of the reaſons for giving away his empire. *Mohammed*, to be revenged, ordered all the imans and doctors in his dominions to be aſſembled. We have often,

often, in the course of this history, mentioned the great party of the *Moslems* who acknowledged no other lawful khalifs than the descendants of the khalif *Ali*. *Mohammed* having, in his dominions, a prince who was, or pretended to be, descended lineally from *Hosein*, the second son of *Ali*; his name was *Termedi*: and the question laid before the assembly was, whether the house of *Ali*, or that of *Al Abbas*, had the preferable right to the khalifat? It was given for the former. The khalif of *Baghdat* was declared an usurper, both in spirituals and temporals. The violations of the *Mohammedan* law, that had been committed by his predecessors and him, were enumerated, and both he and they were declared to have been the authors of many unjust wars, which their ambition had excited amongst the *Moslems*. For all which reasons he was deposed, and *Termedi*, otherwise called *Alaóddin*, was substituted in his place. After this, he raised an army of no fewer than three hundred thousand men, and put it in motion against *Baghdat*, that he might make himself master of that city, and the person of the khalif. *Naser* was then very old, and, though he kept up his dignity to the full, and was, in fact, a very powerful prince, he thought himself too weak to encounter the *Kowârasmian*. He, therefore, sent a nobleman of his court to make an apology, and to put the best construction he could upon what had happened. But *Mohammed* was so much incensed, that he refused to see the ambassador, and dismissed him without an audience. The khalif, old as he was, received the news of this affront with vast indignation, and put the fortifications and city of *Baghdad* in the best state of defence he could. But while the *Kowârasmian* was advancing through the mountains of *Hamadam*, where there was no shelter for his army, a most prodigious snow fell; so that his troops, being neither able to advance or retire, perished, for the most part, by cold and famine; and *Mohammed* himself was obliged to retire, with the loss not only of the greatest part of his army, but of all his baggage. This misfortune, instead of daunting, exasperated *Mohammed* so much, that he made greater preparations than ever for attacking the khalif early the next season; but he was prevented by the arms of *Jonghiz Khan*.

Rebellion against the khalif of *Baghdat*.

His remarkable deliverance.

In the 615th year of the Hejra, which answers to the 1218th year of our computation, died the famous *Azzóddin*, of the house of *Zenki*, and prince of *Mawsel*. There never had been a good understanding, since the death of *Nured-din*, between the *Zenki* and the *Ayub* princes. *Azzóddin*, therefore, chose *Bedróddin Luli*, the wisest subject of his dominions, to be his son's guardian. *Bedróddin* acted with such prudence in this trust, that he disappointed the ambition of *Amadoddin*, the young prince's uncle, who sought to usurp the throne of *Mawsel*. In this, he was assisted by the authority of the khalif of *Baghdat*, who sent the young prince

Death of *Azzóddin* of *Mawsel*.

prince a patent of inveſtiture, and confirmed *Bedroddin* in his poſt; ſending them, at the ſame time, the robes of their ſeveral dignities. But *Cûcberi*, or *Cûcabri*, one of the young prince's generals, joined *Amadoddin*, and delivered into his hands ſeveral ſtrong places belonging to *Mawſel*; upon which, *Bedróddin* was obliged to apply for aſſiſtance to *Aſhraf*, brother to *Câmel*, and prince of *Aklat*. *Aſhraf* threatened *Cûcberi*; but the latter could not be prevailed upon to lay down his arms, till *Naſer*, the khalif of *Baghdat*, joining with *Aſhraf*, an accommodation amongſt all parties was at laſt brought about; but not till after a battle had been fought, in which both parties claimed the victory. It was about this time, that, we are told, the khalif *Naſer*, underſtanding what great preparations were making againſt him by the ſultan of *Kowarazm*, applied privately to *Jonghiz Khan*, encouraging him to march againſt *Kowarazm*; but this fact has been denied by ſome hiſtorians; nor, indeed, is there any ſtrong foundation for it, as the ambition and fortune of *Jenghiz Khan* were ſufficient motives for his attacking the moſt powerful of the *Moſlem* princes.

and of the prince of *Amed*.

Next year, died the prince of *Amed*, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Maſud*; who was diſpoſſeſſed of his territories by the arms of the ſultan of *Egypt*. *Mecca*, at this time, was governed by an old prince, or emir, named *Kitada*; but age, though he was now ninety, had not taken from him his ambition: he ſent his brother, and his ſon *Hoſan*, to reduce *Medina*. By the courſe of the *Moſlem* hiſtory, we can regard this as no other than a downright rebellion againſt the khalif of *Baghdat*, who was either virtually, or actually, (but, moſt probably, both) the ſovereign of thoſe two cities at this time; but, as we have often had occaſion to obſerve, ſultans and ſovereigns were obliged to govern by deputies, which ſeldom failed, in a few years, to render themſelves independent of their principals. Upon what motives *Kitada*'s ſon proceeded, whether thoſe of ambition, or principle, (for nothing is too barbarous for enthuſiaſm to commit) we know not; but he murdered his uncle upon his march, and, returning immediately to *Mecca*, he ſtrangled his father. It was about this time that the khalif of *Baghdat* was delivered from the power of his dreadful enemy the ſultan of *Khowarazm*, whom *Jenghiz Khan* utterly overthrew in battle. But the life of the khalif *Naſer* now grew near an end.

Affairs of *Arabia*.

Affairs of the khalif *Naſer*.

The vaſt ſcenes of action that opened in his time, between the cruſaders on the one hand, and the *Tartars* under *Jenghiz Khan* on the other, have engroſſed the attention of hiſtory ſo much, that it has taken but little notice of him, compared to the rank and the power he held in the *Moſlem* ſtate. When he grew very old, he went into dotage, and was governed by his women; one of them, *Setti Naſim*, in concert with an eunuch, counterfeited his hand ſo artfully, that,

that, without consulting him, they dispatched the most important affairs of the empire. None were admitted into the secret of their practices but a *Christian* physician of *Baghdad*, named *Abul Caram*, who, being a man of some conscience, discovered to the khalif the abuses of his government, and the counterfeiting his name in writing by his mistress and the eunuch. The khalif, old and almost blind as he was, discovered great marks of resentment at this discovery; and the guilty parties, sensible that no other than the physician could have given the information, hired assassins, who murdered him upon the streets of *Baghdad*. We know of no punishment which the principals in this murder met with, but we are told that the assassins themselves were put to most cruel deaths.

The khalif *Naser*, before his death, was greatly puzzled about the choice of his successor. He had two sons fit for government; the eldest, *Dhaher*, being advanced in years, his primogeniture gave him the preference; and, the khalif having nominated him for his successor, all the nobility of *Baghdad* recognized his title: but *Dhaher* became so presuming and insolent upon this high honour, that his father found himself under a necessity of reducing him to a private station, and even putting him under an arrest. He then nominated his younger son, *Ali*, for his successor; but that prince dying, *Naser* again nominated his elder son, *Dhaher*, to the succession, but he still kept him in prison.

In the year of the Hejra 622, died the khalif *Naser*, in the seventieth year of his age, and the fortieth of his reign; so that he was the oldest khalif that ever sat upon the throne. Though we know only a few particulars concerning him, yet it appears, in general, that he understood extremely well all the arts of government; and, in a great measure, brought the khalifat back to its antient authority, though he never could retrieve its dominions. He was, however, at the time of his death, a very powerful prince; and, by his wisdom, he supported his character of khalif to the utmost extent. That he was no bigot in his religion, appears from his employing *Christians* about his person; nor do we know of any severities they underwent in his dominions. But his memory does not escape uncensured, for he is said to have been rapacious and avaricious; and he was the first khalif who made himself heir to all the foreign merchants who died in his dominions. Hejra 622. A. D. 1225. His death and character.

Khalif Al Dhaher, *the thirty-ſeventh khalif of the houſe of* Al Abbas.

He is ſucceeded by his ſon *Dhaher*.

THIS khalif was in priſon at the time of his father's death, and, being pretty far ſtriken in years, when he was conducted to his coronation, he wittily obſerved, that it was very extraordinary for a perſon to open a ſhop in the evening. We know little more of him than that his virtues ſeem to have created his father's averſion for him. The people of *Baghdad*, notwithſtanding the perſecutions of his father, loved him extremely; and, during the ſhort time he reigned, he proved a moſt amiable prince. In his reign *Jalaloddin* made himſelf maſter of *Perſia*, the arms of the great *Jenghiz Khan* being then turned towards *Tartary* and *China*. This *Jalaloddin* married the widow of the prince *Adherbijan*, who was daughter to *Togrol Bek*, the laſt prince of the *Seljukian* dinaſty; and he arrived to ſuch a power as to give umbrage to the khalif of *Baghdad*. *Dhaher* employed the ſhort time he lived in relieving his ſubjects from the hardſhips his father had impoſed upon them. He not only remitted ſome of their moſt ſevere taxes, but reſtored the properties of a great many whom his father had robbed, and built a moſt magnificent bridge over the *Tygris* at *Baghdad*. He died after he had ſate upon the *Moſlem* throne no more than nine months and ſixteen days.

His character and death.

Al Moſtanſer, *the thirty-eighth khalif of the houſe of* Al Abbas.

He is ſucceeded by *Al Moſtanſer*.

ALL that was great, amiable, and polite, in the khalifs whoſe hiſtories we have wrote, centered in this prince. His father and grandfather left him immenſe treaſures, which were depoſited in a vaſt baſon; and, though the following ſtory may at this time appear romantic, yet, when we conſider that, beſides the vaſt revenues belonging to the khalifat itſelf, all the princes of the Eaſt were the khalif's tributaries, it is not incredible. One day, *Moſtanſer*, attended by a particular friend, viſited this huge baſon, or rather reſervoir; and, ſeeing it brim-full of riches, "My friend," ſaid he, "can I flatter myſelf with the hopes of living ſo long as to be able to ſpend all this treaſure?" "Sir," replied the other, with a ſmile, "I remember, ſome years ago, your grand-father and I viſited this very baſon, and he aſked me, with a ſigh, Whether he could flatter himſelf with the hopes of living till he could fill it; for the money, at that time, had not reached the brim by twelve feet: ſo anxious

anxious was he to fill it, and ſo anxious are you to empty it."

A prince, ſo liberal, ſo powerful, and ſo magnificent, as *Moſtanſer* was, had been long unknown at *Baghdad*. This gave him vaſt popularity, and he loſt no opportunity of improving it. Upon his being recognized, the very day of his father's death, by the nobility and the army at *Baghdad*, he mounted on horſeback, and appeared in public; a practice which he continued for many days, and which, joined to his vaſt munificence, endeared him to his people: but the greateſt glory of his reign was the great number of public edifices which he erected with a more than princely munificence. The glory and improvement of the *Mahometan* religion, were, it is true, his principal objects; but that conſideration ought not to detract from the merit of his vaſt liberality. He erected a college, which, for magnificence and endowments, exceeded any of thoſe built and founded by his predeceſſors. In this college four profeſſors, for the four orthodox *Moſlem* ſects, were provided for, together with three hundred ſtudents, who, beſides pecuniary appointments, were ſupplied by his munificence with all the elegancies of living. He even improved upon the grandeur of his anceſtors, for he erected hoſpitals and infirmaries, and gave penſions to phyſicians, apothecaries, and ſurgeons, to attend the members of this college. He accommodated it with beautiful gardens; and, to crown all, he had adjoining to it a gallery, or an apartment, built for himſelf, from whence he often ſlipt into the public rooms and heard the diſputations. His great character.

The demolition of the walls of *Jeruſalem*, by *Moadhdhem*, the prince of *Damaſcus*, at the order of *Câmel*, the ſultan of *Egypt*, gave vaſt umbrage to the *Chriſtian* powers, particularly thoſe of the Eaſt. The *Georgians*, as we have already obſerved, had always profeſſed a kind of *Chriſtianity*, and their ignorance of its true principles rendered them, perhaps, more fierce and zealous. The ſucceſs of the cruſaders in taking *Damiata*, the great barrier of *Egypt*, emboldened them to offer to join with the cruſaders in their expedition: but, unfortunately for the cruſaders, diviſions ſtill prevailed in their army; which prevented their making any progreſs, but what we have already mentioned, after their taking *Damiata*. The reader is here to obſerve, that every *European*, who took the croſs upon him, made a vow that he would ſerve in the expedition for a certain time; and, when that time was elapſed, he conſidered himſelf as being abſolved from his vow. The vaſt length of the ſiege of *Damiata*, and the long inactivity occaſioned by diſputes among themſelves, had now finiſhed the vows of moſt of the original undertakers in this cruſade; ſo that, at the time we now treat of, vaſt numbers had returned to *Europe*. This deſertion, together with the ravages of war, and diſeaſes, weakened the The *Georgians* offer to join the *Chriſtians*.

Chriſtian army ſo much, that, after their altercations were ſomewhat pacified, they found themſelves unable to undertake any thing of great importance. This melancholy proſpect renewed their diviſions. *Brienne*, king of *Jeruſalem*, diſguſted with the haughtineſs and imperious behaviour of the legate, to whom he had all along acted as his ſubſtitute, withdrew from the army, upon pretext of repelling the invaſions of the infidels upon the poſſeſſions of the *Chriſtians* in *Paleſtine*; and of ſecuring the ſucceſſion of *Leon* the *Armenian* prince, who had been lately dead, to the prince of *Antioch*. Upon his retreat, the cruſaders became feeble and diſpirited; nor could all the zeal of the legate and the clergy rouſe them to undertake any thing of importance during all the ſummer. It is probable that *Câmel* was well acquainted with their diviſions and their weakneſs, for we know of no attempts he made againſt them during that time.

Diviſions amongſt the cruſaders,

The zeal of pope *Honorius*, in part, ſupplied for all the misfortunes of the *Chriſtians* in *Egypt* and the *Holy Land*. Though he had great differences with *Frederic* II. emperor of *Germany*, and had even excommunicated him, yet he forgot them all, to engage that prince to fulfil the vow he had made to ſerve in the cruſade. *Frederic* was a very accompliſhed monarch, and profeſſed a great deal of the character of *Cæſar*, but had the weakneſs of the time, a paſſion for cruſading. According to the beſt authors, *John de Brienne*, though highly diſguſted with the carriage and conduct of the legate, durſt not reſiſt the commands of the pope, to return to the army, and ſerve as his lieutenant-general under the legate. His compliance was, however, in a great meaſure, owing to the aſſurances given him by his holineſs, that the emperor *Frederic* II. and all the princes of *Germany*, with the moſt conſiderable powers of *Europe*, were preparing to ſerve in the cruſade. Accordingly, the duke of *Bavaria*, with a noble army of *Germans* and *Italians*, attended by a very powerful fleet, appeared at *Damiata*, before *Brienne*, the king of *Jeruſalem*, had rejoined the *Chriſtian* army.

who are recruited from *Europe*.

The legate, in his youth, had been prepoſſeſſed with an idle traditional prophecy, that a *Spaniard* was to expel the infidels out of *Paleſtine*. This notion mounted into his brain; he imagined himſelf to be that glorious *Spaniard*, and, being naturally martial, he impatiently waited for ſome opportunity of ſtriking a great blow againſt the *Egyptians* before *De Brienne* could join the army; and in this he was encouraged by ſeeing himſelf at the head of ſeventy thouſand fine troops, and ſupported by a moſt formidable fleet. He called a council of war, the majority of which was compoſed of eccleſiaſtics, and propoſed marching directly againſt *Cairo*, the capital of *Egypt*. The eccleſiaſtics aſſented to this propoſition; but the duke of *Bavaria*, and the other great commanders, were againſt undertaking any thing before the arrival

Idle prepoſſeſſions of the legate.

arrival of *De Brienne*, who was, on all hands, acknowledged to be a moſt accompliſhed general.

Câmel, in the mean while, acted with wonderful judgment and moderation. Accompanied by his two brothers, the ſultans of *Damaſcus* and *Aleppo*, with the other princes of the houſe of *Ayub*, he left *Cairo*, and encamped a little above the place where the *Peluſiac* and *Tanitic* branches of the *Nile* commence and ſeparate from the great channel. Here he entrenched himſelf ſtrongly, and built a fortreſs, which he called *New Damiata*; and built bridges over both the branches; by one of which he preſerved his communication with his capital, and by the other he was enabled to harraſs the *Chriſtians* to the very gates of *Damiata*. Moderation of *Camel*.

Such was the ſituation of *Camel*'s army, when the king of *Jeruſalem*, in conſequence of the pope's orders, returned to the *Chriſtian* camp at *Damiata*. A new council of war, upon the former ſubject, was then held; and the king gave it, as his opinion, that they could not proceed againſt *Câmel* without hazarding the loſs of the whole *Chriſtian* army; but that, as they were poſſeſſed of the two ſtrongeſt places in *Egypt*, they ought to leave them ſufficiently garriſoned, and proceed to the conqueſt of *Jeruſalem*. But the legate, ſupported by all the eccleſiaſtics, and almoſt all the lately arrived cruſaders, oppoſed, as uſual, the king's opinion. He pretended that *Câmel*'s army could not withſtand that of the *Chriſtians*; that *Cairo* was an open city, which would fall of courſe into their hands, and that the conqueſt of all *Egypt* muſt inevitably follow; which muſt infallibly ſecure to them *Paleſtine* and *Jeruſalem*, the two great objects of their vows. The imperious prieſt ſupported this wild reaſoning with menaces of excommunication againſt all who ſhould oppoſe it; which made the boldeſt there tremble. It was a delicate point for the king of *Jeruſalem*; he ſaw the greateſt part of the army upon the legate's ſide, and he was afraid of being thought too ſelf-intereſted if he ſhould perſiſt in his own opinion, and therefore gave it up againſt his better judgment; but not till after he had apprized the aſſembly of the dangers they run from the ſwelling of the *Nile* at ſuch a ſeaſon; and, that the taking of *Cairo* could, in no degree, advance their conqueſt of *Jeruſalem*. Progreſs of the war.

The march being thus reſolved upon, the fleet, which was excellently provided and equipped, was ordered to proceed up the *Tanitic* branch of the *Nile*, that it might be at hand to furniſh the army with all neceſſaries; and the cruſaders continued their march between that and the *Peluſian* branch. This was the very movement which *Camel*, who well knew the country, wanted them to make; and it was with that view he had pitched his camp where he did. He had poſted parties all along the flanks of the *Chriſtian* army, but they gave it no diſturbance, for they retired as faſt as the *Chriſtians* advanced. This made the legate imagine that they

were not able to withſtand him; and they proceeded to the very angle of the *Nile*, where, on the other ſide of the *Peluſian* branch, *Camel* lay encamped with a very numerous army.

But, notwithſtanding all the wiſe precautions of that ſultan, the ſtrength of his ſituation, and the difficulty of paſſing the *Nile*, he no ſooner ſaw the excellent order in which the *Chriſtians* advanced, and the vaſt numbers that compoſed their army, than he was filled with a thouſand apprehenſions: he was no ſtranger to their courage, and he had ſeen them perform exploits, even greater than that, which was before them. For theſe reaſons, but above all to gain time, he had again recourſe to the methods of negociation; and, to all the former offers he had made to the cruſaders, he added that of leaving them in the poſſeſſion of *Damiata*, and a territory of ſix leagues every way round it. Thus the *Chriſtians* had it in their power, without the effuſion of a drop of blood, to have ſecured to themſelves a large ſhare of the trade of the Eaſt, and to have laid the foundations of an empire that, in time, muſt have given laws to all *Aſia*. But the greater conceſſions *Camel*'s moderation induced him to make, the more averſe was the infatuated legate from accepting them. He treated them all as the effects of terror, and, aſſuming now a deſpotic power over the whole army, he inſiſted upon its paſſing the *Nile*, and coming to a general engagement.

The delay which *Camel*'s propoſitions had made, accompliſhed his deſign. He had guarded the practicable paſſes of the *Nile* ſo ſtrongly, that the *Chriſtians* could not make their paſſage good, and every day the river was ſwelling; while all that the *Chriſtians* could do, was to ſend a few ineffectual arrows and darts againſt the infidels on the other ſide. In this inactive ſtate, the cruſaders lay for a whole month, till, by the ſwelling of the *Niſle*, the paſſage of it was rendered, not only impracticable but impaſſable for an army, their fleet continuing to ply upon the *Tanitic* ſide. The diſtreſs of the *Chriſtian* army was increaſed by the ſultan ordering the ſluices of the *Nile* to be opened, by which the whole army was brought into the moſt imminent danger of periſhing. About the ſame time, the ſwelling of the *Nile* having enabled *Camel* to bring up his ſhips, they unexpectedly attacked thoſe of the *Chriſtians*, and, by the aſſiſtance of their combuſtibles, they deſtroyed the greateſt part of them, and forced the reſt to retire to the port of *Damiata*.

Farther moderation of *Camel*, who ſaves the *Chriſtians*.

It is extremely difficult to account for the reaſons that influenced *Camel*'s conduct upon this occaſion, when his enemies lay at his mercy, and might have been deſtroyed without his riſquing the life of any one man. Perhaps humanity, as he was a mild and generous prince, and far from being averſe to the *Chriſtian* religion, influenced him to ſpare the lives of ſo many brave men, who acted upon principle, however,

however they might be miſtaken. He perhaps was influenced by other conſiderations; for *Damiata*, which was the key of his empire, was ſtill in the hands of the *Chriſtians*; and he was no ſtranger to the vaſt preparations that were making in *Europe* againſt him, and which might endanger his empire, ſhould he exaſperate the new cruſaders, by ſuffering the *Chriſtian* army to periſh. Whatever may be in this reaſoning, it is certain, that, when the *Chriſtians* were reduced to the very brink of deſtruction, *Câmel*, with equal wiſdom and magnanimity, offered to treat with them. His propoſal met with a joyful acceptance on the part of the *Chriſtians*, and a truce for eight years was concluded upon the following moderate terms. Firſt, That the *Chriſtians* ſhould immediately deliver up to *Câmel Damiata*, with all its diſtricts. Secondly, That there ſhould be a reciprocal releaſe of priſoners on both ſides. Some *Chriſtian* writers have added to theſe conditions, that *Câmel* engaged himſelf to deliver up the true croſs; but this article, ſuppoſing it to have been true, might have been eaſily fulfilled, by giving them any piece of common wood.

His politeneſs and humanity.

Câmel detained the king of *Jeruſalem*, the legate, and the duke of *Bavaria*, as hoſtages for the performance of this treaty; and loſt no time in appearing before the gates of *Damiata*, which the garriſon, after ſome difficulty, ſurrendered upon ſeeing thoſe illuſtrious hoſtages. He then treated the princes of the cruſade with extraordinary humanity and politeneſs; for he not only ordered the ſluices of the *Nile* to be ſhut up, that their march might be commodious, but ſent his own ſon to attend the princes, and furniſh them with whatever was neceſſary and convenient for their entertainment, till they could return to *Phœnicia*.

Character of *Frederic* emperor of *Germany*.

This truce was communicated to the *European* princes by the grand maſter of the *Teutonic* order, and ſtruck them all with inexpreſſible grief. Pope *Honorius* continued his indefatigable zeal to retrieve the misfortunes of the cruſaders, but carried it much farther than was conſiſtent with common prudence. The emperor, *Frederic* II. was haughty, ſelf-intereſted, and politic; but the only power in *Europe* who could retrieve the affairs of the *Chriſtians* in the Eaſt; being then about thirty years of age, and eſteemed the greateſt warrior in *Europe*. He had been long embroiled with the pope upon temporal matters, but his having taken on him the croſs, rendered things between them for ſome time eaſy. The news of the loſs of *Damiata* made their differences break out afreſh; and his holineſs was ſo ill adviſed as to charge *Frederic* with being the author of all the misfortunes that had happened to the *Chriſtians* in the Eaſt. *Frederic*, to the other great qualities he poſſeſſed, had added a very uncommon ſhare of erudition; by which he had acquired a total contempt for the pope's authority, in temporals as well as ſpirituals. His anſwer was haughty, and the

pope's reply imprudent to the laſt degree; for he threatened him with excommunication, if he did not inſtantly embark for the *Holy Land* with an army ſufficient to drive the infidels out of *Paleſtine*. *Frederic*, upon this, made an appeal to all *Europe*, whether, by the fleets and forces he had already ſent to *Damiata*, he had not ſufficiently anſwered the purpoſes of his vow; and immediately invaded the dominions of the church. The pope, ſtruck and intimidated by his reſolution, deſiſted from his menaces, and had recourſe to entreaties, that *Frederic* would pity the forlorn condition of the *Chriſtians* in the Eaſt. It is uncertain whether *Frederic* would have paid any regard to this pathetic exhortation, had it not been for the intervention of *John de Brienne*, king of *Jeruſalem*. That prince had only one child, a daughter, called *Yulanda*. *Frederic* was young and a widower; *Brienne* offered *Yulanda* in marriage to him. It cannot be ſuppoſed, that a great emperor, ſo ſelf-intereſted and politic as *Frederic* was, would have embraced the match, which had nothing but a ſounding title to recommend it, unleſs he had had more ſubſtantial advantages in view. Repeated experience had, by this time, convinced the *European* princes, that the conqueſt of the Eaſt was no chimerical project for a *European* power, which was maſter of the ſeas, to compaſs, if ſupported with the ſame zeal as the former cruſades had been. *Yulanda*, undoubtedly, was heireſs to the crown of *Jeruſalem* in right of her mother; and *Frederic*, perhaps with ſome reaſon, thought that her father had no right to that title, farther than what was given him by the king of *France*. He therefore embraced the offer, and the pope joyfully conſented to the match, in hopes that it would induce the emperor to enter the more heartily into the cruſade. *Frederic* engaged himſelf, under the ſanction of an oath, to be ready in two years to undertake the expedition; and ſubmitted himſelf to the pains of excommunication, in caſe of non-performance. That time was ſpent by the emperor in making vaſt preparations for the cruſades; but, when the term was elapſed, he raiſed a very juſt objection, that he could not act offenſively againſt the infidels, till the truce which had been ſo generouſly granted was expired. In the mean while the princeſs *Yulanda* arrived at *Brunduſium*, and *Frederic*, who had obtained, or rather extorted, from the pope, a prolongation of two years longer for the performance of his vow, married her. Being maſter of her perſon, he likewiſe demanded her right; which was a ceſſion from her father of the title and crown of *Jeruſalem*; which *De Brienne* was in no condition to refuſe to the moſt powerful prince in *Europe*.

Another cruſade preached up.

Views of the emperor,

who marries the heireſs of *Jeruſalem*.

Frederic's ambition being thus gratified, the preparations for the cruſade went on with the moſt promiſing ſucceſs. In the mean time, pope *Honorius* died, and was ſucceeded by *Gregory* IX. who did not yield to his predeceſſor in zeal

zeal for the cruſade, but fell far ſhort of him in abilities and dexterity. The firſt meaſure he purſued, after he was preferred to be pope, was, to ſummon *Frederic* to the performance of his vow. But *Frederic* had laid his ſchemes deeper than his holineſs had apprehended. Pretending extreme zeal for proceeding upon the expedition, he prevailed with the moſt zealous of the pope's partizans to embark for *Syria*, or *Phœnicia*, and actually went on board himſelf, attended by an army conſiſting of the fineſt troops in the world, and a noble fleet. But he had ſcarcely put out to ſea, when, pretending to be indiſpoſed, he returned to *Otranto*, with all his army. Upon this, the pope, without making uſe of any previous formality, or admonition, excommunicated him; and both ſides publiſhed manifeſtoes, juſtifying their conduct: but *Frederic* having power on his ſide, chaſed the pope from *Rome*, and ſeized upon all his dominions; but was checked by his father-in-law, the king of *Jeruſalem*, from making himſelf abſolute maſter of *Italy*. But *Frederic*, though he gained all that was neceſſary for his purpoſe in *Europe*, ſtill purſued his views upon the crown of *Jeruſalem*; and being apprehenſive, with good reaſon, that his father-in-law would be received as commander in chief of all the cruſaders, at laſt embarked in good earneſt for the *Holy Land*; but not without leaving proper directions for continuing the war with the pope, whom he mortally hated; for *Frederic* at this time ſtood excommunicated. He ſet ſail with twenty ordinary gallies, and with very few troops; but deſpiſed the pope's injunction, when he commanded him to return, and to drop all concerns with the cruſade; and arrived at *Ptolemais*, where he was received with great joy by the *Chriſtian* princes. As huſband to the queen of *Jeruſalem*, he took upon himſelf the command of the *Chriſtian* army there, which did not amount to above fourteen thouſand men, moſt of the cruſaders, being diſcouraged by the delays of the emperor having returned to *Europe*. Thoſe who remained, however, employed themſelves very uſefully in repairing the fortifications of *Cæſarea*, *Joppa*, and the other maritime places which were left them upon that coaſt; in which they were favoured by the great diſſentions then raging amongſt the *Moſlem* princes. *Frederic*, ſeeing the ſmall army he had to head, declined any undertaking againſt *Câmel*, who lay, with a vaſt number of troops, at *Damaſcus*; but ſent him a very polite embaſſy, accompanied with moſt magnificent preſents, acquainting him, that he was the moſt powerful prince in *Chriſtendom*; and, that he did not come to make war againſt the ſultan, or to make new conqueſts; that, on the contrary, he deſired his friendſhip; but, having a ſon to whom the kingdom of *Jeruſalem* belonged by birth, he demanded that in his right; and, if that demand was granted, it would ſave the farther effuſion of human blood. The ſultan received this embaſſy with

He is excommunicated, but goes to the *Holy Land*.

His ſmall army.

with the utmoſt politeneſs, and was, in his own mind, glad that the terms demanded by the emperor were not higher. But *Câmel* had ſecret agents in the *Chriſtian* camp. The *Melkites*, or *Egyptian Chriſtians*, were much better inclined to him than they were to *Frederic* or the *Latins*; and they gave him intelligence of every thing that paſſed amongſt the *Chriſtians*. *Frederic* had left orders, before he ſet out from *Europe*, with his generals, to invade the pope's territories, which had been obeyed with great ſucceſs and ſome marks of cruelty. This exaſperated his holineſs ſo much, that he excommunicated *Frederic*, and ſent orders to all his eccleſiaſtics in the Eaſt, and the three maſters of the great orders, not to obey him. *Câmel* was informed of this before *Frederic* was, but he preſerved his uſual moderation. His anſwer to *Frederic*'s ambaſſadors was, that his conſcience and religion led him to have as great a veneration as the *Chriſtians* had for the city of *Jeruſalem*; and therefore he could not give it up: and, that his imperial majeſty muſt, by a freſh embaſſy, make new propoſals. *Câmel* accompanied this anſwer with preſents of an elephant, and the moſt curious animals his country produced; and *Frederic* ſent him other ambaſſadors: but *Camel*, with an affected indifference, ordered them to attend him at *Gaza*; and *Frederic*, conſtruing this into an affront, ordered the army to march. But he was greatly ſurprized when he ſaw the *Germans* only obeyed his orders, and the two grand maſters of the *Templars* and *Hoſpitallers* ſeparated from his main body. This made him ſtoop to give out his orders, not in his own name, but that of *God* and *Chriſtendom:* upon which, the army re-united and marched to *Joppa*, where they repaired the fortifications.

Diſſenſions in it.

Makes a truce.

While the *Chriſtians* lay at *Joppa*, *Frederic* ſuffered freſh mortifications, by receiving accounts from *Europe* of many advantages gained over him by the pope and his confederates; and this diſpoſed him more than ever to clap up a peace, almoſt upon any terms, with *Camel*. He therefore ſent to him two of his miniſters, who concluded a truce with him for ten years upon the following conditions: "That the ſultan ſhall yield the city of *Jeruſalem* to *Frederic*, together with the cities of *Bethlehem*, *Nazareth*, *Thoron*, and *Saida*, or *Sidon*, and the villages which are directly upon the road between *Jeruſalem* and *Jaffa*: That it ſhould be lawful for the *Chriſtians* to fortify theſe places, and to rebuild the walls of *Jeruſalem*, of which the emperor might diſpoſe as he pleaſed, excepting only the temple, with its appendages, which was to be reſerved to the *Saracens*, with liberty there to perform all the exerciſes of their law: That the city of *Tripolis*, the principality of *Antioch*, and the other places which did not appertain to the kingdom of *Jeruſalem*, ſhould not be compriſed in this treaty; and the emperor ſhould not permit the *Chriſtians* to aſſiſt them."

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We are told, that, by this time, *Moadhdhem* was dead; and, that *Camel* had ſeized upon *Jeruſalem*, which was *Moadhdhem*'s property, which undoubtedly facilitated the concluſion of this treaty. The *Moſlem* authors inform us farther, with greater ſhow of probability, that the great numbers of recruits, that were every day coming from the cruſaders in *Europe*, encreaſed their army ſo much, that *Camel* thought himſelf fortunate in making peace upon ſo eaſy terms. But the patriarch, adhering to the pope, refuſed either to have any hand in the treaty, or to aſſiſt in the emperor's coronation; and put all the clergy of *Jeruſalem* under an interdict, who ſhould receive or obey him. *Frederic* was too magnanimous to mind thoſe extravagancies. His own *Germans*, and the knights of the *Teutonic* order, ſtood by him and approved of his conduct, and the treaty he had made. He entered *Jeruſalem* in triumph; and, having ſaid his private devotions in the temple of the holy ſepulchre, he ordered a crown of gold to be placed upon the altar: but no biſhop or clergyman could be found, who had the courage to perform the ceremony of crowning him; therefore he performed it with his own hands, amidſt the acclamations of all his faithful ſubjects. Gets poſſeſſion of *Jeruſalem*.

One cannot reflect upon this peace without admiring the good ſenſe and moderation with which it was conducted; and, at the ſame time, bewailing the perverſeneſs of bigotry and enthuſiaſm, which had ſhed ſuch deluges of blood, when it might have been ſo eaſily concluded before. *Camel* wiſely looked upon *Jeruſalem*, diſmantled and unfortified as it was, as a bauble; but the rendition of this bauble enſured to him the quiet of his empire. *Frederic* conſidered the holy city in the ſame light, but preſerved a moſt devout exterior behaviour as to every thing that regarded it: and his conduct upon this occaſion, if any thing could have done it, muſt have awakened *Chriſtendom* from the deluſions it was under through prieſtcraft and bigotry. He wrote letters to the pope, and to all the princes in *Chriſtendom*, exhorting them to give *God* thanks, that he had been able, without the effuſion of a drop of *Chriſtian* blood, to compaſs what they had ſo long and ſo ardently deſired; and ſent them, at the ſame time, copies of the treaty. The furious patriarch, on the other hand, accuſed *Frederic* of having betrayed the cauſe of *God* and the church; and of having gained nothing by the treaty, but what they might have had without it. This frantic declaration had ſuch an effect, that the pope and his adherents raiſed freſh ſtorms againſt *Frederic* in *Europe*, which obliged that prince to take a reſolution, at all hazards, to return thither; which he accordingly did, without troubling himſelf about fortifying *Jeruſalem*, and the other places ceded by the treaty. This brought new perſecutions upon him. But we muſt obſerve, that, with regard to the treaty itſelf, the *Chriſtian* and the *Moſlem* authors Reflection. Freſh ſtorms raiſed againſt him in *Europe*.

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thors contradict one another in a very material article of it; for the latter ſay, it was ſtipulated, that *Jeruſalem* ſhould remain diſmantled. Be this as it will, for it is a matter of no conſequence, it is certain that the pope diſowned the treaty, and continued his excommunication of *Frederic*. But the latter behaved with ſuch ſpirit, that he would have driven his holineſs out of *Rome*, had he not been perſuaded, by the grand maſter of the *Teutonic* order, to make matters up; which he did; and the pope abſolved *Frederic* from his excommunication at *Anagni*, with great appearances of cordiality.

Account of the famous *Maimonides*.

We muſt here ſtop our narrative of great events, in favour of a name of vaſt importance in literature; that of the famous *Moſes Maimonides*, or, as the *Jews* call him, *Maimon Muſa*. This great and rational writer lived during the khalifat of *Moſtanſer*, and under the protection of *Camel*, and at the time we now treat of. He was by birth a *Spaniard*, and was obliged outwardly to embrace *Mahometaniſm*: but he fled with his family to *Egypt*, and, finding protection under the mild government of *Camel*, he profeſſed his native religion, and for ſome time followed the profeſſion of a jeweller. A high magiſtrate, one *Al Fadel*, ſenſible of his merit, took him under his protection; and, tho he was ſeveral times accuſed by his enemies of apoſtacy, a crime which the *Moſlems* deemed capital, yet *Fadel* had intereſt enough to preſerve him from all trouble on that account. Finding himſelf thus protected, he reſumed his original ſtudies, and profeſſed himſelf a phyſician. But he was a man of true learning, and therefore of great modeſty, ſo that he never would depend on his own opinion, even ſo far as to preſcribe by himſelf. *Maimonides* was not only a learned man, but a philoſopher; all that he wrote was rational, and founded on the trueſt principles of reaſon and the mathematics. It was therefore no wonder that he was condemned by the bigots of his own religion, and accuſed of atheiſm. Some of his writings are greatly in favour of *Chriſtianity*; and, candidly ſpeaking, he is by far the beſt author the *Jewiſh* nation ever produced.

Hej. 624. A. D. 1226.

Affairs of the *Moſlems*.

The prodigious exploits of *Jenghiz Khan* are ſo much the ſubjects of hiſtory in this period, that we are greatly in the dark as to the interior affairs of the khalifat. We know, however, that, about this time, differences aroſe between *Dawd*, or *David*, the ſon of *Moadhem*, prince of *Damaſcus*, and his uncles, *Camel* and *Aſhraf*. Thoſe, very probably, aroſe from the ceſſion of *Jeruſalem* that had been made by *Camel* to the *Chriſtians*. Be that as it will, the ſiege of *Damaſcus* was formed by the two uncles; and the city being taken, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, *Aſhraf* became its ſovereign. *David*, however, was put in poſſeſſion of the cities of *Carac*, *Belka*, and *Shawbec*, and their dependencies; but they were far from being equivalent to the ſovereignty he had

had loſt. This quarrel ſeems to have been founded upon the laſt will of *Adel*, who had left to *Camel* a ſuperiority over his brethren. *Jalaloddin*, ſon of *Mohammed*, ſultan of *Khowaraſm*, whom we have already mentioned, underſtanding, that the arms of *Jenghiz Khan* were turned towards *China*, undertook, about this time, to chaſtiſe the *Georgians*, for offering to aſſiſt the *Franks*. This *Jalaloddin* was a brave and an active general, and had often, not without ſucceſs, oppoſed the armies of the great *Jenghiz Khan*; as will be ſhewn in the hiſtory of that conqueror. When he declared war againſt the *Georgians*, the latter invited to their aſſiſtance their neighbours the *Khozars*, who lay on the northern coaſt of the *Caſpian Sea*; and who, accordingly, marched to the aſſiſtance of the *Georgians*. It happened that thoſe *Khozars* were under particular obligations to *Jalaloddin*, who had, on a certain time, ſaved them from feeling the dreadful effects of his father's indignation. He ſaw, from an eminence which he had aſcended, that he was no match for the *Georgians* and the *Khozars*; but perceiving, that the encampment of the latter was diſtinct from that of the former, he ſent them, according to the ſimplicity of ancient times, bread and ſalt, the emblems of hoſpitality and friendſhip. His preſent ſtruck the *Khozars* with the remembrance of their own ingratitude, and, ſeparating entirely from the *Georgians*, they immediately returned home. *Jalaloddin*, notwithſtanding this vaſt advantage he had obtained, was ſo moderate as to offer the prince of *Georgia* twenty-four hours to deliberate upon the terms he offered. During this ſhort ceſſation, *Jalaloddin* encountered and killed, in ſingle combat, ſeveral of the *Georgians*, and one, particularly, of moſt enormous ſize and ſtrength. This diſheartened the *Georgians*, and, when the twenty-four hours were elapſed, *Jalaloddin* attacked and beat them. His victory proved deciſive; and he entered *Tellis*, the capital of their country. While he was there, he heard that *Borak*, his governor of *Kerman*, was guilty of ſome ſeditious practices, and *Jalaloddin* ſtruck one of thoſe happy blows, which, had it not been attended with ſucceſs, might have been called temerity; for he ſet out, with no more than three hundred horſe, for *Kerman*, where he got admittance, put the rebellious governor to death, and reduced the province to his allegiance. After this, he encountered various fortunes; but he ſeems to have returned to his duty in owning the khalif of *Baghdad* to be at the head of the *Moſlems*; for he deſiſted from the ſiege of *Akhlat*, upon a meſſage, and ſome preſents, from *Moſtanſer*. He, however, was defeated in his war with the ſultan of *Iconium*, or *Rum*, and by the *Moguls*: but he ſtill had the addreſs to recover himſelf, and, in the year of our Lord 1229, we find that he reſumed his operations againſt *Akhlat*, which was then poſſeſſed by a prince of the family of *Ayub*. *Akhlat* was, at that time, the capital of *Armenia*,

War betwixt the *Georgians* and *Khowarazmians*.

Valour of *Jalaloddin*

He is defeated.

Armenia, and *Jalaloddin*, by battering it on that part which was next to the ſea, obliged it to ſurrender; though the inhabitants made ſo obſtinate a defence, that, for ſome time, they fed upon dogs. It appears that, upon the ſurrender of *Akhlat*, *Azzoddin*, and *Takioddin*, of the houſe of *Ayub*, were taken priſoners; and *Jalaloddin* was ſo vain of his conqueſt, as to expoſe them as public ſpectacles. This excited the reſentment of the other princes of that great family, and *Aſhraf* joined with the ſultan of *Iconium* againſt *Jalaloddin*. The *Khowaraſmian* army amounted to about forty thouſand men, and an engagement enſued, the ſucceſs of which was not decided till the third day, when the *Khowaraſmians* were entirely routed. It is remarkable, that, before this engagement happened, *Jalaloddin* ſent *Takioddin*, whom he had taken in *Akhlat*, and who was brother to *Camel*, as a preſent to the khalif of *Damaſcus*; who releaſed him from his bonds, and ſent him to the camp of his brother *Aſhraf*, about the time that he defeated *Jalaloddin*.

His negotiation with *Aſhraf*.

After this victory, *Aſhraf* repoſſeſſed himſelf of *Akhlat*, and a negotiation was ſet on foot between him and *Jalaloddin*. The latter, beſides *Takioddin*, had in his cuſtody *Majroddin*, a brother of *Aſhraf*; for which reaſon, *Aſhraf* ſent a meſſage, or embaſſy, to *Jalaloddin*, deſiring that he would uſe his priſoners with humanity, as he would do thoſe of *Jalaloddin*. "Your maſter," replied the *Khowarazmian*, "has only my "ſlaves for his priſoners, and I have his brothers." This being reported to *Aſhraf*, he told *Jalaloddin*'s miniſters, that he was not deſtitute of other brothers, and that the houſe of *Ayub* had now two thouſand deſcendants. This mutual haughtineſs put an end to all farther negotiation. But common danger called upon them for a re-union; for the *Moguls*, or *Tartars*, under *Nowayn*, having paſſed the river *Ammawyah*, were advancing, and the ſultan ſent ambaſſaſſadors to the khalif of *Baghdad*, to *Aſhraf*, and to the ſultan of *Iconium*, ſetting forth the danger to which they, as well as he, were expoſed, if the march of the *Tartars* was not check'd. But they were infatuated enough not to take the warning, or ſo averſe from joining *Jalaloddin*, that they neglected it; and the *Tartars* penetrated, with ſixty thouſand horſe, into *Khoraſan* and *Kipjac*.

He oppoſes the *Tartars*.

His character and grandeur.

Jalaloddin's brain, about this time, was touched by the loſs of a female ſlave, whom he was paſſionately fond of. He inherited all the dominions of his grandfather *Tacaſh*, and his father *Mohammed*, and, though a prince of vaſt courage and enterprize, was the moſt haughty monarch in his time. It is reported by certain writers, that, at one time, twenty-ſeven ſovereign *Moſlem* princes beat before his palace, upon twenty-ſeven drums, adorned with jewels, a ſolemn imperial march, which goes by the name of that of *Alexander the Great*. Though he was often defeated by the *Tartars*, yet he always found reſources in his own courage and

and magnanimity, which ſupported him. He never allowed the greateſt of the *Moſlem* princes, except the khaliff of *Baghdad*, an equality with himſelf, nor did he deign, when he wrote to them, to pay them the compliment of "your "brother," or, "your ſervant," being prefixed to his name; but he always ſubſcribed himſelf, "your ſervant," when he wrote to the khalif of *Baghdad*. When his reaſon began to decline, and when he found that he was not to be ſupported by the other *Moſlem* princes, he retired to the voluptuous province of *Diar Bekr*, in *Perſia*, where he gave himſelf up to all manner of pleaſure and luxury, without endeavouring to oppoſe the *Tartars*, who defeated his general the emir *Aurkan*. Upon this he endeavoured to make his eſcape, attended by no more than three ſervants; but being diſcovered by the richneſs of his armour, he was murdered by a party of the barbarians. He is killed.

The deference paid by *Jalaloddin* to the khalif of *Baghdad*, appears the more extraordinary, when we reflect upon the enmity that ſubſiſted between their fathers; but, in fact, all the *Moſlem* princes, at this time, were unanimous in acknowledging his ſupremacy. Upon the death of *Modhaffer-oddin*, the prince of *Arbel*, who had ſeized upon *Mecca*, the khalif *Moſtanſer* appointed one of his nobility, *Abul Mali*, to be his governor of that city, and he, accordingly, took poſſeſſion of it, in the khalif's name. He appears to have lived likewiſe in great friendſhip with *Camel*, the ſultan of *Egypt*, who ſtill preſerved his aſcendancy over the princes of the houſe of *Ayub*. By virtue of his own authority, he depoſed *Maſud*, the prince of *Amida* and *Hiſn Caifa*, in *Meſopotamia*, for his vices; and gave his dominions to another branch of the ſame family. *Camel*, in all other reſpects, continued to behave with the utmoſt moderation and wiſdom; and the protection he always afforded to the *Chriſtians*, has rendered his ſincerity, in the profeſſion of *Mahometaniſm*, juſtly queſtionable; for, beſides the condeſcenſions in their favour, which we have already mentioned, he permitted both them and the *Jews* to build as many churches and ſynagogues as they pleaſed, and to adorn them magnificently. He likewiſe took off the odious reſtrictions of their not riding upon aſſes and mules, and made no diſtinction between them and his other ſubjects. In one reſpect, he exceeded all the indulgence that had been ſhewn them by the greateſt *Moſlem* princes; for we are told, that he permitted both nations to carry all their differences amongſt themſelves before magiſtrates of their own religion. The *Jews*, at the time we now treat of, enjoyed the ſame privilege in *England*, but they were obliged to purchaſe it at a very dear rate. But *Camel*'s regard for the *Chriſtian* religion went ſtill farther. The monks of the valley *Habib* were, at this time, perſecuted by an avaricious emir, who had the charge of collecting the ſultan's rents for that diviſion; and, upon the information

Supremacy of the khalif of *Baghdad*.

Moderation of *Camel*, ſultan of *Egypt*.

Inſtance of his attachment to *Chriſtianity*.

mation of a renegade, who accuſed him of having defrauded the government of its tribute, he inflicted ſevere corporal puniſhments upon many of thoſe religious, and obliged them to pay him a large ſum of money; which he carried to the ſultan, and told him, by way of triumph, how he had acquired it. But *Camel*, far from approving of this oppreſſion, inſtead of touching the money, reſolved to make a perſonal enquiry into the affair. He therefore, in his return from *Alexandria*, viſited the monks of the valley of *Habib* with all his court; and was ſo pleaſed with the hoſpitality he received from the poor fathers, and the proofs they gave him of their loyalty and attachment to his government, that he not only cleared them from all the accuſations they lay under, but made them large preſents, of all the different kinds of grain they made uſe of for their ſubſiſtence. He likewiſe ſigned an inſtrument, or patent, exempting them, and all who ſhould hereafter enter upon a monaſtic life, from all kind of tribute; and gave them the liberty to leave all the effects they died poſſeſſed of to their monaſteries. Above all things, he recommended to them, and the reſt of the *Chriſtians* in his dominions, unanimity in filling up the patriarchal ſee, which was then vacant. But this was what all his power could not bring about; for thoſe ignorant monks, the more they were encouraged by the ſultan, were the more divided amongſt themſelves: nor could they be brought to elect a patriarch, tho' *Camel* generouſly offered to remit them all the expences of a licence, and the other fees due to him on ſuch occaſions. One *Dawd*, or *David*, upon this took occaſion to offer the ſultan a large ſum, if he would name him for patriarch; but he rejected it, as he did another ſum offered by another candidate to the ſame office. At laſt, finding that all his exhortations to unanimity were loſt upon thoſe factious monks, he ſent them a kind of mandate, much in the nature of an *Engliſh conge de 'lire*, giving them leave to elect one *Yakya*, an *Egyptian* clergyman, to be their patriarch: but, though the fathers had promiſed to ſubmit to the ſultan's nomination, yet they could not be prevailed on to be unanimous; and, ſuch was *Camel*'s regard for them, or rather their religion, that he ſoon withdrew his nomination, and the ſee remained empty for ſome years. About this time died *Naſeroddin*, the prince of *Mawſel*, and grandſon to *Salhadin*; and we are told, that the khalif of *Baghdad* ſent the patent of inveſtiture of his dominions to his governor, and firſt miniſter, *Bedroddin Lulu*, who was accordingly prayed for in *Mawſel*; nor do we know that his acceſſion was diſputed by *Camel* or any of the princes of the houſe of *Ayub*.

His kindneſs to his *Chriſtian* ſubjects.

Octay ſucceeds *Jenghiz Khan*.

The great *Jenghiz Khan*, whoſe hiſtory we ſhall ſoon proceed to, was now dead, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Octay*, who had all his father's ambition, but without his abilities. He was, however, then, the moſt powerful prince in the world;

world; and ſo haughty, that he threatened even the khalif of *Baghdad* with an invaſion, if he did not ſubmit to acknowledge him his ſuperior; but we know of no ſuch ſubmiſſion made by *Moſtanſer*. *Alaoddin*, who was then the ſultan of *Rum*, or *Iconium*, a very ambitious prince, fearing leaſt the power of *Oktay* ſhould diſconcert his ſchemes, he ſent him ambaſſadors, tendering him his ſubmiſſions. To ſee a *Seljukian* ſultan humble himſelf in that manner, was a ſurprize to all *Aſia*; nor was *Oktay* himſelf inſenſible of the honour that was done him. He received the ſubmiſſion with great marks of approbation; he commended the ſultan's wiſdom, and offered, if he would come to his court, to give him a conſiderable poſt under him; an offer which, we are told, raiſed the higheſt indignation in his ambaſſadors and through all the *Moſlem* princes. *Alaoddin* however, by this ſubmiſſion, was at liberty to turn his arms againſt *Akhlat*; which, together with *Sarra Manray*, he took from *Aſhraf*, as he did the city of *Edeſſa*, by ſtorm. This city, which had of late ſo often changed its maſters, was chiefly inhabited by *Chriſtians*; and *Alaoddin* gave both them and the *Moſlems* up to the ſwords of his ſoldiers, who butchered the inhabitants, and plundered the city for three days. The effects and the furniture of the *Chriſtian* churches there, we are told, were very rich; but they were all carried away by the ſoldiers. The example of *Edeſſa* terrified the city of *Harzan*, which immediately ſurrendered to *Alaoddin*; and, after that, he made himſelf maſter of *Rakka* and *Bir* upon the *Euphrates*. Thoſe ſucceſſes of *Alaoddin*, and the inhuman uſe he made of them, at laſt rouſed the princes of the houſe of *Ayub*; and *Camel* fell into his territories at the head of a powerful army, which beſieged *Edeſſa* for four months, and at laſt took it. In revenge of *Alaoddin*'s inhumanity, he put into chains all the *Kumeans*, his ſubjects, and ſent them ſlaves, on the backs of camels, into *Egypt*. Notwithſtanding this check, *Alaoddin*, who is ſo famous amongſt *Chriſtian* writers, under the name of *Aladin* I. not only preſerved his own dominions entire, but greatly enlarged them; and returned to his own capital with immenſe booty. But he did not long ſurvive this expedition; for, upon his return to *Iconium*, he made a great entertainment for his generals and the chief nobility of his court; and, in the midſt of all this feſtivity, ſome blood-veſſels breaking within him, he expired upon the ſpot, not without great ſuſpicion of his death being haſtened by his ſon *Kay Koſrou* II. whom he had declared his heir. *Alaoddin*, notwithſtanding the mortifying ſubmiſſion he had made to *Oktay*, was one of the proudeſt and moſt haughty princes in the world; but he is remarkable for nothing more than for his having bred up under him *Ortogrol*, the father of the great *Othman*, the founder of the preſent dinaſty of the *Turkiſh* empire at *Conſtantinople*.

His vaſt pride.

Edeſſa taken.

Death of *Alaoddin*, ſultan of *Rum*.

Abuſes of the *Chriſtians* in *Egypt*.

The moderation of *Camel*, the ſultan of *Egypt*, towards the *Chriſtians*, and the vaſt privileges he had aſſigned to the monaſtic order, were greatly abuſed; for large numbers of *Egyptians*, eſpecially the younger ſort, put on the monaſtic habit, to avoid paying their taxes; which producing a vaſt diminution in the revenue, the ſultan was obliged to eſtabliſh a kind of regiſter, in which every monk was to enroll his name; and to ordain, that none but thoſe who regularly entered into ſome monaſtry, ſhould be entitled to the priviledges of the order. Soon after this, *Aſhraf*, the ſultan of *Damaſcus*, and brother to *Camel*, died, with the reputation of being a great warrior, but too much addicted to his pleaſures. *Iſmael*, his brother, commonly called *Al Saleh Iſmael*, immediately took poſſeſſion of his capital; but his ſucceſſion was diſputed by *Al Camel*, who marched at the head of a great army, and made himſelf maſter of *Damaſcus*: but he acted, upon this occaſion, with his uſual generoſity and tenderneſs for juſtice; for he gave *Iſmael*, in exchange for what he had loſt, the principality of *Balbec* and *Boſra*; and, having ſuppreſſed a conſpiracy under *Shairacuh*, one of his tributary princes, he prepared to oppoſe the invaſions of the *Tartars* on the one hand, and the *Seljuks* on the other, who threatened his dominions; and, at the ſame time, to make head againſt the *European Chriſtians*, with whom his truce was now at an end. But, while he was making diſpoſitions for executing theſe vaſt deſigns, he died at *Damaſcus*, in the ſeventieth year of his age, and the twentieth of his reign, computing from the death of his father.

Death of *Al Camel*.

His character,

We have been the more diffuſe upon the hiſtory of this excellent prince, becauſe due juſtice has not been done him, either by *Chriſtian* or *Moſlem* authors; but the facts we have related of him, from undoubted authority, prove him to have been an honour to ſovereignty and to mankind itſelf. He had been early in life initiated in the arts of government; ſo that his vaſt experience commonly crowned his conduct with ſucceſs: nor do we know that even ambition itſelf ever made him deviate from juſtice and moderation. His literary accompliſhments were ſo great, that he is repreſented as one of the moſt learned men of his empire, and the greateſt patron of it in the world. He founded a college, called after him *Cameliya*, and endowed it nobly for ſcholars; and, we are told, that he could, in perſon, examine the greateſt doctors in his kingdom, and judge of their proficiency and merits in literature. That he poſſeſſed a fine taſte in the arts, appears from the magnificent tent, which was valued at one hundred thouſand crowns, the roof of which reſembled the cœleſtial hemiſphere, where the heavenly bodies of ſun, ſtars, and moon, moved in regular directions, by ſecret ſprings, ſo as to exhibit, at any ſeaſon, a juſt view of cœleſtial bodies; ſomewhat in the

and fine taſte.

ſame

ſame manner as thoſe machines now known by the names of orreries, and other denominations. According to the *Chriſtian* writers who ſaw this pavillion, it exceeded, in taſte and magnificence, any thing then in the known world. He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Adel* II. who, at the time of his father's death, was governor of *Egypt*; but his ſucceſſor in the government of *Damaſcus* was *Jowad*, his couſin-german. The conſtant protection which *Camel* had always given to the *Chriſtians*, was far from having any good effect upon their morals. *David*, by the force of money, procured himſelf at laſt to be conſecrated patriarch of *Alexandria*; but was guilty of ſo many acts of ſimony, that his clergy was upon the point of revolting from him, when he bound himſelf by an oath not to be guilty of the like for the future; which oath, however, we are told, he afterwards moſt ſhamefully violated; but purchaſed his forgiveneſs from the new ſultan of *Egypt* by a large ſum of money. Succeeded by *Adel*.

After the death of *Al Camel*, the hiſtory of the *Moſlems* in the old khalifat becomes a meer chaos, through the irruptions of the *Tartars* and *Moguls*. *Cawad* exchanged the crown of *Damaſcus* for the cities of *Senjar*, *Raka*, and *Ana*, and their dependencies, with *Nojmoddin*, another prince of the houſe of *Ayub*. *Adel* II. being unequal to the affairs of government, *Nojmoddin* was invited to take that empire upon himſelf; but he had no ſooner put his troops in motion, than *Damaſcus* was ſeized upon, and forced to ſurrender, by *Iſmael* the prince of *Balbec*, and *Shairacuh* the prince of *Hems*. Notwithſtanding this, *Nojmoddin* marched towards *Cairo*; and, proving every where victorious, the unfortunate *Adel* was put to death by his own ſubjects. Thoſe diſſentions amongſt the princes of the houſe of *Ayub*, gave infinite advantages to the *Tartars*, the *Moguls*, and other barbarians; and the dominions of the khalif of *Baghdad* were left ſo open that they made incurſions to the very gates of that city. The khalif *Moſtanſer*, however, was not wanting to himſelf, for he ſent his generals againſt the barbarians, who were defeated with prodigious ſlaughter; and the khalif, being apprehenſive of their return, ordered the walls of his capital to be mounted with military engines. This precaution, and his laying the country about the city under water, by means of ſluices, communicating with the *Tigris*, probably ſaved *Baghdad* at that time; for the barbarians, ſome months after, returned with more numerous and greater bodies than ever, and defeated the troops of the khalifat; but, not being able to take the city, they returned, after plundering the country. Revolutions in the khalifat. The khalif defeats the *Tartars*.

Thoſe calamities from barbarians did not prevent other inteſtine ones amongſt the *Moſlems*. One *Baba*, a *Turk*, appeared in the *Leſſer Aſia*, and took upon him the character of a prophet, aſſuming to himſelf the ſame form of religious ſalutation that is paid to *Mahomet*: "There is no God but Impoſtures of *Baba* and his apoſtle.

God, and *Baba* is his prophet, or apoſtle." He had a diſciple under him, one *Iſaac*, who run through all the principal cities of that country, bawling about this benediction, and inviting their countrymen to join him; till, by the force of aſſurance and enthuſiaſm, they were joined by no fewer than ſix thouſand *Turkoman* horſe, and put to the ſword all who would not join him, *Moſlems* as well as *Chriſtians*. At laſt, *Gayathoddin*, who was then emperor of *Rum*, or *Romania*, ſent ſome troops againſt him, whom they defeated, and ſtruck ſuch a terror, that they lorded it over *Samoſata*, and plundered all the neighbourhood of *Malatiya*, putting all who did not follow them to death. *Gayathoddin* was then obliged to hire a body of *European* troops, whom he ſent, with an army of his own troops, againſt the rebels; but the *Moſlems* were ſtruck with ſuch terror, that they were giving way, when the *Europeans* charged the rebels, and they were cut every one of them in pieces, excepting the two prophets, who were taken and put to death.

They are killed.

Irruption of the *Tartars*.

Scarcely was this inſurrection ſuppreſſed, than *Nowayn*, called by ſome *Novian*, invaded, at the head of the *Tartars*, *Gayathoddin*'s dominions: and, though he was ſupported both by the *Greeks* and *Europeans*, he was at laſt obliged to fly to *Cæſarea*, and from thence to *Ancyra*. Upon this, *Nowayn* took *Siwas* and *Cæſarea*, where he put the chief inhabitants to the ſword, as he did the inhabitants of *Arzingan*, and proceeded towards *Malatiya*; but all of a ſudden they turned towards *Arzingan*; and the ſultan, who died ſoon after, was obliged to agree to pay them a yearly tribute.

Hej. 640. A. D. 1242. Death of the khalif *Moſtanſer*.

At this time died the khalif *Moſtanſer*, celebrated for his liberality, courage, and magnificence. He preſerved his independency and ſupremacy amongſt the *Moſlems*, at a time when the ſucceſſors of all the great families that had ariſen from the khalifat, were obliged to bow to the *Tartars* and the *Moguls*. His liberality towards men of learning, and his endowments for the ſeminaries of learning, are ſaid to have equalled thoſe of his greateſt predeceſſors. He reigned ſeventeen years, and he ordered his head to be impreſſed upon his coins.

Moſtaſem, *the thirty-ſeventh khalif of the houſe of* Al Abbas.

He is ſucceeded by *Moſtaſem*.

BEFORE we enter into the particulars of this unfortunate khalifat, it is neceſſary to make a ſhort recapitulation of the ſtate of the *Greek* empire, and of the cruſades at this time; without which it would be impoſſible for the reader clearly to comprehend the grounds of the great cataſtrophes we are now about to deſcribe.

Henry,

Henry, the *Latin* emperor, being dead, was ſucceeded by his brother *Peter*, the count of *Auxerre*; who, together with the *Venetians*, declared war againſt the deſpot of *Epire*, a prince of the houſe of *Comnenus*, by whom he was treacherouſly taken and put to death. He was ſucceeded by his ſecond ſon *Robert*; and *John Ducas*, ſon-in-law to the *Greek* emperor *Theodorus*, was crowned emperor of the *Greeks* by the *Greek* patriarch at *Nice*: upon which *Alexius* and *Angelus*, brothers to the late emperor, put themſelves under the protection of *Robert*, the *Latin* emperor of *Conſtantinople*; who defended them and the *Latins*, and reduced to their allegiance moſt of the iſlands they held in the *Archipelago*. Having ſtrengthened himſelf by alliances with the king of *Bulgaria*, and the ſultan of *Iconium*, he ſubdued all the places held by the *Latins* upon the *Boſphorus* and the *Helleſpont*; and, after that, he overthrew and took priſoner the deſpot of *Epire*, who had cauſed himſelf to be crowned emperor. Soon after, *Robert*, the *Latin* emperor, died in his return from *Rome*; and was ſucceeded by *John* of *Brienne* to the title of king of *Jeruſalem*; but the reverſion of the empire was to go to *Baldwin*, a boy of eight years of age, brother to the late emperor *Robert*, who married *John de Brienne*'s daughter. *John*, though now almoſt eighty-eight years of age, was one of the beſt and moſt active generals in *Europe*, and ſingly oppoſed and defeated the united forces of the *Greeks*, the *Bulgarians*, and the *Seljuks*; but the numbers of the barbarians ſeeming to grow from their defeats, he was at laſt obliged to ſhut himſelf up in *Conſtantinople*; where they beſieged him, while he ſent his ſon-in-law, the young *Baldwin*, to implore ſuccours from the pope and the *Chriſtian* powers.

State of the *Latins* in *Conſtantinople*.

This happened about the time when pope *Gregory* had, with great fervour, renewed the ſpirit of cruſading in *Europe*, and had engaged the king of *Navarre*, the dukes of *Burgundy*, and *Brittany*, and many of the greateſt princes in *Europe*, to take upon them the croſs, and to march, at the head of armies, to the *Holy Land*, the moment the truce ſhould be expired. But the diſtreſſed condition of the *Latins* in *Conſtantinople*, called, more immediately, upon the attention of his holineſs. The *Greek* emperor, and the princes of the houſe of *Comnenus*, denied the authority of the *Latin* church, and retained their own patriarch; ſo that, if they ſhould recover *Conſtantinople*, *Gregory* was in danger of loſing the faireſt jewel in the pontifical tiara. He, therefore, inſtantly, bethought himſelf of employing, for the relief of *Conſtantinople*, the troops that had been raiſed for the recovery of the *Holy Land*. He preached up a kind of a new cruſade for that purpoſe, by giving the cruſaders leave to commute their ſervice in the *Holy Land*, for that at *Conſtantinople*; and he applied to the latter, the money that had been raiſed for the former. He then ſent *Baldwin*, with

A new cruſade preached up.

The pope applies it againſt the *Greeks*.

proper credentials, to *France*, and gave him letters to the ſeveral princes engaged in the cruſade, earneſtly exhorting them to go to *Conſtantinople*. Many were inclined to this ſervice, as being attended with leſs difficulty and danger than that in the *Holy Land*; and the duke of *Brittany* actually engaged to follow *Baldwin* with twelve thouſand men. But the king of *Navarre*, the duke of *Burgundy*, and the other great princes of the cruſade, reproached the pope for his levity, and, in plain terms, refuſed to alter their deſtination; and even the duke of *Brittany*, at laſt, became of their party. The pope, on the other hand, remonſtrated, that the relief of *Conſtantinople* ought to be their firſt object; ſince conſtant experience had ſhewn, that no cruſade could be ſucceſsful, if that city was left in the hands of the ſchiſmatical *Greeks*; but the terrible differences that, ſoon after, broke out between him and the emperor *Frederic*, obliged him to preach up a third cruſade, for his own deliverance.

The *Chriſtian* princes diſſatisfied

The *Venetians*, however, joined with *Baldwin*, and fitted out a fleet, which relieved *Conſtantinople* from the *Greeks* and *Bulgarians*; but the emperor *John de Brienne* dying, the *Greeks* recovered that capital from his ſucceſſor, *Baldwin*, whom they expelled; and it continued in the family of the *Paleologues*, till, as ſhall be deſcribed in the courſe of this hiſtory, it was taken from them by the *Turks*.

Nojmoddin, the ſultan of *Egypt*, marches to *Jeruſalem*.

Nojmoddin continued to be the ſultan of *Egypt*, and having loſt *Damaſcus*, as above related, he undertook an expedition to *Jeruſalem*, where he complained that the *Chriſtians*, in violation of the truce, were raiſing fortifications. According to the *Moſlem* authors, he and *Naſer*, the prince of *Al Karac*, whom he had taken priſoner, arrived at *Jeruſalem*, and there entered into an alliance together, by which *Nojmoddin* ceded to the prince all his right in *Damaſcus*. This induced *Iſmael*, who was then in poſſeſſion of *Damaſcus*, to deliver up to the emperor *Frederic*'s lieutenants, in *Paleſtine*, two ſtrong places, *Shafed*, and *Shakif*. It was about this time, that the king of *Navarre*, having embarked at *Marſeilles* and other ports of the *Mediterranean*, arrived ſafely at *Acon*, with his diviſion of the *Chriſtian* army; while the other diviſions, for the want of ſhipping, were obliged to march by land, where they miſerably periſhed, as uſual, with fatigue and hunger, or the ambuſhes of barbarians and infidels. The king of *Navarre* was choſen the general of the enterprize; but he found he had little power. The diviſions of *Italy* and *Germany* had reached *Paleſtine*. The *Templars* and *Hoſpitalers*, who were the flower of the *Chriſtian* army, ſtood for the pope, and *Frederic*'s lieutenants for the emperor; and the new cruſaders, in like manner, taking one part or the other, the *Chriſtians* loſt the beſt opportunity they could have had for making their own terms, amidſt the terrible diviſions that then reigned in the family of *Ayub*. The emperor's lieutenants, pretending that the ſole power

The cruſaders arrive at *Acon*.

Diviſions amongſt the *Moſlems*.

of

of negotiating belonged to them, in his right, prolonged the truce, upon the ſame, and even better, terms, for them, than what the laſt contained, and the priſoners, on both ſides, were releaſed. After this, the *Imperialiſts* refuſed to act againſt the infidels; and the *Templars*, who were in poſſeſſion of *Shafed*, and *Shakif*, took part with *Iſmael*; while the king of *Navarre*, and the *Hoſpitallers*, inclined to join with *Nojmoddin*.

But the other princes of the cruſade thought themſelves at freedom to act independently. The duke of *Brittany* broke into the principality of *Damaſcus* at the head of his diviſion; and, having there taken and plundered ſome places of no great ſtrength or importance, he returned in triumph to *Aſcalon*, where the main body of the army lay, and which they had reſolved to refortify. His example inſpired other princes to emulate the reputation he had ſo eaſily acquired. The duke of *Burgundy*, the earl of *Bar*, and the conſtable of *Anſauri di Montfort*, agreed to join their forces together, and to attempt to ſurprize *Gaza*, one of the ſtrongeſt barriers of *Egypt*, upon the ſide of *Paleſtine*. They, therefore, detached themſelves and their troops from the main body of the army, and marched a whole night, and all next day, in hopes of ſurprizing the city early next morning. *Nojmoddin* appears to have foreſeen this attempt, for he not only threw a ſtrong garriſon into the place, and provided it with every thing for a vigorous defence, but took poſt near it with the main body of his army; while a conſiderable detachment of the garriſon took poſſeſſion of the ſtrongeſt poſts which the *Chriſtians* muſt paſs before they could reach the city. By day-break, therefore, inſtead of ſurprizing the city, they were themſelves confounded, to ſee ſuch diſpoſitions made to receive them; and the more, as they found themſelves entangled in plains full of heavy, deep ſands: where the light armed *Arabs* ſurrounded them on all quarters, and deſtroyed them at pleaſure. All the courage of the *Chriſtians* did not avail them on this occaſion: It was with difficulty that the duke of *Burgundy* eſcaped to *Aſcalon*. The earl of *Bar*, with the braveſt of the *French* generals, were killed on the ſpot, as were almoſt the whole army, that were not made priſoners, which was the fate of the conſtable of *Anſauri*, and ſeventy of the chief noblemen of *France*; all of them being ſent to *Cairo* in chains. When this attempt is rightly underſtood, it will, perhaps, appear as unjuſt, as it was raſh, as *Nodjmoddin*, whoſe good faith is not impeached by the *Chriſtian* writers, truſted to the truce, without conceiving that any of the *Chriſtians* were at liberty to break it, excepting the *Templars*, who were avowedly in the intereſt of his enemies. Soon after this, the king of *Navarre*, and the duke of *Brittany*, returned to *Europe*, but they were replaced by the *Engliſh* earl of *Cornual*, who, very ſoon after, landed at

Impru-dence of the cru-ſaders.

Who are defeated.

Arrival of the earl of *Cornwal* in *Paleſtine.*

Acon, with an immenſe treaſure, which he publicly declared he was reſolved to ſpend in the ſervice of the cruſade; and he immediately began a very ſtrong tower, which was added to the fortifications of *Aſcalon*.

Nodjmoddin and the infidels trembled at the name of this prince, which was the ſame with that of the *Engliſh* monarch, whom many of them ſtill remembered, ſo much to their coſt; and *Nojmoddin*, in order to preſerve the continuance of the truce, offered to ratify it, with additional advantages to the *Europeans*, by granting them a church in *Cairo*, by making a farther ceſſion of territory to them upon the ſea coaſt, and by ſetting at liberty all the priſoners he had taken at the battle of *Gaza*. *Richard* having conſulted the duke of *Burgundy*, and the other chiefs of the cruſade, found he could do no better, than to accept of thoſe conditions, which were inviolably performed by *Nojmoddin*; and then *Richard*, with his cruſaders, after ordering the burial of thoſe who had been ſlain at the battle of *Gaza*, returned, as other princes had done, to *Europe*.

His return to *Europe.*

Irruption of the *Khowarazmians* into *Paleſtine.*

The *Chriſtian*, as well as the *Moſlem* authors, loudly exclaim againſt the perfidy of the *Chriſtians* who were left in the *Holy Land*, and who moſt ſhamefully broke the peace. *Iſmael*, the late prince of *Damaſcus*, had pretenſions upon the throne of *Egypt*, and offered to the *Chriſtians*, if they would unite with him againſt *Nojmoddin*, he would give them up all *Paleſtine*, from *Jordan* to the ſea. As *Nojmoddin*'s throne in *Egypt* was far from being firmly ſettled, this confederacy, however ſhameful, might have been fatal to him, the *Templars* and *Haſpitalers* being, at this time, incomparably the beſt troops in the known world. But the *Tartars* and *Moguls*, having entirely ſubdued the *Khowarazmian* empire, that people, who were the deſcendants of the antient *Parthians*, paſſed the *Euphrates* and the *Tigris*, and applied for ſettlements to the ſultan of *Egypt*, to whom they offered to be ſubject. *Nojmoddin* was no ſtranger to the inſolence and brutality of thoſe barbarians; but the faithleſs conduct of the *Chriſtians* rendered their aſſiſtance neceſſary to his affairs. He told their leaders, that it was luckily in his power, at preſent, to give them up the whole country of *Paleſtine*, which they might eaſily conquer, as its capital, and its chief cities, were without any fortifications. Thoſe words no ſooner paſſed his lips, than the barbarians broke, like a tempeſt, into *Paleſtine*, and immediately directing their march to *Jeruſalem*, they in an inſtant cut to pieces ſix thouſand *Chriſtians*, who had thrown up ſome entrenchments before the city, and then, forcing their way into it, they filled it with blood and rapine: no age or condition was ſpared, the moſt ſacred places were plundered, burnt, and deſtroyed; and, according to the *Moſlem* authors, the few ſurviving *Chriſtians* were forced into the church of the *Reſurrection*, and all of them there burnt to aſhes. After

They deſtruy *Jeruſalem.*

that

that, they ſpread themſelves all over the open country, which they filled with the ſame dreadful exceſſes, and were pointing their march towards *Gaza*, when they were ordered by *Nojmoddin*, not to advance farther in their way to *Egypt*.

This invaſion, like a common calamity, united all parties amongſt the *Chriſtians*, though they were then very high; for the patriarch of *Jeruſalem*, notwithſtanding the apparent unanimity amongſt themſelves, had refuſed to take off an excommunication which he had lain *de Brienne*, the beſt general in the *Holy Land*, under; but it was taken off by the biſhop of *Rama*, to the great quietting of *de Brienne*'s conſcience. Notwithſtanding the new floods of enemies they had to deal with, the confede rates reſolve to purſue the ſcheme of conquering *Egypt*. *Al Manſur*, the prince of *Hems*, or *Emeſſa*, one of *Iſmael*'s confederates, took upon him the command of the *Moſlems* who were to act in conjunction with the *Chriſtians*; and *Iſmael* charged himſelf with the defence of *Damaſcus*, during the expedition. *Al Manſur*, accordingly, marched with his troops to *Ptolemais*, where the whole army rendezvouſed. The knights *Hoſpitalers*, with the counts *de Brienne* and *Jaffa* at their head, formed the left wing; the centre was compoſed of the *Knights Templars*, and ſome of the *Teutonick* order, with other great *Chriſtian* lords of *Paleſtine*, headed by the patriarch, and the prince of *Tyre*. The right wing, which conſiſted of *Moſlems*, was commanded by *Al Manſur*, the prince of *Emeſſa*; and in this order they proceeded towards *Gaza*, near which city they found *Nojmoddin*'s army, conſiſting of *Egyptians* and *Kowarazmians*, drawn up.

Diviſions amongſt the *Chriſtians*.

The charge was led up by *Al Manſur*, at the head of the confederated *Moſlems*, who were more numerous than all the army beſides. But his men, undoubtedly, diſguſted at ſerving in the ſame army with *Chriſtians*, abandoned him, all but two thouſand, at the head of whom he did great execution; but was, at laſt, obliged to fly towards *Damaſcus*. This misfortune did not diſcourage the *Chriſtians*: they kept their ground from morning till night, againſt the immenſe ſuperiority of their enemies, of whom they killed prodigious numbers; and, had it not been for the valour of *de Brienne*, who diſengaged him, the prince of *Emeſſa* muſt have been among the number of the ſlain. At laſt, the *Chriſtians*, without being defeated, were overpowered. The labours of the field, againſt ſuch encreaſing odds of barbarians, were too exceſſive for human nature, however firm, to ſupport; every man's body covered the ſpot where he fought. Of the *Templars*, not more than thirty-three knights ſurvived; of the *Hoſpitalers*, twenty-ſix, and, of the *Teutonics*, only three; ſuch conſtancy had thoſe brave men, in a bad cauſe. The great maſters of the *Temple*, and *Teutonic* order, were killed. The maſter of the *Hoſpitalers* was

Who are defeated by the *Egyptians* and *Khowarazmians*.

was taken priſoner, as was *de Brienne*, and only a few ſoldiers eſcaped to *Aſcalon*, and from thence to *Acon*, under the prince of *Tyre*; while all their baggage, tents, and treaſure, fell into the hands of the barbarians.

De Brienne put to death.

This complete victory being gained by *Nojmoddin*, the general of the *Khowarazmians* underſtanding the high quality of *de Brienne*, carried him, bound with cords to a croſs, and, ſhowing him to the garriſon of *Jaffa*, threatened, if they did not ſurrender the place, to put him to immediate death. But *Brienne*, as loud as he could raiſe his voice, commanded them to hold out, and to leave him to the mercy of the infidel dogs; which they accordingly did, and the *Khowarazmian* ſent him in chains to *Cairo*. The people there had been highly exaſperated at the breach of the peace, and, looking upon *Brienne* as their greateſt enemy, the ſultan durſt not refuſe, upon their demanding it, to give him up to their fury, who put him to death with exquiſite tortures.

Nojmoddin could not behold the effects of his late victory, without remembering, at the ſame time, that he owed it to the *Khowarazmians*, who, through their ſucceſſes, had become uſeful, but dangerous, allies. He reflected, likewiſe, that *Damaſcus*, and the greateſt part of *Syria*, was in the hands of his *Moſlem* enemies; but he was ſoon relieved from his greateſt difficulties. When *Al Manſur* returned, ſo thinly accompanied, to *Damaſcus*, *Iſmael* thought that the deſertion of his troops had been owing to his underhand dealing, or miſmanagement, and, therefore, did not receive him with his uſual complaiſance and cordiality. *Al Manſur* was nettled at this, and had, at firſt, ſome thoughts of flying to *Hems*: but he was perſuaded to remain at *Damaſcus*, and there he entered into a ſecret treaty with *Nojmoddin*; who was then making diſpoſitions for beſieging *Damaſcus*, under his chief general *Mainoddin*.

Damaſcus beſieged,

This *Mainoddin* is noted, not only for being an able general, but an excellent governor; and having with him a great army, he preſſed the city with much vigour, and reduced it to great ſtreights. It appears from the *Moſlem* writers, that *Al Manſur* would have betrayed the city to the *Khowarazmians*, but that he was afraid of being treated, by the enraged *Egyptians*, in the ſame manner as *de Brienne* had been. A treaty, however, of capitulation, was ſet on foot, and *Iſmael* agreed to put one of the gates of the city into *Mainoddin*'s poſſeſſion, provided he was reinſtated in his principality of *Balbec*, and all he poſſeſſed before he ſeized upon *Damaſcus*; and that the garriſon and people there ſhould have liberty to retire, if they pleaſed, with all their money and effects. In like manner, *Al Manſur* was reſtored to all his former territories; but, next year, he was aſſaſſinated at *Damaſcus*, where he arrived in his journey to *Egypt*, in order to put himſelf under the protection of *Nojmoddin*.

and taken, by *Nojmoddin*'s general;

moddin. But *Nojmoddin* had not the ſame favourable ſentiments for *Iſmael*, the prince of *Balbec*. Though he was far from deſiring *Mainoddin*, his general, to violate the capitulation he had concluded with him, yet, by an evaſion, he would have been glad if *Iſmael* had been intercepted in his journey to *Balbec*; and he even reproached ſome of his governors, by letters, for not doing it; telling them, they were not bound by oath for his ſafety, though *Mainoddin* was.

who ſettles the *Khowarazmians*.

Mainoddin being made governor of *Damaſcus*, applied himſelf, next, to ſettling the *Khowarazmians*, to whom he aſſigned regular habitations, upon the ſea-coaſts of *Paleſtine* and *Syria*; but we are told, that he ſent *Iſmael*'s two chief miniſters, in chains, to *Cairo*, where they were treated with great rigour. Some authors ſay, that, after this, the *Khowarazmian* and *Egyptian* army marched againſt *Balbec*, which they took, and ſent *Iſmael*'s children into captivity; but thoſe facts are doubted of by others. We now return to our principal object, the hiſtory of the khalifat.

Riches and high rank of the khalif of *Baghdad*;

Notwithſtanding the great liberality of the late khalif, he left vaſt treaſures to his ſon *Moſtaſem*, who reſembled him in none of his qualifications; he being thoughtleſs, puſillanimous, and voluptuous. The reſpect, however, which the great lords entertained for his father and family, procured him a quiet acceſſion to the khalifat; and none of the *Moſlem* princes pretended to diſpute his ſupremacy: ſo far from that, he was looked upon with as much veneration as the greateſt of his predeceſſors had been, and his capital was conſidered as being ſo ſacred, that, while the flames of war were raging around, the neighbouring princes made it the repoſitory of their treaſure, jewels, and moſt valuable effects. It was, however, ſoon foreſeen, that the *Moguls* and *Tartars*, many of whom were *Chriſtians*, but moſt of them *Idolaters*, would not pay the ſame deference to the head of the *Moſlem* faith. Some of *Moſtaſem*'s friends, in talking to him upon that ſubject, told him, that, as the emperor of the *Moguls* claimed the ſuperiority of all *Aſia*, and tribute from all its princes, there was a neceſſity, for his either ſubmitting to this claim, or for fighting the *Moguls* in the field. "They never will envy me *Baghdad*, replied the mean ſpirited prince; they have too great a regard for my character to moleſt me there; let them leave me that, and take all the world beſides." Soon after his acceſſion to the khalifat, his father's miniſter *Naſeroddin*, a man of great capacity and virtue, dying, he filled his place with one *Moydoddin*, who was accuſed of having betrayed and ruined him. When the ſucceſſors of *Jenghiz Khan* called together the kuriltai, which was a kind of a parliament, formed of all the princes dependent upon the *Mogul* empire, or their repreſentatives, the khalif of *Baghdad*, amongſt others, was obliged to ſend an ambaſſador to that aſſembly.

his puſillanimity.

From

From this the extinction of the khalifat may properly be dated; for, however low and weak the former khalifs were, yet they ſtill preſerved the forms of their ſuperiority, and the marks of dignity; which imprinted an awe and veneration upon the minds of their ſubjects. The ſultan and moguls were no ſtrangers to the high pretenſions of the khalifat, and reſolved to pull them down; for that purpoſe, he treated the miniſter ſent to the kuriltai with particular haughtineſs and contempt, and talked to him in a menacing ſtrain, adviſing him how to behave; a language, till that that time, that had been unknown to a khalif of *Baghdad*. But, in fact, the ſucceſſor of the great *Jenghiz Khan*, whoſe name was *Cayuc*, was, in his heart, a *Chriſtian*. He gave ſeveral ſovereignties to princes who were *Chriſtians* by profeſſion, and diſpoſed of the greateſt dignities in the eaſt, as being lord paramount of all *Aſia*.

The *Moſlems* ſubmit to the *Tartars*.

By this time, the deſolation of *Jeruſalem*, by the *Khowarazmians*, had revived, in *Europe*, the ſpirit of cruſading, which always grew with the difficulty of the enterprize. The zealous pope *Innocent*, however, made the recovery of the *Holy Land* only a ſecond conſideration to that of his humbling the emperor *Frederic*; by which all expeditions to *Jeruſalem* were greatly retarded. But *Lewis* IX. king of *France*, commonly called St. *Lewis*, in a fit of ſickneſs was ſtruck with the paſſion of leading an army againſt the infidels, and took upon himſelf the croſs. The ſtate of his affairs not permitting him to go immediately upon the expedition, he ſent, before-hand, very large ſupplies, both of men, money, and proviſions, to the *Chriſtians* in *Paleſtine*. But calling a general aſſembly of all his eſtates, the example of his zeal inſpired not only all the great lords, but the ladies and princeſſes of his court, his own queen ſetting them the example, with a paſſion for the croſs. *Lewis* was a prince who, notwithſtanding the great portion of the ridiculous zeal of the times which he poſſeſſed, had great talents for government. He had ſtudied the hiſtories of former cruſades, and knew the means by which they had been rendered unſucceſsful. His firſt care was to eſtabliſh ſuch a tranquility in his own dominions, as not to be obliged, as was the caſe with almoſt all former princes who had taken upon them the croſs, to abandon the expedition on account of his domeſtic concerns. He then raiſed an army, not of rabble, but of ſoldiers, about forty thouſand, all of them new armed, well diſciplined, and ſubject to his own command. This army, which, had it been well conducted, was ſufficient to have conquered all *Aſia*, St. *Lewis* ſhipped on board ſuch a number of tranſports as carried them, about the 20th of *September*, to *Cyprus*, where the chief nobility of the iſland had taken upon themſelves the croſs, with an intention to accompany him to the *Holy Land*. It is admitted, by the ableſt of that prince's apologiſts, that he here committed

A new cruſade under St. *Lewis*, king of *France*.

committed an irreparable fault, in being over perſuaded to continue in that iſland during the winter; by which he loſt, not only time, but, many of his beſt troops. Beſides this, the delay his abode in *Cyprus* made, gave *Nojmoddin* an opportunity of compromiſing his differences with the prince of *Aleppo*, and the other princes with whom he was at variance, and to ſtand upon his guard. For *Nojmoddin* was then at war with *Naſer*, the prince of *Aleppo*, who had made himſelf maſter of *Hems*, which city *Nojmoddin* was beſieging when he received the news that the new cruſade had taken place. Had *Lewis*, therefore, inſtead of ſpending his proviſions, and effeminating his troops, by his abode in *Cyprus*, ſailed directly for *Egypt*, he muſt, in all probability, have made a conqueſt of that country, before *Nojmoddin* could have diſengaged himſelf from his other wars.

His pernicious ſtay in *Cyprus*.

While *Lewis* lay in *Cyprus* he received a pompous embaſſy from *Cayuc Kan*, informing him of his attachment to *Chriſtianity*, and, if we are to believe *Chriſtian* writers, of his having himſelf been baptized; and aſſuring him, that he would create a diverſion in favour of the cruſade, by ſending an army againſt the khalif of *Baghdad*, to prevent his troops from joining with thoſe of *Nojmoddin*. *Lewis* received this embaſſy, which was introduced by ſeveral religious perſons, with vaſt ſtate; and ſent the ambaſſadors back with many preſents, equally curious and magnificent. The next care of *Lewis*, was, to compoſe all differences amongſt the princes of *Armenia*, and the *Chriſtians* of the eaſt, and to cauſe a great number of flat-bottomed boats to be built, for the more commodious diſembarking his troops. *Nojmoddin*, upon hearing of thoſe preparations, raiſed the ſiege of *Hems*, and, being joined by all the princes of the houſe of *Ayub*, and the other *Moſlems*, both in *Syria* and *Egypt*, moved towards *Damiata*; having received intelligence, that the firſt attack of the *French* would be upon that city. *Lewis* was but four days upon his voyage, when he appeared before *Damiata*; where, according to the *Chriſtian* hiſtorians, he found a moſt prodigious army of infidels lining all the banks of the river. But nothing could withſtand the zeal of *Lewis*, who was naturally brave. He ordered two attacks to be formed, one with the great ſhips, and the other with the flat-bottomed boats, on board of which his land forces were put, and were commanded by himſelf. That he might not be ſecond to *Richard* of *England*, or any other prince, in zeal, he led the attack in perſon, and threw himſelf into the water up to the neck. He was well ſeconded by the *French*, who were then a free, and, therefore, a brave people; and both attacks were equally ſucceſsful, the infidels being every where diſpoſted; and ſuch was their conſternation at the boldneſs of the *Chriſtians*, that *Lewis* made himſelf

He receives an embaſſy from the *Tartars*.

He takes *Damiata*.

himſelf maſter of *Damiata* without reſiſtance; the garriſon flying precipitately to *Cairo*.

The *Moſlem* authors, however, are not quite ſo circumſtantial in their accounts of this renowned exploit; but the preference of credit is certainly due to the *Chriſtians*, as ſeveral hiſtorians, of great candour and capacity, attended *Lewis*; neither is there any direct contradiction between the two accounts. The *Moſlems* ſay, that, when *Nojmoddin* raiſed the ſiege of *Hems*, and was advanced as far as *Al Manſurah*, a gangrene in his thigh obliged his phyſicians to cut off the limb; which occaſioned his death. He lived, however, long enough to hear of the ſhameful behaviour of his troops at *Damiata*, and he ordered fifty of his principal officers to be hanged, with all their military accoutrements; and great numbers of the common men to be fixed to gibbets, where they expired. Upon the whole, therefore, it ſeems probable, that *Nojmoddin* was not perſonally preſent in the action before *Damiata*, but that a very great army oppoſed the landing of the *Chriſtians*, and was defeated. *Nojmoddin* died ſoon after the amputation of his thigh; but *European* authors have not done juſtice to his character. He behaved with great candour, moderation, and even affection, towards his *Chriſtian* ſubjects; till the conduct of the *European*, and *Chriſtian* princes themſelves, forced him, for the preſervation of his own dominions, to give them ſome checks, though we know of no cruelties he inflicted upon them. The *Moſlem* hiſtorians give him no extraordinary character for his abilities in government, becauſe, perhaps, he was void of that ferocious zeal which they required in a ſovereign of their religion; but they allow him to have been mild and polite, and, withal, ſo majeſtic in his demeanour, as to awe into ſilence all who appeared before him. Perhaps the greateſt objection that lies againſt *Nojmoddin*'s government, was, his employing a militia of *Turkiſh* mamluks, or ſlaves. But the natural inconſtancy of the *Egyptians*, who retained ſtill great affection for the family of the *Fatemite* khalifs, might render this meaſure neceſſary to *Nojmoddin*.

Death of *Nojmoddin*

Error of his government.

He was ſucceeded by his only ſon *Moadhdhem*, who had a quiet acceſſion to the government, by the prudent management of *Shajr al Dor*, or the tree of pearls; a lady, ſo denominated from her incomparable perfections, both of mind and body. She was the beloved wife, or miſtreſs, of *Nojmoddin*, to whom ſhe had bore ſome children, though it does not appear that ſhe was mother to *Moadhdhem*. Upon *Nojmoddin*'s death at *Al Manſurah*, this lady concealed it ſo well, that, pretending he was only ill, ſhe and *Azzoddin*, the *Turkiſh* general, aſſembled all the chief noblemen of the empire; and, pretending to be warranted by the ſultan's authority, obliged them to ſwear allegiance to *Maadhdhem*. Soon after, that prince arrived at *Al Manſurah*, where he took

Hiſtory of his ſucceſſion.

took upon him the ſovereignty; but beſtowed upon *Shajr al Dor* the civil adminiſtration of his government, till he himſelf could make the proper diſpoſitions for driving the *Chriſtians* out of his empire.

It is natural to think that thoſe great events in *Egypt*, all which fell out about the time the *Chriſtians* landed there, facilitated thoſe ſucceſſes, which the *French* authors had ſo greatly magnified; for the emirs, and the principal noblemen of *Egypt*, both *Turks* and natives, hurried to court to take care of their reſpective intereſts, and left *Lewis* at liberty to act almoſt as he pleaſed. He ſpent moſt part of the ſummer in ridiculous religious proceſſions, and in reconſecrating the churches of *Damiata* that had been converted into moſques. He likewiſe added new fortifications to that city, and employed great part of the time in guarding againſt the annual inundation of the *Nile*; for fear of the ſame misfortune happening to him as had befallen king *John de Brienne*. But, however the *French* hiſtorians may magnify the piety, the courage, and the perſonal abilities of their royal ſaint, it appears, even by their own accounts, that he acted, on this occaſion, weakly and fantaſtically. Inſtead of taking advantage of the great ſpirit which his ſucceſs at *Damiata* had given to his troops, and marching to *Cairo*, which he might eaſily have made himſelf maſter of during the confuſion it introduced there, through *Nojmoddin*'s death, he ſuffered his ſoldiers to grow effeminate and intractable in that delicious country, beſides loſing vaſt numbers of them by diſeaſes. His pretext for delay was, that he might wait for new reinforcements; and, indeed, the fame of his ſucceſs brought vaſt numbers of recruits; but they were ſoon contaminated by the diſſolute manners of the army. At the head of thoſe recruits was the count *de Poitiers*; and, had *Lewis*, even then, marched againſt *Cairo*, he would, in all probability, have conquered *Egypt*. But a council of war being held, the opinions in it were divided; the duke of *Brittany* was for making ſure of *Alexandria*, by which they would have held a noble and commodious ſea-port; but the count *de Artois* was for marching directly to *Cairo*; and this opinion was adopted, though the ſeaſon was then advanced to the end of *November*.

Miſconduct of St. *Lewis*, who marches againſt *Cairo*.

Moadhdhem's army was then encamped at *Al Manſurah*, which is ſaid to lye in what was formerly called the *Land of Goſhen*, and was directly in the road to the *Chriſtian* army at *Cairo*: that of the latter was ſixty thouſand ſtrong, of which twenty thouſand were horſe; and, having come to the ſhore oppoſite to that where *Moadhdhem*'s army was encamped, they perceived they could proceed no farther. Without endeavouring to find out a ford, which they very poſſibly might have done above the enemy's encampment, they fell to the mad conſtructions of mighty towers and bulwarks, which they manned with ſlings and croſs-bows, in order to drive the

His ſtrength.

the enemy from the banks, and ſo to have the paſſage free upon a bridge of boats to the reſt of the army: but the *Egyptians* were fully maſters of fire engineering, and, by the help of long tubes, ſomewhat in the nature of cannons, they diſcharged ſuch torrents of combuſtibles as ſoon deſtroyed thoſe unwieldy machines. Fortune, however, put the *Chriſtians* in the way to have ſurmounted this difficulty; an *Arab* deſerter offered to diſcover a ford for a ſum of money, which was paid him. The ford, though very difficult, was found practicable; and the *Knights Templars*, with about two thouſand *French* under the count *de Artois*, paſſed it, and beat off the infidels who lined the oppoſite ſhore. *Lewis* was to have ſupported thoſe who paſſed firſt, but they were ſo animated by ſucceſs, that they followed their purſuit to the very gates of *Al Manſurah*, which they entered, and put a vaſt number of the infidels to the ſword; but the infidels ſoon perceiving what a handful of the *Chriſtians* had entered the town, barricaded that end of it by which they entered it, and which the incautious *Europeans* had left unguarded; and thus the latter were attacked, at the ſame time, both in front and rear; by which moſt of thoſe who had entered the town were cut off. *Lewis*, however, by this time, had paſſed the river, and was engaged with a great body of the *Saracens*, who had endeavoured to cut off his retreat. He owed his life to his perſonal valour; he killed ſix reſolute *Saracens*, who had attacked him, and, at laſt, diſengaged the remains of his troops who were ſhut up in the town, and made themſelves maſters of their artillery. The *Moſlem* authors tell us, that the two thouſand *Franks* who firſt paſſed the river, did vaſt execution, and entered *Al Manſurah*; but that the ſtreets and the gates of the place were ſo narrow, that their troops within the town could not form, nor their horſes enter it; and, that the great execution done againſt the *Chriſtians*, was by the ſtones and brickbats diſcharged from windows and the tops of houſes. The advantage, however, gained by *Lewis*, enabled the rear of the army, under the duke of *Burgundy*, to paſs the river without loſs; and they began to fortify themſelves regularly in one encampment. The *French*, in this engagement, exerted that ardour in attacking which has always diſtinguiſhed their nation; for, when they entered *Al Muſurah*, *Fakroddin*, the *Egyptian* general, an old experienced officer, ſo little apprehended any thing of that kind, that he was killed in his bath as he was dying his beard, which ſtill continues to be a cuſtom amongſt the *Arabs*. The brave count *de Artois* fell within *Al Manſurah*, as did ſome hundreds of the moſt valiant *Knights Templars*; and the *Egyptian* general who ſucceeded *Fakroddin*, ſtripped the body of the count *de Artois* of his armour; which being very rich, was ſhewn about upon the point of a lance, as having belonged to the king of *France*, who, as they affirmed, was killed.

He takes *Al Manſurah.*

After

After the battle of *Al Manſurah*, both armies thought themſelves ſure of ſucceſs: the *Chriſtians*, on account of what they had already performed; and the infidels, becauſe they ſaw the *French* giddy, heedleſs, and ſecure. *Lewis* had intelligence that the *Moſlem* general, whoſe name is not come to our hands, intended to attack him. He had loſt moſt of his horſes; the numbers of his army were far inferior to thoſe of the infidels, and his ſoldiers under very bad diſcipline: *Lewis*, however, made the beſt diſpoſitions his ſituation would admit of, but all were ineffectual. The few remaining *Templars* were cut in pieces, and the whole army was but juſt ſaved from deſtruction by the perſonal valour of the king and a few of his noblemen. To compleat their misfortune, they were now ſo far advanced up the country, that the ſultan *Moadhdhem* cut off their retreat to *Damiata*, and became maſters of the navigation of the *Nile*; by which the *Chriſtians* loſt all their ſupplies of proviſions. Diſeaſes then multiplied in their camp, and a treaty, very diſhonourable for the *French*, was ſet on foot; for by this time the army of the infidels was ten times more numerous than that of the *Chriſtians*, who, having paſſed the *Aſhmun*, a branch of the *Nile* between *Al Manſurah* and *Damiata*, found their ſituation deſperate. The legate, however, and all the chief eccleſiaſtics, threw themſelves on board a large veſſel, which broke through the enemy's ſhipping and carried them ſafe to *Damiata*. *Lewis* was too generous to follow their example, in abandoning ſo many brave men to their enemies; but he was infatuated enough to be amuſed, from time to time, with propoſitions made him by the infidels, till the peſtilential ſeaſon was ſo far advanced, that the ſword was hardly neceſſary for the deſtruction of his army. At laſt, the commiſſaries whom he had appointed to treat with thoſe of *Moadhdhem*, were called upon to make their ultimate demands; and they had the inſolence to inſiſt, not only that *Damiata* ſhould be given up to their maſter, but that the king ſhould deliver himſelf up into his hands, for the performance of the terms of the treaty.

but proceeding too far,

his army is ruined.

Inſolence of the *Egyptians*.

Thoſe conditions were rejected by *Lewis* with a becoming ſcorn, and he at laſt determined to retreat, notwithſtanding all the danger and diſadvantages to which he and his army were thereby expoſed. His firſt care was, to embark the ſick and wounded, who formed the moſt numerous part of his army; and he gave orders that they ſhould be put on board ſome veſſels that attended him. But thoſe who were actually embarked, before they could return to *Damiata*, were all of them ſunk or deſtroyed by the enemy's ſhiping; and all who remained on ſhore were cut in pieces by the infidels. They then attacked the main body commanded by *Lewis* in perſon, and drove them into a little village called *Caſſel*, which was bounded by the *Aſhmun*, in which great numbers of them periſhed. To do *Lewis* and his noblemen juſtice,

St. *Lewis* and his army taken priſoners.

juſtice, though he himſelf was weakened by the epidemical diſtemper that reigned amongſt his troops, they performed prodigies of valour in their retreat; but, at laſt, all courage became madneſs, and he, with the remaining handful of his army, was obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion to the barbarians. In an inſtant, all the common ſoldiers, with the remaining ſick and wounded, were butchered; and none were ſaved but they who, by the richneſs of their armour, appeared to be the beſt able to pay a great ranſom for their liberty.

Demands of the infidels.

As to *Lewis*, he behaved with wonderful compoſure and decency under the misfortune of his captivity. He went through his devotions as uſual; while *Moadhdhem*, who was afraid of loſing his ranſom, ſent his own phyſicians to attend him; and they ſoon reſtored him to his health. The infidels then demanded, that he ſhould give orders for delivering up the places which the *Chriſtians* held in *Syria* and *Paleſtine*. *Lewis* (tho' indeed it was not in his power to give up thoſe poſſeſſions) rejected this preliminary, for it was no other; and the barbarians, who were moſt, or all, of them *Egyptian* mamluks, that is ſlaves, or *Turkiſh* mercenaries, were inhuman enough to threaten, if he did not comply, to put him to the torture. Some ſay that he was actually laid in irons.

Lewis makes peace with *Moadhdhem*.

But *Lewis* was delivered when he leaſt expected it. The lady *Sajr al Dor* had, in fact, engroſſed the government of *Egypt*; and *Moadhdhem*, who was young and ſpirited, had very little more than the title of ſultan. His companions repreſented his ſituation as being worſe than that of a private gentleman; and, that he ought, by all means, to make peace with *Lewis*, if he would put him in poſſeſſion of *Damiata*, and give a large ſum for his ranſom. *Joinville*, a brave *French* nobleman, who wrote the hiſtory of this expedition, was then attending the perſon of *Lewis*; and he tells us, that *Moadhdhem*'s demands were, one hundred thouſand crowns of gold, which might be about three hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, and the rendition of *Damiata*, for his ranſom. *Lewis*, with perhaps a falſe delicacy, refuſed to ranſom himſelf with ſilver; but offered to pay the money to obtain the liberty of his ſubjects, and to give up the city for his own ranſom. The ſultan was ſtruck with the ſpirit and magnanimity he diſcovered under his misfortunes; and, according to *Joinville*, abated a fifth of his demand in money. At laſt, the treaty was concluded upon the following terms:

Terms of the treaty.

" That there ſhould be a truce for ten years. That all the " priſoners that had been taken on either ſide, in *Egypt* or " *Syria*, as well thoſe which had been taken ſince the truce " which the emperor *Frederic* had made with the ſultan *Ca-* " *mel*, as thoſe which had been taken ſince the arrival of the " king of *Egypt*, ſhould be ſet at liberty. That the *Chriſti-* " *ans* ſhould peaceably poſſeſs all the places they held in *Sy-*

" *ria*

" *ria* and *Paleſtine*. That the king ſhould pay eight hun-
" dred thouſand byzants of gold for the ranſom of all the
" priſoners, and ſurrender *Damiata* to the ſultan for his own.
" That all the moveables which the king, the princes, the
" lords, and, in general, all the *Chriſtians*, ſhould have in
" *Damiata*, ſhould be there ſecured by a guard from the ſul-
" tan, till ſuch time as the king ſhould ſend ſhipping to
" tranſport them whither he pleaſed. That all the ſick, and
" thoſe who had any affairs at *Damiata*, might remain there
" in ſafety till they were in a condition to be removed;
" and that then they might with freedom retire whither they
" ſhould pleaſe: and, that the ſultan ſhould give thoſe who
" went by land, a convoy until they arrived at ſome place
" in the poſſeſſion of the *Chriſtians*."

The great officers of the *Mamluks* or the army, which the late *Egyptian* ſultans had ſo impolitically eſtabliſhed, looked upon this treaty as having been concluded only to leave the ſultan at more liberty to ruin them. Their ſuſpicions were encreaſed when they ſaw *Moadhdhem* ſend four gallies for *Lewis*, the two counts his brothers, and all the principal perſonages of his attendance; which carried them to a temporary kind of a palace the ſultan had built upon the banks of the river; where he received them in perſon, and entertained them with great magnificence for ſome days. The treaty being ratified, *Moadhdhem* was at leſs pains than ever to conceal his diſlike to the *Mamluks*, who were entirely attached to the perſon of *Sajr al Dor*. He had, after winning the battle of *Manſurah*, which, according to the *Moſlem* authors, coſt the *French* thirty thouſand men, marched to *Fares Cur*, and there he threatened to exterminate them. In this he ſeems to have been encouraged by the *French*; for, though vaſt numbers of that nation had died, and been put to the ſword, yet there ſtill remained a great body of the knights, and nobility, who could have been of infinite ſervice to *Moadhdhem*. This prince's error ſeems to have conſiſted in diſcovering his intentions before he was in a condition to ſupport or execute them. He was even incautious enough to impriſon *Fataoddin*, a prince of the houſe of *Ayub*, for whom many of the *Egyptians*, and particularly the *Mamlucks*, ſtill retained a high veneration. *Sajr al Dor*, a woman inſatiably fond of power, now ſaw herſelf on the brink of ruin; and it was no hard matter for her to make the *Mamluks* ſenſible of their own danger. A conſpiracy was inſtantly formed, and the chief officers, in a body, attacked the ſultan in the temporary palace we have mentioned, which was built of wood, and where he was wounded by *Roknoddin*, one of the conſpirators. *Moadhdhem*, however, eſcaped to a tower in the palace; but the conſpirators ſoon ſet it on fire, and forced him to throw himſelf into the *Nile*, where he was inſtantly diſpatched.

Hiſtory and grounds of *Moadhdhem*'s murder.

Conſtancy and courage of St. *Lewis*,

Lewis, not having yet executed the late treaty, was ſtill in confinement; and, from his priſon, he beheld the tragedy acted upon *Moadhdhem*. One of the *Mamluks*, more brutal than the reſt, ripped up that unhappy prince's breaſt, and plucking out his heart, carried it, in a kind of triumph, to *Lewis*. Soon after, the emirs, or officers, who had been actors in the bloody tragedy, ruſhed with their drawn ſwords upon him, and his chief noblemen, demanding the immediate execution of the treaty, and that the ranſom-money ſhould be paid into their hands; threatning that, if this was denied, they would put the king, and all his attendance, to death under tortures. The magnanimity of *Lewis*, upon this occaſion, was aſtoniſhing, though his conduct afterwards was ſomewhat unaccountable; for, while the barbarians were pointing their ſwords at his breaſt, he preſerved his uſual coolneſs, and told them, that it had never entered his thoughts to depart from what he had agreed to. They then demanded, that, before he departed from the river, he ſhould pay two hundred thouſand livres to the admirals. That the count *de Poitiers* ſhould remain their priſoner at *Damiata* till the whole was paid. That, for ſecurity of the payment of two hundred thouſand livres more, they ſhould keep the ſick, the munitions, the arms, and the machines, till ſuch time as the king ſhould diſcharge this ſum in the city of *Ptolemais*. This agreement being made, the infidels, by the advice of ſome of the renegados, demanded *Lewis* to confirm it by an oath, in which he conſented, if he did not perform it, he ſhould be looked upon as guilty of perjury, ſacrilege, ſpitting upon the croſs, and renouncing his *God*, with other terrible imprecations. If *Lewis* was really ſincere, in what he had agreed to, no very good reaſon can be aſſigned why he did not take this oath, which the rebels thought neceſſary for their ſecurity. But, far from complying, he told them, that he was reſolved to ſuffer a thouſand deaths, rather than take an oath attended with tremendous conditions. The patriarch of *Jeruſalem* was then ſeized upon, and bound to a ſtake, as being the director of the king's conſcience, and having inſpired him with his ſcruples; but the patriarch, and all the other caſuiſts of the army, loudly and earneſtly adviſed him to comply; which he as obſtinately refuſed to do. This produced a terrifying ſcene; for the emirs, ravenous after money, and believing that the *French* intended to deceive them, ruſhed, with the moſt dreadful imprecations upon the other priſoners, who immediately fell to confeſſing themſelves, and prepared for inſtant death. Even this ſpectacle did not move *Lewis*; he ſtill refuſed to take the oath: and the chief emirs, by a moſt ſenſible turn of mind, thinking that a man, ſo ſcrupulouſly conſcientious, was not formed for deceit, all of a ſudden deſiſted from their demands, and accepted of an oath in his own

own terms. This was one of thoſe happy effects that conſtancy and magnanimity may produce. The infidels forgot the *Chriſtian* in the man; they could not help admiring ſuch heroic virtue; and *Joinville*, who was preſent upon the ſpot, and was one of thoſe who had confeſſed themſelves for their death, tells us, that they offered him the crown of *Egypt*; which he rejected, as having no right to it. We cannot, however, help thinking that he had as much right to that as he had to take *Damiata* and to march againſt *Cairo*; but it appears, from *Joinville*'s own account, that *Lewis* was a little ſtaggered with the offer; and, perhaps, if he could have accepted of the ſovereignty, conſiſtently with the exerciſes of his religion, his other ſcruples would eaſily have been removed. He even went ſo far as to conſult *Joinville* himſelf how he ſhould behave on the occaſion. *Joinville*'s anſwer was ſenſible and honeſt; for he diſſuaded him from truſting to villains, whom he had ſeen murder their own ſovereign: the king, however, according to *Joinville*'s own repreſentation, was far from being of the ſame opinion, and only ſtuck upon the article of religion.

procures him his deliverance, and an offer of the crown of *Egypt*.

The truth is, there is great reaſon for doubting, whether the emirs of the *Mamlucks*, who made this offer, were *Moſlems* or idolaters; as moſt of the *Tartars* and *Turks* in the interior parts of *Aſia* were. It is certain, that, in filling up the throne, they proceeded in a very extraordinary manner, for they gave the diadem to *Shajr al Dor*, who immediately took the title of *Omm Kaled*, on account of her ſon, named *Kaled*, whom ſhe had by *Nojmoddin*. This extraordinary deviation, however, from all the maxims of *Turkiſh* policy, did not laſt long. The emirs depoſed *Omm Kaled*, and raiſed to the crown *Moez Azzoddin*, the chief of their own body. *Omm Kaled*, notwithſtanding her depoſition, ſtill retained her influence; and, in a ſhort time, *Moez*, or, as he is called, *Azzoddin Ayber*, was depoſed in his turn; and a child of ſix years old, *Al Aſhraf Muſa*, a great-grand-ſon of *Camel*'s, of the family of *Ayub*, was raiſed to the throne. This revolution ſeems to have been effected by the means of *Omm Kaled*; for *Azzoddin* was appointed regent during the prince's minority, and married *Omm Kaled*; by which he ſecured his power againſt all oppoſition.

Revolutions of *Egypt*.

In the mean while, *Lewis*, the king of *France*, continued to be treated by the *Mamluks* with infinite reſpect. They ſurrendered every day expreſſed their admiration of his virtues, by playing all their muſical inſtruments, and mounting guard, before his apartment; and *Azzoddin Aybec*, who, by his poſt of regent, had as much power as when he was upon the throne, not only confirmed the treaty that had been contracted with them, but cauſed it to be executed with inviolable fidelity. *Lewis* and his attendants were furniſhed with ſhips, which carried them as far as the bridge of *Damiata*.

Damiata ſurrendered.

His queen, who, with the duke of *Burgundy*, and ſome other *French* noblemen, who was then in that city, had heard of her huſband's captivity with inexpreſſible conſternation; but ſhe had the preſence of mind to engage the garriſon, with the *Piſans* and *Genoeſe* who were there with their ſhips, to defend the place. But the dreadful apprehenſions of the power of the infidels, drove her to a very extraordinary expedient for ſaving her liberty and honour: for ſhe engaged, under the ſanction of an oath, an old knight of eighty years of age, who attended her, to cut off her head if the place ſhould fall into the infidels hands. One *Geoffrey de Serginès*, a *French* knight, was commiſſioned by *Lewis* to deliver up *Damiata*; and the queen, the patriarch, and the duke of *Burgundy*, with all the garriſon, went in ſhipping to *Acon*. As to *Lewis*, we are told that the villainous *Mamluks*, who had him in cuſtody, deliberated whether they ſhould not put him and all his attendants to death; but that the fear of *Azzoddin Aybeck*, and of loſing the remainder of his ranſom, prevented their barbarous intentions; and twenty thouſand of their troops eſcorted him on foot to the galley, where he embarked with his brother and his chief officers, and followed his queen to *Acon*. The count *de Poitiers* was detained at *Damiata*, as a pledge for the payment of the firſt moiety of the ſtipulated ſum; and, ſo ſcrupulouſly honeſt was *Lewis*, that he refuſed to leave his galley till it was raiſed: but, after all his efforts, thirty thouſand crowns were found wanting to compleat it. *Lewis* applied for this ſum to the *Knights Templars*, who were exceſſively rich in ready-money, but they refuſed to advance any, upon pretext that they could not diſpoſe of the joint-property of their order: but *Lewis*, conſcientious and religious as he was, laughed at this excuſe; and, finding the *Knights* obſtinate, he ſent *Joinville* with a ſtrong hatchet to bring away the money. *Joinville* would punctually have executed his orders; but, when the *Knights* found the king was determined to be obeyed, they furniſhed the money; upon which the count *de Poitiers* was ſet at liberty.

The method of ranſoming the count *de Poitiers*.

Naſer invades *Egypt*,

About this time, the revolutions that had lately happened in the government of *Egypt*, encouraged *Naſer*, prince of *Aleppo*, and then one of the moſt powerful princes of the houſe of *Ayub*, to invade that country. His firſt ſtep was to march to *Damaſcus*, which he took poſſeſſion of; and ſome of the chief *Mamluks* of *Egypt* gave him an invitation to receive that crown. *Naſer* accordingly marched forward, being at the head of a very ſtrong army, and attended by ten princes of the houſe of *Ayub*, and penetrated into *Egypt* as far as *Al Cara*, where he engaged and routed the troops ſent againſt him by *Azzoddin Aybec*. But the inconſtant *Egyptians* ſoon deſerted *Naſer* in ſuch numbers, that *Azzoddin*, in his turn, entirely defeated him, and puniſhed with death ſuch

and is defeated.

ſuch of the emirs as he found to be in his intereſt; ſo that *Naſer* returned with great diſgrace to *Damaſcus*.

As inclination and affection had no part in the marriage between *Azzoddin* and *Omm Kaled*, that ambitious princeſs conceived a mortal averſion for her huſband, only becauſe he ſhared with her the government; and he entertained a like hatred for her. She had found, however, the art to engage the *Mamluks* on her ſide; and, having intelligence that *Azzoddin* intended to be divorced from her, ſhe procured him to be murdered with their knives or daggers; or, as others ſay, to be drowned in the *Nile*. His death was revenged by his ſon *Al Manſur*, who, aſſiſted by his mother and ſome of the chief emirs, killed the wicked *Omm Kaled*, and threw her body to the dogs, after ſhe had pounded to duſt all her jewels and precious ſtones. It does not clearly appear, after her death, what became of the young ſultan *Al Aſhraf Muſa*, whoſe authority was confirmed by a patent from the khalif of *Baghdad*; for we are told, that, as ſoon as *Omm Kaled* was put to death, *Al Manſur* was declared ſultan of *Egypt*. Death of *Azzoddin*, and his wife.

Moſtaſem, all this while, continued khalif of *Baghdad*; and, though a very weak prince, he exacted from his ſubjects greater marks of reſpect than had ever been paid to the greateſt of his predeceſſors. It was with difficulty that the greateſt of the *Moſlem* princes were admitted into his preſence; and his avarice was ſo great, that his riches drew on his ruin. He ordered a ſtone to be placed before his palace, and a velvet curtain to be hung up before the door of his apartment; and obliged all who approached him to knock their foreheads againſt the ſtone, and to rub their eyes with the velvet. But his pride ſoon came to a fatal period. *Hulacu*, brother to the chief khan of the *Tartars*, then preſided over the weſtern part of that immenſe empire. The name of the chief khan was *Muncaca*; and, tho' no prince in all the eaſt was exempted from paying him homage and tribute, yet his reign was very mild; and his impoſitions, eſpecially upon his own ſubjects, moderate. We have already hinted, that the ſucceſſors of the great *Jenghiz Khan*, were, in fact, either *Chriſtians*, or well affected to *Chriſtianity*. *Hulacu*, in imitation of the great *Jenghiz Khan*, was intent upon conqueſts; and, favoured by his brother, he raiſed a vaſt army, but without any determined ſcheme how to employ it. At firſt, he thought of falling down upon the *Leſſer Aſia*, and penetrating into the fruitful dominions of *Poland*; and, from thence, into *Ruſſia*: but, as his army muſt have been expoſed to great wants and difficulties, by thoſe enterprizes, *Naſeroddin*, a famous mathematician, who had reſided at the khalif of *Baghdad*'s court, but had retired from thence in diſguſt, informed him how practicable it was to make himſelf maſter of *Baghdad*, *Syria*, and thoſe provinces which formed the garden of the world. Pride of the khalif. *Hulacu* undertakes the conqueſt of *Baghdad*.

Adventures of *Hatem*, king of *Armenia*.

Hulacu was encouraged to this enterprize by many circumſtances. *Hatem*, the *Chriſtian* king of *Armenia*, had thrown himſelf under the protection of *Muncaca*, who inſiſted upon his doing him homage in perſon. As *Hatem* was obliged to paſs through the territories of the *Seljuks* of *Rum*, with whom he had great differences, he diſguiſed himſelf like the groom of his own ambaſſador, whom he pretended to ſend to the khan's court, for a paſs, or a ſafe conduct. In this diſguiſe, *Hatem*, without being diſcovered, performed a great part of his journey; but, when he came to *Aryencan*, a travelling pedlar, who had reſided in his dominions, knew him, as he was leading a horſe after an ambaſſador, and called upon him by his name; upon which the ambaſſador gave the pretended groom a box on the ear, aſking how he durſt preſume to reſemble a great prince. After this, *Hatem* proceeded undiſcovered to the khan's court; and, it is very probable, he contributed greatly to *Hulacu*'s undertaking the expedition againſt *Baghdad*.

The *Iſmaelians*, or aſſaſſins, ſubdued,

But *Hulacu*'s chief hopes of ſucceſs lay in a difference which, at this time, ſprung up between the *Shiites* and the *Sonnites* at *Baghdad*. The former were patronized by *Mowadoddin*, the khalif's vizir; and the latter, by *Abubekr*, his ſon; who ſeized by force the chief of the *Shiites*, and threw them into priſon; while the khalif, immerſed in voluptuouſneſs, and immured within his palace, was kept in a profound ignorance of all public tranſactions. *Hulacu* was no ſtranger to what was paſſing at *Baghdad*; but kept his intentions to attack that city a profound ſecret. He lay, for forty days, encamped with his great army in the plains of *Samarkand*, where he loſt two of his brothers. Various accidents, and the inclemency of the ſeaſon, prevented him, all that year, from advancing againſt *Baghdad*; but, not to be wholly inactive, he reſolved to chaſtiſe the *Iſmaelians*, or aſſaſſins, who were now become the nuiſances of the world; inſomuch that they went under no other term than that of *al melahedan*, or, the wicked. The name of their prince was *Roknoddin*; and, as he knew he was no match for *Hulacu*, he uſed various expedients to pacify him; and would have thrown himſelf under his protection, and done him homage in perſon, if his ſubjects would have permitted him. *Hulacu*, upon this, ſent his generals, who beſieged and took the *Iſmaelian*'s forts, which were very numerous, one after another; and *Roknoddin*, at laſt, found means to eſcape to *Hulacu*. As that prince acted but in a ſubordinate character to his brother, the great khan, he did not venture of himſelf to put *Roknoddin*, or any of his family, or followers, to death; though he was fully convinced that their impieties deſerved it. Inſtead of that, *Roknoddin* expreſſing an extreme deſire to throw himſelf at the feet of the great khan, *Hulacu* permitted him, with nine of his ſubjects, to repair, under an eſcort, to the *Mogul* court. But, when they arrived there, the chief officers of

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the eſcort gave *Muncaca* ſuch diſadvantageous impreſſions of *Roknoddin*, that the latter was refuſed an audience, and ordered to return to his own dominions, and to ſurrender two forts which ſtill held out againſt *Hulacu*. Upon this *Roknoddin* begun his journey back to his capital *Hazwin*; but his puniſhment having been pre-conſulted between the great khan and his brother, he was put to death upon the road, as were all his friends and family at *Kazwin*, by *Hulacu*'s orders, and about twelve thouſand of his troops; by all which ſeverities, this deteſtable race was almoſt exterminated. and extirminated.

While this terrible, but neceſſary, piece of juſtice, was performing, *Hulacu* took care to conceal his main view; he even ſent ambaſſadors to *Baghdad*, and demanded from the khalif, as a tributary to the *Mogul* throne, an aſſiſtance of troops to extirpate the *Iſmaelians*, thoſe peſts of all ſociety. The indolent khalif referred his meſſengers to his vizir *Mowadoddin*, who proved both a traitor and an enthuſiaſt. Being wedded to the ſect of the *Shiites*, he had conceived an invincible hatred for *Abu Bekr* and the whole houſe of *Al Abbas*, and reſolved to ruin them. With this view, he entered into a ſecret correſpondence with the *Tartar* ambaſſadors, and, by their means, with *Hulacu* himſelf; to whom he diſcovered all the weakneſs of his maſter, and of *Baghdad*; promiſing his aſſiſtance in ſubduing them, if he would be but ſpeedy in his approaches. *Hulacu* was, at this time, at *Hamadan*; and, though he both deſpiſed and hated the treacherous vizir, yet he reſolved to avail himſelf of his correſpondence; and *Mowadoddin* was not wanting, on his part, in lulling his maſter into a fatal ſecurity. The khalif, at that time, had an army of ſeventy thouſand men on foot, which he could eaſily have increaſed to double that number, through the long tranquility which his dominions had enjoyed. But the vizir, inſtead of increaſing this army, or rendering it fit for action, perſuaded the khalif to diſband a great part of it, becauſe he had nothing to fear from the *Tartars*. This advice was extremely agreeable to the khalif's indolence, as well as avarice; and the vizir even found means to ſend the moſt experienced officers of the army to poſts at a great diſtance from *Baghdad*, where they could be of no ſervice to that capital. Treachery of the khalif's vizir.

Hulacu underſtanding how affairs were ſituated, immediately divided his army, and gave the command of one half of it to *Bayeju*, with orders to paſs the *Tigris*, and to inveſt one part of *Baghdad*; while he himſelf, in perſon, inveſted the other; and then he fell, like a tempeſt, into the *Babylonian Irak*. The infatuation of the khalif and his people, on this occaſion, is almoſt without a preſident in hiſtory. *Baghdad*, and the character of khalif, had ſo long been held in veneration; its ſtate of affluence, pleaſure, and reſpect amongſt all the neighbouring princes, was ſuch; and the power of the houſe of *Al Abbas* was deemed to be ſo great; that it was thought *Hulacu* advances againſt *Baghdad*.

thought impoſſible for any prince to entertain the leaſt notion of invading them: but, above all, *Baghdad* itſelf, next to ſome cities perhaps in *China*, was, at this time, the moſt populous place in the world. All this being repreſented to the khalif, by his treacherous miniſters and ignorant courtiers, increaſed his ſecurity. Many of his emirs and miniſters, however, who had ſeen the world, and knew the nature of the *Tartars*, repreſented to him the danger he was in. At laſt he was, with great difficulty, perſuaded to ſend ambaſſadors and preſents to *Hulacu*; but the *Tartar*, deſpiſing the quality of the former, and the value of the latter, would receive neither; and inſiſted upon the khalif ſending either the general of his army or ſome of his chief miniſters, to receive his commands in his camp. But all of them refuſed to obey him, and he was obliged to ſend plenipotentiaries of an inferior character, whom the *Tartar* again diſmiſſed with contempt. Notwithſtanding all this, the vizir ſtill continued to amuſe the khalif, by telling him, that, if the *Tartar* ſhould ever enter the city, the women and children were numerous enough to deſtroy them, with ſtones and bricks from their windows and tops of their houſes.

Security of the khalif.

By this time, *Bayeju* had paſſed the *Tigris*, and had begun to inveſt *Baghdad* on that ſide; while *Hulacu* had advanced by *Holwan* almoſt as far as the gates of the city. Here he made priſoner *Al Halabei*, a nobleman of *Baghdad* of ſome conſequence; and likewiſe engaged him, by a faithful promiſe to ſpare his life, to endeavour to bring about a ſurrender of the city. *Halabei* accordingly wrote to his friends in the city, to render them ſenſible of their danger, and the vaſt power of the *Tartars* under *Hulacu*. His letter being taken into conſideration by the infatuated khalif, and his favourites, they returned *Hulacu* an anſwer, railing at him for preſuming to attack the holy houſe of *Al Abbas*, who held their empire from *God* alone; but promiſed him, by way of favour, that, if he would withdraw his troops, and return peaceably to *Hamadan*, they would endeavour to prevail with the dowaidar, or general of the army, to obtain his pardon, from the commander of the faithful, for his wicked and preſumptuous invaſion. This inſolent anſwer being treated by the *Tartar* with proper contempt, he proceeded in his preparations for the ſiege. At laſt, the khalif was ſo far rouſed out of his lethargy, that he ordered the dowaidar to put himſelf at the head of all the troops he could raiſe, and to attack *Bayeju*, who was ſtill encamped on the weſtern ſide of the *Tigris*. But the dowaidar having intelligence that a ſtrong reinforcement under *Sunjak*, another general, was advancing to join *Bayeju*, he marched againſt *Sunjak*, over whom, at firſt, he obtained an advantage; but *Bayeju* haſtening to *Sunjak*'s aſſiſtance, reſtored the fight; and both armies fought, for almoſt a whole day, without any apparent advantage on either ſide.

Inſolence of his favourites.

ſide. When the *Moſlems* withdrew to their camp, which was ſituated on the banks of the *Tigris*, the *Tartars* obſerved that they lay upon a ſpot that had been won from the bed of that river, and was ſecured from inundation by a vaſt mound. Nothing was too arduous for thoſe barbarians not to attempt. In the night time they pierced this mound, by which the camp of the *Baghdaders* was laid under water, and almoſt the whole army was either drowned or cut in pieces, their general eſcaping, with but a few attendants. This diſaſter was, in part, concealed from the khalif, who thought he had gained a victory, upon ſeeing his general return ſafe. The khalif's army deſtroyed.

It was now the middle of *January*, but the ſeverity of the ſeaſon did not diſcourage the hardy *Tartars* from compleating their lines of circumvallation around *Baghdad*. The infatuation of the *Baghdaders* was ſuch, that we know of no interruption the beſiegers met with, though their lines on the eaſtern, as well as the weſtern parts of the city, conſiſted of a high wall, ſtrengthened by a ditch, and in that wall were placed their battering and fire engines. There is here a ſeeming, but, perhaps, no real contradiction, amongſt the *Moſlem* authors; for ſome of them ſay, that the ſiege continued two months, before the khalif ſo much as knew of it; and others, that it laſted only three weeks. We may, however, reaſonably ſuppoſe, that the former ſpeak of the time when *Hulacu* firſt appeared before *Baghdad*; and the latter, from the time of his compleating his lines of circumvallation, when all intercourſe, between the city and the adjacent country, was cut off. The ſiege of *Baghdad* continued.

When the circumvallation was compleated, the khalif began to be more ſenſible of his danger; and he ſent two of his chief miniſters, with ſome preſents, to *Hulacu*; and, at the ſame time, offered him his ſubmiſſion. The *Tartar* received and diſmiſſed them with diſdain, and demanded, that the vizir and the general ſhould be ſent to treat with him, together with *Soliman Shah*, who ſeems to have been one of the khalif's ſons. Some demur was made to this demand, and the ſiege going vigorouſly on, the khalif, at laſt, diſpatched his treacherous vizir, and the general, to treat with *Hulacu*. The general being afraid of the *Tartar*, refuſed to proceed, and returned to the city; but the vizir was received with vaſt careſſes. We are given, however, to underſtand, that the ſiege was now ſo far advanced, that *Hulacu* was above treating, and demanded nothing under an abſolute ſubmiſſion: for though he gave the vizir, and his two ſons, their liberty, yet he put the other noblemen, and their attendants, under an arreſt. In the mean while, the inhabitants of *Baghdad*, who had been ſo ſecure, that, to uſe the eaſtern expreſſion, the oven was heated, as uſual, every evening, and morning, ran from one extream to another; for they were no ſooner ſenſible of their danger, than they The khalif treats with *Hulacu*;

they ſent out deputies to make their abſolute ſubmiſſion to *Hulacu*. But the like ſubmiſſion not having been made upon the part of the khalif, and his court, *Hulacu* diſpoſed every thing for taking the city by ſtorm. He proceeded, notwithſtanding, in a manner not very uſual with barbarians; for, after making his enemies ſenſible that it was impoſſible for them to hold out longer, he ordered billets to be ſhot into the city, to inform the inhabitants, that he would ſpare the lives and effects of all the nobility, the deſcendants of the houſe of *Ali*, and, in ſhort, of all who did not oppoſe him; and he left the khalif at liberty either to reſide in his own palace, or to take refuge in the *Tartar* camp. It does not abſolutely appear, that his offers were accepted, for we are told, that the khalif's eldeſt ſon bravely defended the gate of *Calwad*, where he was poſted, and where he was killed, together with a great number of his friends; but that prince's generous example had no influence upon the degenerated *Baghdaders*, and gave the *Tartar* a pretext for retracting his offers. Upon a ſignal given, the walls were mounted, and the city was taken by ſtorm. The thoughtleſs khalif then perceived he was undone. Being deſerted by his army, his people, his nobility, and all but his own family, his wives, and children, eunuchs, and other domeſtics, he ſent a meſſage, deſiring *Hulacu* to take him under his protection. The *Tartar*, at firſt, was inclined to grant him this favour; but, for what reaſon we know not, the unhappy khalif was ſtopped at the gate of *Calwad*, and ordered to return to his palace, to which *Hulacu*, ſoon after, repaired in perſon. He found the khalif prepared to receive him, at the head of his family, his ſervants, and eunuchs, the whole amounting to about one thouſand; and all his riches, which were immenſely great, were expoſed before *Hulacu* in coſtly vaſes. The *Tartar*, inſenſible to avarice, inſtantly gave orders that they ſhould be diſtributed amongſt his officers and ſoldiers; which was accordingly done, and the city itſelf was abandoned to be plundered for ſeven days, ending on the 14th of *February*.

who prepares to ſtorm the city,

which he takes, and

Hitherto the *Tartar* had proceeded with little of the ſpirit of a barbarian; and it is, perhaps, impoſſible, at this time, to diſcover the motives of his after conduct. Having become maſter of the khalif and of his dominions, he knew not how to diſpoſe of his perſon. If the truth was known, perhaps it will appear, that the intolerable inſolence of the khalif and his court had ſo greatly diſguſted the *Tartars* and *Moguls*, as rendered it unſafe for *Hulacu* to ſpare his life; be that as it will, it is certain, that the khalif was put to a moſt barbarous death; for he was ſewed up, either in a bull's hide, or, according to others, a felt bag, and dragg'd through the ſtreets of *Baghdad*, till he expired. Some authors ſay, that his ſurviving ſon, or ſons, ſuffered the ſame cruel death, at the ſame time, the 14th of *February*.

puts the khalif to death.

Hej. 656. A. D. 1258.

Before

Before we proceed to make any reflections upon the fate of this khalif, and the extinction of the mighty houſe of *Al Abbas*, it is highly proper that the reader ſhould be informed, that authors differ greatly in relating ſome of the circumſtances that attended this cataſtrophe. *Khondemir*, the *Perſian* hiſtorian, and *Abul Faraj*, an hiſtorian of great credit, who was cotemporary with *Hulacu*, are not agreed in their accounts; but, when they are rightly conſidered, their difference ſerves, in the main, to ſtrengthen the repreſentation of the facts which we have preferred. *Khondemir* ſays, that a ſlave, one *Atude*, who ſeems to have had a great deal of the enthuſiaſt in his compoſition, if we are to believe that hiſtorian, was the inſtrument of *Hulacu*'s ſucceſs againſt *Baghdad*. According to him, the *Mogul* army proceeded with ſo much barbarity, after they entered upon the khalif's dominions, that they deſtroyed all the fruits of the ground, without leaving ſubſiſtence even for themſelves; ſo that *Hulacu* was upon the point of raiſing the ſiege of *Baghdad*. But this *Atude* having, by means of a dream, conceived a ſtrong notion, that the ſovereignty of the houſe of *Al Abbas* was drawing to a period, and that he himſelf ſhould become maſter of *Baghdad*, he ſhot an arrow, with a billet faſtened to it, addreſſed to *Hulacu*, into the *Mogul* camp, informing him, that, if he would demand from the khalif, that he (*Atude*) ſhould be ſent to him, he would diſcover to him the means of ſubſiſting his army for a whole month. *Hulacu*, thinking he could ſuffer nothing by the experiment, made the demand accordingly; and the ſlave was ſent to him. It happened, that his maſter was the governor of *Yacuba*, where a great magazine of corn had been laid up, or, as is the cuſtom in many parts of the eaſt, depoſited in pits. *Atude* being brought before *Hulacu*, diſcovered to him this important ſecret; and a detachment being ſent to *Yakuba*, the intelligence was found to be true. If we except the mention of the dream, which there is no manner of occaſion for ſuppoſing, there is nothing in this relation that is not highly probable to be performed by a cunning, ſenſible ſlave, ſuch as *Atude* ſeems to have been; for he came to be ſo greatly in *Hulacu*'s favour, that he made him governor of *Baghdad*, the taking of which he thought he owed to his diſcovery. What *Mircond* relates concerning the ſlaughter made in *Baghdad*, and its neighbourhood, upon this occaſion, may ſerve to give us ſome idea of the power of the late khalif, who was killed in the 46th year of his age, and the 17th of his reign; for he ſays, that no fewer than one million ſix hundred thouſand people were put to the ſword; a number, perhaps, double of all that *London* and *Weſtminſter* contains at this time. This exceſſive populouſneſs may, however, be eaſily accounted for, when we conſider the natural advantages of the climate and ſituation of *Baghdad*, and the *Babylonian Irak*; that it was ſurrounded by the riches, both

Different accounts of the ſiege.

Great numbers killed.

1759.

both natural and commercial, of the whole world; and that the khalif's dominions enjoyed a ſtate of tranquility, while all around them were ſcenes of blood and rapine; and that the inhabitants of the adjacent countries retir'd, with all their wealth, to them, as to an aſylum, from the calamities of war.

Reflection upon the decline and ruin of the khalifat.

Thus we have ſeen the extinction of an empire, at one time greater than that of *Rome*, or of any, till then, known in the world. The principles upon which it was founded, and the frame of its conſtitution, were more admirable, and would have rendered it more durable, than any in hiſtory, againſt all rebellions of their own ſubjects, had it not been for two misfortunes, which, at firſt, embroiled it, afterwards, weakened, and, at laſt, ruined it. The firſt was, the early conceived difference between the *Sonnites*, and the *Shiites*; or, as they have been already deſcribed, the adherents to tradition, and the adherents to the deſcendants of the houſe of *Ali*; of whom there never wanted a competitor. But this misfortune, great and troubleſome as it was to the khalifs, was not, perhaps, ſometimes, without its uſe, ſince it obliged them to the practice of many virtues, both moral and political, which an open, ſecure deſpotiſm, might have made them forget; and hence it was, that no ſingle line of monarchs in hiſtory, can produce ſo many virtuous, great, and accompliſhed princes, as that of *Al Abbas* can.

The ſecond misfortune we are to take notice of, was, the fatal error which ſome of their moſt indolent princes, though otherwiſe good men, fell into, of employing foreign mercenaries for their body guards; by which, though they ſometimes enjoyed a deceitful ſecurity, yet they were, in the end, ruined: and nothing could have hindered the khalifat from being overthrown, long before it was, but the attachment to *Moſlemiſm*, which thoſe mercenaries, by degrees, fell into, and thereby looked upon themſelves as, at leaſt, the ſpiritual ſubjects of the khalif.

Parallel between the khalifs and the popes.

The reader will naturally form, in his own mind, a compariſon between this *Aſiatic*, and the *European*, pope. The conſtitution of the khalifat, under the houſe of *Al Abbas*, had, however, one great advantage over the *European* popedom: for the government of the former being hereditary, and the ſucceſſion in the breaſt of the reigning khalif, who generally made his ſucceſſor to be recognized in his own life-time, the diſputes were but few, concerning the ſucceſſion; which was far from being the caſe in the pontifical government at *Rome*.

On the other hand, this advantage was greatly counterbalanced, by the khalifs coming to their power at a time when youth and vigour prompted them to all private exceſſes, for they ſeldom were openly indecent; and thoſe exceſſes, at laſt, ſunk into habitual indolence; which, in fact,

was

was the failing to which their government owed its declenſion, and, at laſt, its ruin. This ſeldom was the caſe with the *European* popes, who were, generally, men matured in age and experience, and paſt the ſenſual enjoyments of life, at the time of their election. The khalifs, in one ſenſe of equity, had a great ſuperiority over the popes: for though, to their very lateſt exiſtence, they exerciſed an undiſputed claim of diſpoſing of the greateſt monarchies of the eaſt, yet all thoſe monarchies had been, at one time or other, the properties of their predeceſſors; and the poſſeſſors of them had at no time diſputed the califs right to be their lords paramount. This was far from being the caſe with the popes, who claimed the diſpoſal of the crowns from their ſpiritual authority only. It is likewiſe remarkable, that, even the laſt khalif, who is looked upon as being one of the weakeſt princes of his race, reigned with far greater exteriors of ſtate and veneration, than the proudeſt pope, perhaps, ever could arrive at; for, beſides the circumſtances of pomp we have already mentioned, and to which the greateſt *Moſlem* princes ſubmitted, we are told, that, when he went abroad, he wore a maſk, or a veil, as if his ſubjects were unworthy to look upon his face; that all the ſtreets through which he paſſed were crouded, and that balconies, from whence he could be ſeen, were hired, at exorbitant rates. This exterior of pride, and mad pomp, was extremely diſguſtful to the hardy *Tartars*, whoſe princes, though equally, and more, powerful, choſe to diſplay their magnificence in camps, and fields, in receiving embaſſadors, or tributaries, and in other acts of a ſovereign's duty. The eaſtern hiſtorians obſerve, that it was this diſguſt of the *Tartars*, that drew upon the khalif and his ſon the terrible fate they met with. But, in fact, according to the ſame hiſtorians, had not the khalif's indolence, and want of knowledge in the world, ſuffered him to be impoſed upon by his vizir, he might have bid defiance to all the power of the *Tartars*, who found the conqueſt of *Baghdad*, after all, to be a much more difficult taſk than they had imagined.

Pomp of the laſt khalif.

We have, in the preceding part of this hiſtory, introduced all the material events that happened amongſt the princes who ſucceeded to the chief provinces of the antient khalifat, and, conſequently, of the greateſt part of the then known inhabitable part of the globe; as it comprehended all *Aſia*, to the very heart of *India*, *Africa*, and a great part of *Europe*. The facts we have omitted, are neither of authority, nor importance enough, to claim attention. Upon the whole, the method we have obſerved is ſuch, as does not ſubject our readers to the double expence and fatigue of reading the ſame facts over again, under other titles. We ſhall, therefore, purſue the ſame plan in the hiſtory of the vaſt empire of *Jenghiz Khan*, and his deſcendants, which will comprehend that of infinite numbers of

Concluſion and plan that has been obſerved.

of people, which we have had yet no opportunity of introducing; and, though the incidents are more ſtriking than any to be found amongſt the *Greeks* and the *Romans*, yet they have been, till, but very lately, totally unknown to *Europeans*; and the collections that have been made of them, in general, are ſo dry and diſguſting, that they can be read, neither with pleaſure nor inſtruction, by any but compleat maſters of the eaſtern languages and geography.

The Hiſtory of Jenghiz Khan, *the founder of the* Mogul *empire, who began his reign in the year* 1205.

Introduction.

WE are now to attempt the hiſtory of the greateſt conqueror that hiſtory mentions, or, perhaps, that the world ever produced. A conqueror, in fortune, power, magnificence, and extent of dominions, far ſuperior to *Alexander*, and to all the monarchs, either of the eaſtern, or weſtern empires. A conqueror, whoſe titles it is hard to deſcribe; they being ſo various, and ſo numerous, that each claimed the preference of the other. The reader may perceive, that, to avoid the diſagreeable taſk of repeating the ſame things over and over again, we have purpoſely, in the hiſtory of the khalifat, omitted any particular mention of this great man's actions. We cannot, however, enter, with propriety, upon his hiſtory, without giving the reader ſome general idea of the country whence he ſprung, and which we ſhall juſt touch upon, as the particulars of climate, ſituation, produce, manufactures, rivers, hills, and the like, belong to the province of the geographer, rather than the hiſtorian.

Tartary deſcribed.

Neither is it our buſineſs to examine, minutely, whether the antient *Scythians*, and the *Tartars*, were the ſame, or what were the boundaries of their reſpective nations. The very accounts given us by hiſtorians, of the *Scythians* being a wandering, reſtleſs people, roving from clime to clime, through the immenſe plains of *Aſia*, and the bordering countries of *Europe*, render it almoſt impoſſible for any author to write, with preciſion, upon this head; neither is it material to this hiſtory. It ſeems, however, certain, that the old *Romans* were abſolute ſtrangers to the greateſt part of *Tartary*; and it was but in this, and the laſt century, that, by the labours of czar *Peter*, of *Ruſſia*, and the munificence of *Lewis* XIV. of *France*, modern *Europeans* have obtained any adequate idea of this vaſt country.

Tatary, or as, in compliance with the general cuſtom, we ſhall call it, *Tartary*, the native country of the *Mungls*, or, as we ſhall, for the ſame reaſon, call them, *Moguls*, is bounded, on the eaſt, by the eaſtern ocean; and is ſeparated, on the weſt, from *Ruſſia*, by the *Caſpian Sea*, and the

the rivers *Jaic*, and *Tobol*; on the north, the *Ruſſian Siberia* is its boundary; and the kingdoms of *Khowaraſm*, *Bukaria*, *China*, and *Korea*, on the ſouth. Hence, according to geographers, it contains eighty-ſix degrees of longitude, or is in length, from weſt to eaſt, three thouſand ſix hundred miles; and eighteen degrees of latitude, or is in breadth, from ſouth to north nine hundred and ſixty miles, where broadeſt; though, where narroweſt, not above three hundred and thirty. There is, however, the ſtrongeſt reaſon for believing, that the antient *Tartary*, in the time of *Jenghiz Khan*, and before it, was of a much greater extent; and that it was curtailed into its preſent bounds by the *Ruſſians*, *Chineſe*, and other nations. *Tartary* is divided into eaſt and weſt; the latter is the moſt conſiderable for extent, and, from its inhabitants, the *Moguls*, it is called *Mongalia*. On the ſouth of it lies the famous *Chineſe* wall. The *Kobi*, a moſt enormous ſandy deſart, ſecures it on the weſt and north-weſt; on its eaſt lies *Eaſtern Tartary*, and, on the north, the country of *Kalkas*; a region ſaid to be as large as *Tartary* itſelf, but almoſt unknown to *Europe*: nor, indeed, can the diviſion and boundaries aſſigned by us to *Tartary*, be entirely depended on, though they are taken from the beſt informations. Deſcribed

Before the time of *Jenghiz Khan*, the *Moguls* were but one tribe, amongſt many, who inhabited the *Weſtern Tartary*; but that being his tribe, it became the general denomination of all the *Weſtern Tartars*. Notwithſtanding the variety of tribes and hords amongſt them, it is plain, from their language and manners, that they are all of them, originally, the ſame people, and had the ſame anceſtors. In ſhort, the *Moguls*, whatever ſome authors may pretend, was, in the time of *Jenghiz Khan*, a nation of *Tartars*. According to travellers, this nation, though ſtrong in their perſons, had very ordinary features; and though they are, at preſent, barbarians, yet it is certain that, during the time of *Jenghiz Khan*, they had a regular government, well built cities, and they knew the uſe of letters, of a particular form, which they cut upon boards; but it is hard to ſay at what time they loſt all this politeneſs; for many of their monuments are yet extant, with theſe characters inſcribed upon them; and though ſome of their cities, public buildings, and monuments, which are far from being inelegant, were found, yet all of them were uninhabited. Their religion, in the time of *Jenghiz Khan*, ſeems to have been deiſtical; but they afterwards became idolaters, and many of them *Mahometans*. Their government ſeems to have been, in a great meaſure, patriarchal, great reſpect being given to the father, or the eldeſt *Mogul*, of a hord, or tribe. But a number of thoſe being corporated together, are ſubject to a khan, or head, who is generally, elected out of a Its inhabitants, and government.

particular family, and a number of thoſe inferior khans are ſubordinate to one of greater authority.

Origin of *Temjuin.* The original of *Jenghiz Khan*, like that of *Alexander*, and other great conquerors, is run up to divinity itſelf; nor ſhall we, after *Fadlallah*, his moſt genuine hiſtorian, trouble the reader with the ridiculous pedigree that has been drawn up for him. The name of his father was *Yeſſuki*, a prince of a martial diſpoſition, and, from his being the head of a ſmall territory amongſt the *Moguls*, became the chief, or commander, of a great hord, which he compoſed out of the inferior ones he conquered; and which were, all of them, commanded by warriors of great reputation. This ſmall government lay near to *Naymins*, and to *Karakoram*, the chief city of the *Kobi*; and *Yeſſuki* diſtinguiſhed his family by the denomination of *Kayat*. Being provoked by a prince, or khan, called *Temujin*, he marched againſt him, and cut his troops in pieces. Upon *Yeſſuki*'s return, his favourite wife, called *Olon Ayka*, was, about the year of Chriſt 1163, brought to bed of a ſon, whom all authors agree to have held in his hand a piece of coagulated blood, when he came into the world. This was looked upon, by the learned men in aſtrology and divination, to be an omen that the child would prove a great warrior; and his father, in commemoration of his late victory, gave him the name of *Temujin*, and put him under the tuition of *Karaſher*, one of the wiſeſt men of his dominions. The chief khan of all *Tartary*, at this time, was the emperor of *Katay*. To him, all the khans, between *Mount Altay* and the *Eaſtern Tartary*, and even *Togrul*, the khan of the *Koraits*, paid tribute. *Yeſſuki* entered into war with the emperor *Katay*; in which he was taken priſoner, and it was with ſome difficulty he eſcaped, after a long impriſonment. Upon his return home, he found his ſon, young *Temujin*, greatly improved in the exerciſe of arms, and, though he was then but thirteen years of age, he married him to the daughter of *Tieri*, the khan of *Nayman*; in hopes of acquiring, by that match, an uſeful ally againſt his enemies. But *Yeſſuki* being cut off in the flower of his age, reaped no fruits from his alliance. He left behind him five ſons, and a daughter, and named *Temujin* to the command of the hord. His youth occaſioned his neighbours, and ſome of his ſubject hords, to put themſelves under the protection of other chiefs, who declared war againſt *Temujin*.

His mother's good management. His mother had then the conduct of the affairs of the hord, and proved to be a wiſe and ſpirited princeſs; for, by her good management, ſhe raiſed the reputation of her ſon's power ſo much, that ſeveral of the revolted tribes returned to their duty under him; ſo that the young *Temujin*, attended by his mother *Olon*, who acted in perſon as one of his generals, took the field, with an army that marched under the banner of a horſe's tail. This army ſeems to have been raiſed amongſt native ſubjects of *Temujin*, and obliged

obliged to ſerve him in the war; being diſtinct from thoſe hords who were obliged only to pay him tribute. But we are not to look upon this as having been very great, if, as his hiſtorian *Abul Gazi* tells us, all the hereditary ſubjects of *Yeſſuki* (but excluſive of tributaries) did not amount to forty thouſand families. *Taychot* and *Jemuka*, the two chiefs to whom the diſaffected hords had revolted, were at the head of thirty thouſand men. Beſides his mother, *Temujin* was attended by a chief called *Porji*, who was only thirteen years of age, the head of the *Orla* hord. After a bloody battle, in which the young *Temujin* gave ſurprizing proofs of his judgement and courage, he remained conqueror; *Taychot* being killed, and *Jemuka*, with difficulty, eſcaping. He is victorious.

The circumſtances of this victory were ſo glorious, that *Temujin* grew into great reputation all over *Tartary*. *Taychot*'s great hord, and extenſive lands, came under his power; and *Potu*, a chief of a powerful people lying on the banks of the *Argun*, married his ſiſter *Tumalic*. As to *Temujin* himſelf, young as he was, he diſcovered an amazing greatneſs of ſoul, by the rewards and honours he beſtowed on thoſe officers who had ſerved him beſt; for we are told, that he made them ride upon his own horſes, and gave them magnificent preſents of habits, and other accommodations. His liberality.

But his character and accompliſhments ſoon procured him ſuch envy, that confederacies were formed againſt him amongſt the neighbouring hords; and fortune, it ſeems, was not always upon his ſide. This drove him, in the fourteenth year of his age, to ſeek to ſtrengthen himſelf by a powerful alliance, and he married *Purta Kujin*, one of the moſt beautiful ladies in all *Tartary*, daughter to the khan of the *Kongorats*, and related to *Togrul*, the khan of the *Koraits*. The differences amongſt hiſtorians leave it doubtful, whether this was the lady to whom he was contracted, or, as ſome ſay, married, in his father's life-time. She had a ſon to him the firſt year of her marriage; but her young huſband being upon an expedition, having left her at *Nairon Kayat*, ſhe was ſurprized and carried off by the *Markits*, his enemies, but reſtored to him by *Togrul*, who had a regard for *Temujin*'s father, and uſed to call *Temujin* himſelf, ſon. This lady, on her return home, was delivered of a ſecond ſon: but the confederacy againſt *Temujin* muſt have ruined him, had it not been for his own great addreſs, for, being taken priſoner by the tribe of *Tanjut*, he again made his eſcape, and threw himſelf under the protection of *Togrul*, the prince of the *Koraits*, who lay under the greateſt obligations, while he was in the like diſtreſſed circumſtances, to *Temujin*'s father. Before *Temujin* left his own dominions, he appointed his uncle *Utejekin* his regent, and prevailed with his mother to marry *Buzrak*, a man of eminence, and the head of a hord; and his alliance proved, afterwards, extremely ſerviceable to *Temujin*. Having thus ſettled matters, His diſtreſſes. He throws himſelf under the protection of the khan of the *Koraits*.

he proceeded to the capital of *Togrul*, which was called *Karakorom*, at the head of ſix thouſand men; whom he devoted, together with his own life, to the ſervice of *Togrul*.

Account of that prince.

Togrul, though ſubject to the king of *Katay*, was, notwithſtanding, a prince of great power and merit; but had come to his throne after prodigious encounters, with his own brothers, and other relations. The *Chriſtians* in his dominions met with ſo much encouragement, that he is ſaid to have been himſelf a *Chriſtian*; and pompous accounts of his piety, as well as power, under the title of *Preſter John*, had been forged by the *Neſtorian* monks, who appear to have given the ſame title, to almoſt every prince in *Aſia* or *Africa*, who have favoured the *Chriſtians*. *Togrul* received *Temujin* with extraordinary affection; employed him with great ſucceſs at the head of his armies; declared him the firſt man of his court, and, at laſt, gave him his daughter in marriage, in preference to *Jemuka*, the ſame chief who had been at war with *Temujin*; with whom, we are told, the lady was violently in love. In ſhort, *Temujin* appeared at *Togrul*'s court as a ſovereign allied with him; which has made ſome hiſtorians omit mentioning that he ſought his protection. All this preheminence, however, raiſed our hero a great number of enemies at the court of *Karakorom*.

Notwithſtanding this, he had leiſure enough, by the aſſiſtance of his mother, his uncle, and his father-in-law, who all of them ſerved him with great zeal, to retrieve his domeſtic affairs, and to reduce all the hords who had rebelled againſt him, to their duty. But *Temujin* had ſoon occaſion to diſcover himſelf in a higher ſphere; for the emperor of *Katay* ſummoned *Togrul* to his ſervice, againſt a powerful rebellion; and *Togrul* was attended to the field by *Temujin*. They attacked the rebels with ſuch valour and ſucceſs, that they gained a complete victory; and the king of *Katay* created *Togrul*, vang khan, which anſwers, in the *Chineſe*, or *Katayan* language, to ſovereign prince; while he gave *Temujin*, who was then not above twenty-two years of age, a great command in his army. Thoſe glorious diſtinctions, conferred by ſo great a ſovereign, upon the two *Tartar* chiefs, encreaſed the confederacy which had been already formed againſt *Temujin*, and was headed by the vang khan's brother. The moſt powerful hord in this confederacy was the *Markits*, and theſe calling in to their aſſiſtance the *Tayuts*, they were afterwards joined by many other hords; and their chiefs meeting together in ſecrecy, upon horſeback, they reſolved to attack the vang khan, as well as *Temujin*. Upon this occaſion, the ceremony of the oath, by which they bound themſelves, was very peculiar; for, all of them drawing their ſwords, they cut in pieces a horſe, a wild ox, and a dog, with the following words: "Hear, O God, O "Heaven, O Earth, the oath we ſwear againſt the vang "khan, and *Temujin*; may the man amongſt us become as "one

Temujin and he ſerve the emperor of *Katay*.

Remarkable form of an oath.

"one of thoſe beaſts, who ſhall ſpare them, when once "occaſion ſerves; when he ſhall fail in his promiſe to de- "ſtroy them; and when he ſhall take their parts againſt "their enemies." This conſpiracy, though kept very ſecret, was revealed, by a *Kongorat* chief, to the two princes, who were at that time lying with their armies at ſome diſtance from one another. The *Naymans*, who were parties in the conſpiracy, headed by their khan *Tayun*, and by *Erkekara*, the vang khan's brother, had the good fortune to ſurprize him, and drive him out of his dominions, after a bloody battle; which gave to *Erkekara* the throne of the *Koraits*, and to his ſoldiers the plunder of the city *Karakorom*. A few of the vang khan's ſoldiers, however, eſcaped; and they, with his ſon *Sankin*, retired to the moſt inacceſſible parts of *Tartary*, while the vang khan made the beſt of his way towards *Temujin*, whom he found lying upon the borders of the *Tanjuts*, advantageouſly poſted, with a body of thirty thouſand men, half of whom were *Koraits*. This laſt circumſtance, with the ſuperior dignity of the vang khan, made *Temujin* reſign to him the chief command. Their enemies were very numerous, and the main body of the vang khan's army being headed by himſelf, *Temujin* took upon him the command of the right wing, and the left was commanded by a *Korait* general; their front being extended as far as they could, and their baggage, with their beaſts of burden, were placed behind all. The whole of *Temujin*'s army is ſaid to have been formed out of thirteen tribes. A battle enſued, in which the conſpirators, chiefly by the valour of *Temujin*, were totally defeated.

The vang khan retrieves his affairs.

It is uncertain whether this confederacy, or rebellion was finiſhed by this action. From the complexion of hiſtorians, who differ in dates, and ſpeak of different actions with much the ſame circumſtances attending them, it ſeems as if this battle had been deciſive; for the vang khan was ſoon after reſtored to his throne. As to the conſpirators, the chief of them were thrown alive into ſeventy caldrons of boiling water, where they periſhed; their eſtates were plundered, and their ſubjects either led into ſlavery, or incorporated with the victorious army.

Confuſion of hiſtorians.

Temujin now became formidable to his neighbours; and, tho' we cannot aſcertain the facts from any poſitive informations that have come to our hands, yet he ſeems, from his firſt outſet in life, to have had the acquiſition of all *Tartary* in view. *Jamuca Bograk*, another great chief of the *Naymans*, and brother to *Tein*, the chief of the *Kongorats*, and almoſt all the great princes of the *Moguls* and *Tartars*, except the vang khan and *Tein*, who was father-in-law to *Temujin*, appear to have been of that opinion, by their repeated conſpiracies and great armies they formed againſt him. On the other hand, *Temujin* was forming his army by his own example; and we are told of four intrepids he had amongſt his generals, who

Great progreſs of *Temujin* in war.

were his favourites, whoſe names were *Muhuli*, *Porchi*, *Porokona*, and *Chilakona*; to theſe a fifth was added, who was a ſtranger and a fire-worſhipper. Hiſtorians have mentioned a ſingular league, or family agreement, which was at this time entered into between the vang khan and *Temujin*; and, that they not only promiſed each a daughter to the other's ſon, but that the ſame intermarriage ſhould continue ever after; but peace being reſtored by the reſtoration of the vang khan, *Jamuka* viſited that court. Being a prince of great penetration and addreſs, and finding that nothing in the way of arms could be done againſt *Temujin*, he applied himſelf to *Sankun*, the ſon of the vang khan; and found no great difficulty in impreſſing him with notions of *Temujin*'s dangerous ambition; and he inſinuated, that not only all the vang khan's misfortunes had proceeded from *Temujin*'s management, but that the latter was plotting how to ſet him aſide from the ſucceſſion. *Sankun* brought his father, who was naturally of a ſuſpicious diſpoſition, into the ſame way of thinking; and it was therefore reſolved, that *Temujin* ſhould be put to death; or, according to others, that his perſon ſhould be ſecured. But it was difficult to execute this deſign. *Temujin* had, upon his ſide, the greateſt part of the *Koraite* army; and he commanded, in a ſeparate body, his own guards, who were all of them heroes, and choſen out of the braveſt tribes of *Tartary*. It was therefore reſolved to find a pretence to ſend *Temujin* with his troops, which conſiſted of no more than ſix thouſand men, to ſome diſtance from *Karacorom*; which was accordingly effected. *Sankun* then wrote to *Temujin*'s father-in-law, to acquaint him, that he was ready to aſſiſt him in putting his wife's ſon to death, which would open his way to the throne. The father-in-law was generous enough to acquaint *Temujin* of this; and, in the mean time, *Temujin* had an invitation from the vang khan to repair to his court, that the marriages they had concluded upon might be celebrated. *Temujin*, having been before apprized by his father-in-law, evaded the invitation; and the vang khan, ſuſpecting that his deſign was diſcovered, reſolved to ſurprize him unawares. *Temujin* had the good fortune to be apprized of this likewiſe; for, being extremely well beloved, two domeſtics belonging to a chief officer of the vang khan's court, informed him, that, while they were bringing milk to their maſter's tent, they heard him declare the vang khan's intention, to his wife. Upon this, *Temujin*, who was not very ready to credit all that had been told him, decamped, but left his tents ſtanding, and took poſſeſſion of a very ſtrong paſs. He had ſcarcely departed, when the vang khan's troops, under the command of *Jemuka*, fell upon his tents; which finding empty, to their great ſurprize, they traced his march to the paſs where he had encamped; a battle enſued, in which *Temujin* was victorious, as he was in ſeveral others fought ſome days after.

Conſpiracy againſt him,

is diſcovered and

defeated.

This

This war drew the attention of all the princes of *Tartary*, who were divided, ſome taking the part of *Temujin*, and others of the vang khan. *Temujin*'s allies having joined him, he ordered a horſe to be killed in the river *Panchuni*; and, taking a draught of the water mixed with blood, he ſwore, that he would ſhare the ſweet and the bitter with all who followed him; imprecating, at the ſame time, that he might become like the water he had drank, if he violated his oath. This ſolemn engagement attached all his friends and followers very ſtrongly to his intereſt, and the hord of the *Kunlurats* ſoon after joined him, as did a great number of the *Koraites*, who were enamoured with his courage. Notwithſtanding this, *Temujin* was extremely averſe from continuing the war, and ſent ſeveral meſſengers to the vang khan, ſometimes upbraiding him for his ingratitude, and ſometimes offering him terms of accommodation. The vang khan could not deny the charge of ingratitude; but, as the war had been undertaken by the advice, and at the perſuaſion, of his ſon, he entered upon no treaty. Upon this, *Temujin* went to his own native dominions, and calling together a grand aſſembly of all his followers and allies, he propoſed ſhaking off their ſubjection to the *Koraites*. The aſſembly agreed to this propoſal; and the vang khan, finding how dangerous his ſituation was, abſolved the *Markits*, one of the moſt powerful *Tartar* hords, from their tributes; in hopes there by to keep them firm to his intereſt. All *Tartary* was now involved in war. The vang khan, by his ſon's advice, continued inexorable to all terms of peace propoſed to him by *Temujin*. On the other hand, *Temujin*'s allies had ſo great an opinion of his abilities, that they gave him the topuz, or batton of command. But *Temujin*, before he would accept of it, exacted from every one of them a military oath, promiſing that they would be obedient to his orders. This oath was cheerfully taken; and the conſequence was, that the vang khan was totally routed, and loſt forty thouſand men in one battle. Upon this, finding that his retreat to *Karakorom* was cut off, he was obliged to throw himſelf under the protection of the head of the *Kongorats*, who, in all probability, was, at that time, the ſon of *Temujin*'s father-in-law. There the vang khan was put to death; ſome ſay, with the privacy, or at the command, of the prince of the country; while others pretend that he highly diſapproved of the deed.

He forms an aſſociation.

The vang khan is put to death.

After the vang khan's death, *Temujin* became maſter of his dominions. This great ſucceſs, next to his own valour, was owing to his vaſt generoſity: he nobly rewarded the two *Tartar* herdſmen who had informed him of the vang khan's deſign, and preferred all the *Koraites* who joined him, to places of honour and profit. This conduct raiſed his reputation ſo much, that even *Hakembu*, the brother of the deceaſed vang khan, courted his alliance, and offered him his

daughter in marriage. This alliance was equally advantageous as honourable for *Temujin*; but perceiving that one of his favourite officers was in love with the princeſs, he beſtowed her upon him in marriage: but at the ſame time he expreſſed himſelf in the moſt grateful and polite terms, with regard to the vang khan, and threw the blame of all the differences he had with him upon *Jemuka*. That prince, after the vang khan's defeat, had retired to the dominions of the prince of the *Naymans*, whom he perſuaded to make war upon *Temujin*. The war ended in the defeats of the *Naymans*, who had ſuffered *Temujin* to advance too far into their country. *Jemuka*, whoſe hatred to *Temujin* was unalterable, in this war was made priſoner, and had his head cut off.

Great power of *Temujin*.

Temujin was now the moſt powerful prince in *Tartary*, and, in a ſhort time, he ſubdued the *Markits*, and ſeveral other tribes who where jealous or envious of his glory. He was now called the grand khan, and almoſt all the tribes of *Tartary* acknowledged him for their ſovereign; and he pitched upon *Karakoram* to be the capital of his empire. But *Temujin* was not only the greateſt conqueror, but one of the greateſt legiſlators, that ever lived. Finding himſelf the abſolute maſter of *Tartary*, or, as it is called, *Mogulſtun*, he compoſed a body of laws, religious as well as civil, by which the belief of one ſupreme being was ſtrictly enjoined; and all his people were divided into ſubordinate claſſes, according to their different degrees of preheminence and merit. In ſhort, he formed a new code of laws, the great lines of which were agreeable to the trueſt policy; but, though he was abſolute, he did nothing in a deſpotic manner; for he had eſtabliſhed a privy-council, whom he conſulted upon all his inſtitutions.

His laws,

and remarkable form of his inauguration.

Temujin was perfectly ſenſible of the vaſt effect that exteriors have upon the human mind, and his next care was to be ſolemnly inaugurated. To prepare the way for this, he employed one of his fathers-in-law, who affected the reputation of a prophet, and being a man of ſingular abſtinence and ſanctity, was believed to be ſuch by the common people. This perſon, whoſe name, we are told, was *Kokza*, predicted a long train of happineſs to *Temujin*, and enjoined him to take the name of *Jenghiz Khan*, which, ſome ſay, in the *Mogul* tongue ſignifies the great king: while others affirm, that it alludes to the noiſe made by a bird of good omen. Be this as it will, it is certain that this pretended prophet obtained ſuch credit amongſt the *Moguls*, that they firmly believed they were deſtined to be the greateſt people in the world under *Jenghiz Khan*; and they laid aſide all kind of thought or care but to equip themſelves for acting under his banner. *Temujin* and his emiſſaries having thus artfully worked them into this belief, he aſſembled a great council, or, what may be called, a parliament, conſiſting of all his own relations and the chief princes of his empire, cloathed in white,

white, as *Temujin* himſelf was. This aſſembly was held in the open fields. *Temujin*, who was placed on a riſing-ground, but upon a plain form, opened it in a ſpeech, full of that eloquence which diſtinguiſhed him far above all his ſubjects. The chiefs of the aſſembly then diſplaying nine banners of command, they being divided into nine bodies, choſe him for their emperor; and their election was ſignified to him by placing him upon a piece of black felt, where the ſpeaker of the aſſembly harangued him, and told him it was through *God* alone he held his power, and that the Almighty would proſper him if he governed his ſubjects with mercy and moderation; but that, if he did not, he would render his perſon and memory black and deſpicable, as the felt which was under his feet.

This ſignificant ceremony being over, ſeven of the principal khans elevated and placed him upon a throne, in the midſt of the aſſembly, where he was proclaimed and recognized as emperor, firſt by all the princes and great lords preſent, and then by the whole body of the people, all preſent bowing their knees nine times before him. The new emperor was not wanting on his part, in declaring his reſolution to anſwer the higheſt expectations of his ſubjects; and gave orders for celebrating a moſt magnificent feſtival, which laſted for ſeveral days; and we have intimations that the very rich preſents he made to ſome of the principal khans, were no inconſiderable means of his elevation. This aſſembly was held at *Dilon Ildack*, which is ſaid to have been ſituated about the ſource of the river *Oner*; by which we may conjecture it to have ſtood almoſt in the heart of the *Weſtern Tartary*; and the title he aſſumed, on this occaſion, was, the grand khan of the *Moguls* and *Tartars*. The time of this aſſembly is fixed to the year 1205; and the three following years was employed in entirely ſubjecting the *Naymans*, the *Markits*, and other tribes of *Moguls* or *Tartars*, whoſe chiefs were diſſatisfied with the power of *Jenghiz Khan*.

He harangues his ſubjects.

The empire of *Jenghiz Khan* was thus eſtabliſhed over all *Tartary*. In the year 1209, having raiſed a moſt prodigious army, he marched ſouthward againſt the empire of *Hya*; which, according to travellers, is a kingdom which contained in it *Shenſi* all to the north of *Ping-lyang-fu*, as far as *Kya-yu-quan*, the country of *Ortus* and *Etſina*, the country of *Koko-nor*, with that lying between *Kya-yu-quan* and *Shachew*, beſides ſeveral places to the north and weſt of *Kya-yu-quan*. The reader, from this quotation, and by throwing his eyes upon the general maps, will eaſily perceive the impoſſibility of aſcertaining the ſituation and boundaries of thoſe places and countries. The names we meet with are ſometimes *Tartar*, ſometimes *Mogul*, ſometimes *Chineſe*, *Perſian*, *Arabic*, and *Indian*; and often five or ſix words that have no affinity to one another either in ſound or ſpelling, are made uſe

Marches againſt *China*.

uſe of to denominate the ſame place. We know, however, in the main, that *Jenghiz Khan* penetrated into *Hya*, or *China*, through the great wall; and that emperor ſubmitted to pay him tribute. He then took advantage of *Gurkan*, king of *Turkeſton*, and the khan of the *Igurs*, who put himſelf under his protection, to conquer their country; and then he prepared to march againſt the great emperor of the *Kin*, or of all *China*, who claimed to be lord-paramount of all *Tartary*, and had even received a tribute as ſuch from *Jenghiz Khan* himſelf. *Yong-tſi* was then emperor of the *Kin*, and an old quarrel had ſubſiſted between him and *Jenghiz Khan*, he having adviſed the late emperor to put *Jenghiz Khan* to death. The latter, therefore, upon *Yong-tſi*'s acceſſion, not only refuſed to pay him tribute, but reproached the miniſters, who were ſent to claim it, with their countrymen being ſo far from having, as they boaſted, a ſon of heaven for their emperor, that they did not know how to chuſe a man. This brought on a general war, which divided all that vaſt country: *Yong-tſi* marched prodigious armies to the ſtrongeſt poſts of the great wall; and *Jenghiz Khan*, with *Edihut*, the prince of *Igur-chepe*, a chief of great power, with many others, who had courted his alliance, drove their enemies from thoſe poſts, and penetrated into the very heart of *Kin*, or *China*. *Jenghiz Khan* was then joined by *Leyw-ko*, who ſwore allegiance to him, with one hundred thouſand men, and who declared himſelf emperor of the *Kitan*, a people who were at that time oppreſſed by the kin. In the year 1212, a great battle was fought between *Jenghiz Khan* and *Yong-tſi*'s general, who, though at the head of three hundred thouſand men, was entirely defeated; but *Jenghiz Khan* after that beſieging *Tay-tong-fu*, a place of great ſtrength, was wounded, repulſed, and driven out of many advantages he had obtained.

His great ſucceſſes againſt the *Chineſe*.

The truth is, the ſcenes of *Jenghiz Khan*'s actions were now greatly altered. Inſtead of attacking hords, tents, and open villages, as in *Tartary*, he was making war on a country full of well-fortified towns, and flouriſhing in all the arts of life. He knew, however, how to avail himſelf even of his enemy's virtues; for he ſoon became their maſter in their art of war. *Hujaku*, general to *Yong-tſi*, emperor of the *Kin*, was a wicked and an ambitious man; and, having been diſgraced for ſome time by *Yong-tſi*, after he was reinſtated in his command, he was ſo far from oppoſing the progreſs of the *Moguls*, that he marched his army againſt the imperial palace; where he ſeized the emperor's perſon and put him to death: but not being able to perſuade the people to make himſelf emperor, he raiſed *San*, a prince of the imperial blood, to the throne. Soon after, he himſelf was put to death, and his chief enemy was created generaliſſimo of the *Kin*; while *Jenghiz Khan*, encouraged by the diſtractions of that empire, was heaping victory upon victory; and, at laſt,

Revolutions in *China*.

laſt, in 1214, he inveſted *Yen-kin*, the then capital of their empire, and called by others *Pekin*. *Jenghiz Khan*'s ſucceſſes were greatly furthered by vaſt numbers of the diſcontented *Chineſe*, who flocked to his ſtandards, and to whom he was very liberal both of poſts and honours. It was by their aſſiſtance he was enabled to form four vaſt armies, with which he laid waſte that whole empire, by far the moſt populous and the beſt provided of any that is mentioned in hiſtory; nor does the treatment he gave to the inhabitants, eſpecially old men, women, and children, redound to the character of his humanity; for we are told that he cauſed immenſe numbers of children to be maſſacred, as if he intended to extirpate the race of the *Chineſe*. The latter, however, at laſt found ſome relief in deſpair; and the armies of *Jenghiz Khan* being greatly reduced, by ſickneſs and fatigues, he accepted of a ſum of money, and other coſtly preſents of captives and commodities, and raiſed the ſiege of the capital. *San* was greatly blamed for his puſilanimous behaviour, and a rebellion ſoon after breaking out againſt him, *Jenghiz Khan* re-entered *China*, and *Lyew-ko* was invited to mount the imperial throne, if he would declare himſelf independent of *Jenghiz Khan*; but he remained faithful to that conqueror, who again beſieged the capital. *San* endeavoured in vain to ſave it; and, of the two generals who commanded in the city, one of them deliberately poiſoned himſelf; and the other, retiring with his garriſon, left all the ladies of the palace to the conqueror's mercy; for which, and for other crimes, he was afterwards put to death.

Jenghiz Khan's cruelties.

In the mean while, the *Moguls*, finding no farther reſiſtance, broke into the city, and put to death a vaſt number of the chief inhabitants, and ſet fire to the imperial palace, which, we are told, continued burning for a whole month. *San* now perceived himſelf in danger of being ſtripped of all his dominions by *Jenghiz Khan*, and applied for a peace; but he found the *Tartar* ſtood upon terms he could not comply with: and thus the war continued to rage till the end of the year 1216; when the conqueſts of *Kitay* and *Kourge* were compleated. The name of the general to whom *Jenghiz Khan* owed his greateſt ſucceſſes, was *Muhuli*. *Jenghiz Khan*, who acted, on moſt occaſions, with great pomp and ſtate, had ſo high an opinion of this officer, that he declared him generaliſſimo in the preſence of all his troops, enjoining them to obey him as they did himſelf; and, as the badge of his authority, he preſented him with a golden ſeal. After this, *Jenghiz Khan* returned to *Tarary*, where he took ſome repoſe in a magnificent palace he had erected there; while *Muhuli* penetrated into *China*, ſubdued all *Sheu-ſi*, *Pecheli* and *Shang-tong*. Meeting with an obſtinate reſiſtance at *Le-chew*, he gave orders for maſſacring all the inhabitants; but he was prevailed on to deſiſt from this barbarous intention by one of his

He ſubdues great part of *China*.

his beſt officers, who was a native of that city, and offered to lay down his own life to ſave that of his mother, brother, and the other inhabitants.

His wars continued.

In the year 1217, *Jenghiz Khan*, having declared his brother *Utakin* his vice-gerent in *Tartary*, put himſelf in motion againſt *Kuchluk*, his moſt capital enemy, and ſon to *Boyruk*, king of the *Naymans*, and who had got together a body of three hundred thouſand *Chineſe* and *Tartars* to oppoſe him. *Kuchluk*, however, was defeated and put to death. This *Kuchluk* had been encouraged and ſupported greatly by *Mohammed*, the ſultan of *Khowarazm*, whom we have already ſo often mentioned as being one of the greateſt princes of the eaſt. This prince was ſo much alarmed at the progreſs of *Jenghiz Khan*, that, while the latter was employed in the conqueſt of *Hya* and *Kitay*, in *China*, he perſuaded the *Tartars*, who were the moſt averſe to *Jenghiz Khan*'s government, to chuſe for their head *Kuchluk*, the prince of the *Naymans*, and the inveterate enemy of *Jenghiz Khan*. The power of *Kuchluk* encreaſed ſo much, that all the countries, as far as the river *Sir* and *Amu*, the antient *Jaxartes* and *Oxus*, and on the ſide as far as the *Obi* and the great river *Jutiſh*, declared againſt *Jenghiz Khan*. Beſides, *Kuchluk* had found means to make alliances with the *Markits*, and the chief of the *Kipſaks*, and of other tribes living to the north-eaſt of *Samarcand*. He had attacked and ſtripped *Gurkhan*, *Jenghiz Khan*'s father-in-law, of part of his dominions; and *Kudah*, one of the princes of the *Markits*, was making the like progreſs againſt *Jenghiz Khan* in other parts of *Tartary*.

Alliances againſt him.

His wars with *Kuchluk*.

The *Chineſe*, and the more weſtern hiſtorians of thoſe tranſactions, are not perfectly agreed, whether *Jenghiz Khan* went in perſon to ſuppreſs thoſe inſurrections. It ſeems moſt probable that he commanded his own army againſt the *Kitans*, or *Karakatayans*, who had joined with *Kuchluk*, and who were totally defeated, though they compoſed a body of three hundred thouſand men. Mention is here made of *Jenghiz Khan* having viſited *Kopanyn*, or *Cliene*, one of his *Chineſe* generals, who had been wounded; and, when recovered, that he reduced *Biſhbaleg*, a conſiderable city in *Great Bukaria*, ſituated to the north of *Turfan*. *Jenghiz Khan*, about the ſame time, ſent *Supatay* and *Kamu*, two of his generals, who ſubdued *Kudah* with vaſt ſlaughter of his forces, and aboliſhed the ſovereignty of the *Markits*; as did *Burgu*, another of his generals, that of the *Tomats*, a tribe on the frontiers of *China*, which had joined with *Kuchluk*, and whom even *Jenghiz Khan* pitied for the hardſhips they ſuffered. As to *Kuchluk* himſelf, whom *Jenghiz Khan* conſidered as his capital enemy, it appears that *Jenghiz Khan* ſent againſt him one of his beſt generals, who is called *Zena* by the weſtern hiſtorians, but who probably was the ſame with *Chepe* above-mentioned; who,

who, after a bloody battle, defeated *Kuchluk*; and, having deſtroyed all his followers but four, never deſiſted from the purſuit till he overtook him in the road to *Badagſhan*, in *Great Bukaria*, where he killed him and cut off his head.

His general progreſs in *China* and *Bukaria*.

In the preceding relation, the affairs of *China* are mentioned only in general from their own hiſtorians; who, according to the genius of their country, are very dry and jejune in their acounts, giving little more than what may be called the contents of a hiſtory; but thoſe ſo over-run with uncouth names of places and people, who either do not now exiſt, or, if they do, have changed their names, that it would be equally uninſtructive and tireſome to the reader to recount them. It is ſufficient to ſay, that the great empires or *Kitan* and *Hya*, or *Northern China*, had been reduced by *Jenghiz Khan*; and, that he was abſolute maſter of all *Tartary* and great part of *Bukaria*, and many other countries of vaſt extent; but whoſe antient names, as well as preciſe limits, are now either extremely uncertain, or entirely unknown. But he had a rival of his power in the perſon of *Mohammed*, ſultan of *Khowarazm*. That prince poſſeſſed countries which commanded the greateſt part of *Proper India*, and its trade. He was maſter of the fineſt and greateſt provinces of *Perſia*, of *Khowarazm*, *Great Bukaria*, *Koraſan*, and *Azerbijan*: ſo that, upon the whole, though the countries which *Jenghiz Khan* commanded, were, perhaps, more extenſive, yet they were not ſo rich, or ſo advantageouſly ſituated for the empire of the eaſt. We are to add to this, that the *Tartars* required to be kept in perpetual action, in order to prevent their revolting; and that the *Chineſe* he had ſubdued, though the moſt ingenious people in the world, as to domeſtic arts and manufactures, had little foreign commerce, nor were they of a genius to be employed out of their own country.

His ambaſſy to *Mohammed*.

Upon the whole, therefore, *Jenghiz Khan* reſolved, if poſſible, to detach the ſultan of *Khowarazm* from his alliance with *Kuchluk*; and, for that purpoſe, he ſent him a deputation, at the head of which was one *Jalazi*, to offer him his friendſhip; and promiſing, if it was accepted, to look upon him, the ſultan, as his ſon. *Jalazi* being admitted to an audience of *Mohammed*, the haughty *Khowarazmian* was ſhocked at the laſt expreſſion, which he thought intimated a ſuppoſed ſuperiority on the part of the khan, he himſelf being then ſixty-three years of age, and therefore was the more provoked at the affront *Jalazi* either was a *Khowarazmian*, or ſpoke that language; upon which, *Mohammed*, drawing him aſide, made him a preſent of a very beautiful veſt, ornamented with jewels, and deſired him to tell him ſincerely the meaning of ſo diſreſpectful a meſſage. *Jalazi* then aſſured him of his maſter's great conqueſts; but the *Khowarazmian* ſtopped him ſhort, by putting him in remembrance of his own unbounded power and dominions. The manner in which the

ſultan

ſultan talked, made *Jalazi* perceive that he had miſtaken his character. He gave an artful turn to his diſcourſe, and acknowledged the *Khowarazmian*'s ſuperiority in power; but pleaded, that the khan being his maſter, he was, as his ambaſſador, obliged to obey his orders, and ſerve his intereſts; and concluded, that the khan was ſincere in his profeſſions of friendſhip. The ſubmiſſive manner in which *Jalazi* ſpoke, reconciled the ſultan to his perſon, and the ſubject of his ambaſſy; one great object of which was, the introduction of foreign commerce into the dominions of *Jenghiz Khan*, of which they were, at that time, very deſtitute. In ſhort, *Jalazi* prevailed with *Mohammed* to ſuffer ſome of the *Khowarazmian* merchants to return with him, that they might trade in the dominions of *Jenghiz Khan*; and *Mohammed* loaded him with preſents, both for his maſter and himſelf.

Artful turn given by an ambaſſador.

We have, in the hiſtory of the khalifat, recounted the differences that ſubſiſted between this great ſultan and the khalif *Naſer*, whoſe dominions were then providentially ſaved from the ſultan's invaſion. It appears that, tho' *Jenghiz Khan* was a *Deiſt*, and deſpiſed *Mohammed*, yet the khalif, in reſentment of *Mohammed*'s treatment of him, kept up a correſpondence with *Jenghiz Khan*; and, we are told, that he ſent him an envoy whoſe credentials were wrote upon his head with the point of a needle and indigo (as was the common practice, at that time, in the eaſtern countries, and was to be read when the head was ſhaved) inviting *Jenghiz Khan* to invade the *Khowarazmian*'s dominions. *Jenghiz Khan* was ſenſible of the importance of the khalif's alliance, and aſſiſtance, which was likewiſe offered him; but *Mohammed* having, by this time, made himſelf maſter of the great empire of *Gazna*; and his army, which was very numerous, being reputed to be compoſed of the braveſt troops in the eaſt, he thought proper to delay declaring himſelf at that time: he intimated, however, to the ambaſſador, that a fitter opportunity might ſoon preſent itſelf, which he would not fail to lay hold of. Thus the negotiation ended.

The khalif *Naſer*'s correſpondence with *Jenghiz Khan*.

For a year or two after the alliance was formed between *Jenghiz Khan* and *Mohammed*, the tranquility amongſt the ſubjects of the two empires was ſo great, that it grew into a proverb, That a man might travel through their dominions, with his hands full of gold, without fear of being robbed. But *Mohammed* was not of a diſpoſition to continue this harmony. As he grew in power, he became more jealous, and leſs reſpectful towards the khan. He even connived at many indignities and injuries offered, in his dominions, to the *Mogul*'s ſubjects; and, at laſt, he ſeized part of *Kuſhluk*'s dominions, from which he drove the *Mogul* troops, who held them for the khan, in right of conqueſt. Even this inſult did not break into the moderation of *Jenghiz Khan*, who, it ſeems, found vaſt advantages from the

Mohammed jealous of *Jenghiz Khan*.

the commerce his ſubjects carried on with thoſe of *Great Bukaria*: from whence he imported into *Tartary* all the products of *Perſia* and *India*. By this intercourſe, not only the commerce, but the manners, of his *Tartars*, were improved, by their converſing with the *Perſians*, the *Sogdians*, and other people, the moſt learned and polite of any in the eaſt. But, whether ſome of thoſe *Khowarazmian* merchants had been ſecretly inſtructed by their ſultan, or were themſelves prompted by avarice, they began now to put a much greater price upon their commodities than they had done formerly; which made *Jenghiz Khan* order all their goods to be thrown back upon their hands, to their great diſappointment and detriment; ſhewing them, at the ſame time, large wardrobes, and magazines, of commodities, he had purchaſed at a far leſs expence. He then examined the merchants, the ſubjects of the ſultan, who politely offered to part with their goods at any price, or for nothing, if his majeſty did them the honour to accept of them in preſents. Upon this obliging anſwer, *Jenghiz Khan* not only offered them double the value of the merchandize he wanted, but gave them liberty to diſpoſe of the remainder to the beſt advantage, without their being obliged to make the ſmalleſt preſent to the great officers of his court, or camp.

Policy of the latter in commerce.

This proceeding ſhews us what true ideas *Jenghiz Khan* had of commerce: but he knew that the profits of it conſiſt in the exports which every country makes; and the *Tartars* were, as yet, too unpoliſhed for cultivating the arts of peace, either at home or abroad. *Jenghiz Khan* attempted to remedy this vaſt inconveniency. He named three officers, all of them ſubjects of the ſultan, whom he had raiſed to the higheſt employments of his court, to be his ambaſſadors to *Mohammed*; but, as uſual, one, perhaps, had a preheminence over the reſt; which may be the reaſon why ſome writers have ſaid, that he ſent only one ambaſſador. By this time, *Jenghiz Khan* had formed a kind of a trading company within his dominions, which was governed by four directors; and he ordered the ambaſſadors, and one hundred and fifty of the merchants of this company, to attend the *Khowarazmian* merchants in their return to the ſultan's dominions: charging them, at the ſame time, with a letter to the ſultan, full of friendſhip and affection; but hoping he would give the *Mogul* merchants the ſame protection and privileges that he gave to the *Khowarazmians*. *Jenghiz Khan*, at the ſame time, ordered the ladies of his court, and his great officers of ſtate and war, to ſend agents for themſelves, along with the ambaſſadors and merchants, to buy up ſuch curioſities and commodities, as, perhaps, the merchants would not venture to purchaſe.

His remarkable deputation to trade to *Bukaria*.

The reader is to obſerve, that *Jenghiz Khan*, who appears to have no refined notions of religion, in conſequence of his great plan for improving his commerce and manufactures,

tures, employed perſons of all perſuaſions indifferently, and *Chriſtians* and *Mahometans* were equally welcome to his court, upon their profeſſing that they held the belief of one Supreme Being. This grand caravan, however, going to the country of a *Mahometan* prince, who had not the ſame free notions, he took care that it ſhould conſiſt moſtly of *Mahometans*. He had introduced an excellent police, for the ſafety of travelling, by ordering guards to be ſtationed on all his great roads, and thoſe guards, upon this occaſion, were redoubled, to protect ſo rich a convoy from the roving *Tartars*. The merchants then purſued their journey acroſs *Turkeſtan*, and arrived at *Otrar*, a city of vaſt trade, ſituate on the river *Sur*; and governed by one of the ſultan's near relations, named *Gayer Khan*.

Reflection

Jenghiz Khan, in all this proceeding, had acted wiſely, and according to the received notions of hoſpitality and intercourſe that prevailed in the countries where he governed. But he does not ſeem to have been ſufficiently informed, that, in great trading nations, princes act upon different maxims, and make trade a ſecret, which is neither to be communicated to, nor practiſed by, foreigners. *Jenghiz Khan*, likewiſe, did not act upon the models of the moſt refined policy, when he raiſed *Khowarazmian* ſubjects to high poſts in his court; nor would any modern prince in *Europe* be pleaſed with the like conduct in another. *Jenghiz Khan* acted upon the great lines of common ſenſe and government, without minding thoſe refinements which jealouſy and ſelf intereſt have introduced amongſt other ſtates. When the ambaſſadors, and merchants, came to *Otrar*, *Gayar* received them with great careſſes and civilities; but ſoon perceived that they had immenſe riches, and underſtood that they came by trade. He ſent advice of this to *Mohammed*, and inſinuated, that it was dangerous to ſuffer, either the ambaſſadors, or the merchants, to return to *Jenghiz Khan*, after the knowledge they had obtained of his country, and, far leſs, to proceed any farther; intimitating, that, by the diſcourſe he had had with them, they ſeemed too inquiſitive not to have any other views than trade. *Mohammed*, who is ſaid to have cut off the heads of one hundred princes to make way for his ambition, returned *Gayer* ſuch an anſwer, as amounted to a permiſſion to murder and rob his gueſts; which he moſt punctually executed, while they thought themſelves in perfect ſecurity, no more than one merchant eſcaping, who carried to *Jenghiz Khan* the news of the maſſacre. *Jenghiz Khan*, poſſibly thinking he might be miſinformed, ordered three ambaſſadors, ſome ſay only one, to go to *Mohammed*'s court; but the *Khowarazmian*, far from giving them any ſatisfaction, put them all to death.

Cruelty of the *Khowarazmian* government.

Jenghiz Khan, by the moſt authentic accounts, had been often guilty of equal cruelty, as that now committed by *Mohammed*;

Mohammed; but thoſe acts had not been attended with equal inſolence, and breaches of hoſpitality. When he was convinced of the truth, he was ſo touched, that he wept for rage; and is ſaid to have ſpent three days, without eating or drinking, in the neceſſary preparations for revenge. He declared, that he never would put up the ſword, till he had puniſhed the ſultan for his barbarity; and, renouncing all farther connections with him, he ordered all his allies, and tributary princes, to attend him, with their contingencies of troops, in the field; informing them, at the ſame time, of the provocation he had received. In a few weeks, he got together an army of eight hundred thouſand men, and then he concerted the proper meaſures for their being ſubſiſted and recruited. *Jenghiz Khan* declares war againſt that ſultan.

But *Jenghiz Khan* was then going upon the moſt arduous expedition he had yet undertaken; for he was, now, not to fight with the undiſciplined *Tartars*, or the effeminate *Chineſe*, but with the terrors of the eaſt, the *Khowarazmian* troops. He, therefore, wiſely thought proper to introduce amongſt his troops an entire new ſyſtem of military diſcipline, and it was ſuch, as, when obſerved, muſt render any body of men invincible. He ſubdivided his whole ſoldiery, firſt, into tens, then into hundreds, then into thouſands, then into ten thouſands, and ſo forth; ſo that one hundred thouſand men contained ten thouſand companies, of ten men each, of which every tenth man was the commander; as every hundredth man was the commander of ten of thoſe troops; and ſo on, to the higheſt number. If one of thoſe companies was engaged, and the leader offered to fly, he was to be killed upon the ſpot by thoſe who ſtood; a regulation which ſeems to have been intended to keep the whole in a body in caſe of a defeat; than which nothing could be more wiſe, or better calculated, for ſaving an army, or a detachment. He eſtabliſhed the ſame penalty againſt every man who did not do his utmoſt to aſſiſt his companions, when he ſaw them engaged in fight, or to bring them off, when priſoners, or overpowered: in ſhort, he made it death for any *Mogul* to retire before his enemy without fighting. *Jenghiz Khan*, at the ſame time, introduced many uſeful regulations in the arms, both offenſive and defenſive, of his ſoldiers. The bow and the quiver were in uſe amongſt the *Moguls*, as were the ſabre, and the battle ax, with ſome ropes, which they carried to the field, where they were very convenient; as to the lance and javelin, they ſeem not to have been employed by the *Tartars* of thoſe days; but, as they were of uſe amongſt the *Khowarazmians*, *Jenghiz Khan* ordered all his officers to wear entire ſuits of mail, or, at leaſt, to have helmets and breaſt-plates of iron, or leather, proof againſt the puſh of a pike, or the ſtroke of a ſword; and ſuch of the common ſoldiers who could provide the like armour of defence, had the ſame indulgence. *Jenghiz Khan*, likewiſe, His wiſe regulations.

likewiſe, ordered his officers of cavalry who could be at the expence, to caſe their horſes in armour.

in war. By this laſt regulation, it appears as if there had been two ſorts of armour, one purchaſed by the officer, or ſoldier, which was his private property, and the ordinary armour, which belonged to the khan. For, by another ordinance, it is commanded, that ſoldiers, at the beginning of a campaign, ſhall receive their arms from their officers; that, during the campaign, they ſhall keep them bright and in good order, and that, at the end of it, they ſhall give them back to their officers; it was likewiſe ordained, on pain of death, that there ſhould be no pillaging, before the general command for that purpoſe was given out: and that, then, no diſtinction ſhould be made in the ſhares of officers, and ſoldiers, for each ſhould be maſter of all the plunder he could make, upon paying a certain part of it to the khan's receiver, or collector.

Thoſe regulations being fully eſtabliſhed, the khan ſent for his favourite ſon *Tuſhi*, who was then in *Kipjak*, to be preſent at a general review of the troops, and to receive his commands, which were, to advance with a large detachment of the army againſt the remains of *Kuchluk*'s party, who were very numerous in *Turkeſtan*, while he headed the chief expedition, againſt the ſultan, in perſon. It appears, as if *Jenghiz Khan*'s enemies in *Turkeſtan* had either been diſperſed, or joined the main body of the *Khowarazmians*, commanded by *Mohammed*, and his ſon *Jalaloddin*; for we know nothing of *Tuſhi*'s actions in *Turkeſtan*, but that, on his return from thence, he was intercepted by *Mohammed*, with far ſuperior forces. According to the ſame authorities, *Tuſhi*'s general officers were of opinion, that he ought not to hazard a battle, but make a deliberate retreat, in which the *Khowarazmians* could not purſue him, but under great diſadvantages. The prince thanked them for their advice, in giving which, he ſaid, they had acted according to their opinion; but that he would act according to his, and ſtand his ground. Upon this, an engagement enſued, in which *Tuſhi* penetrated two lines of the enemy, and came up with the ſultan himſelf, with whom he had a perſonal encounter, from which *Mahommed* eſcaped by the goodneſs of his buckler. At laſt, night parted the combatants, and *Tuſhi*, thinking he had done enough for the glory of the *Mogul* name, retreated, and joined his father, who ſeems to have been encamped in the neighbourhood. Next day, the battle became general.

Actions of prince *Tuſhi*.

A battle, *Mohammed*'s army was four hundred thouſand men, but they were all of them choice troops; the place where they joined battle was called *Karaku*, and the apparatus, before the battle, was dreadful and ſolemn. A trumpet, fifteen feet long, gave the ſignal of engagement, and that was followed by the ſound of timbrels, drums, fifes, and all other warlike

warlike inſtruments; both parties addreſſing themſelves to Heaven, according to their different religions; the *Khowarazmians* being *Mahometans*, and the *Moguls*, *Deiſts*. *Jalaladdin*, the prince of *Khowarazm*, commanded under *Mohammed*, as did *Tuſhi*, under his father *Jenghiz Khan*. Both of them behaved with prodigious courage, but *Jenghiz Khan* ſeems to have made the better diſpoſitions; for, finding himſelf unable to withſtand the veteran *Khowarazmians*, he took the advantage of the ſuperiority of his numbers, to engage them with freſh bodies of reſerve; ſo that, notwithſtanding the amazing acts performed by *Jalaloddin*, when night came on, the battle was ſtill undecided. Next morning, *Mohammed*, upon a review of his troops, perceived that he had loſt about one hundred and ſixty thouſand of his men, which diſheartened him ſo much, that he reſolved to act, for the future, upon the defenſive only. His firſt care was, to entrench himſelf, ſo ſtrongly, that *Jenghiz Khan* did not think proper to attack him. He then, gradually, drew off his troops towards places of ſtrength, but gave the command of a large body to his brave ſon *Jalaloddin*, who entirely diſapproved of his father's conduct. For *Mohammed* imagining that the *Mogul*, by attacking one ſtrong place after another, muſt be gradually ſo diminiſhed, as that he could have nothing to fear from him, retired to his capital of *Bokhara*, where he gave himſelf up to all manner of luxury; while *Jalaloddin* retired to *Koraſan*, where he made freſh levies, and prepared, once more, to oppoſe the *Moguls*. It appears from hiſtory, that *Jenghiz Khan*, in all his undertakings, availed himſelf greatly of the mildneſs and generoſity with which he treated all thoſe who put themſelves under his protection. The haughtineſs of *Mohammed*, and his family, had begot him many ſecret enemies, who now openly declared themſelves againſt him; for, we are told, that he was joined by *Aſlan*, the prince of *Korliks*, *Idikut*, prince of the *Vigurs*, and *Shakuak*, prince of *Amalik*. His ſons, *Tuſhi*, *Oktay*, and *Jagatay*, were his head generals, and, under them, ſerved *Elak*, and *Suktu Buka*. *Oktay* and *Jagatay*, with two hundred thouſand men under their command, were ſent to beſiege *Ortra*. *Tuſhi* and *Elak* commanded one hundred thouſand men, and penetrated into *Turkeſtan* on the ſide of *Kipjak*. *Suktu Buka*, at the head of fifty thouſand men, marched to *Kojend*; and *Jenghiz Khan*, with *Tuli*, another of his ſons, undertook the ſieges of *Bukara*, and *Samarkand*, at the head of two hundred thouſand men.

in which *Jenghiz Khan* is victorious.

His vaſt force.

This irreſiſtible force, which was every day improving in military diſcipline, was more than ſufficient for the conqueſt of the world, under ſuch a general as *Jenghiz Khan* was, had the duration of human life admitted of ſuch an undertaking. His policy was equal to his power; mild and humane, where his enemies ſubmitted, but inexorable, when he met

Progreſs, with but the face of reſiſtance. The city of *Zurnuk* having, voluntarily, ſubmitted itſelf, was received into his protection; but he ſeverely puniſhed *Nur*, another city, for making even a ſhew of reſiſtance. In the mean while, *Mohammed* was in great diſtreſs. Notwithſtanding his vaſt abilities, he had procured himſelf many enemies, and, amongſt others, his own mother, who headed not only a party, but an army, againſt him. *Bedroddin Lelo*, one of the wiſeſt princes in his time, and ſtill famous in the annals of the eaſt, had been ſo much ſhocked with *Mohammed*'s haughtineſs and tyranny (who put to death his father, uncle, and brothers) that he put himſelf under the protection of *Jenghiz Khan*. He was well acquainted with the and policy ſtate of *Mohammed*'s court and army, and, by artfully diſperſing letters amongſt his principal officers, he fomented ſuch diviſions and diſtruſts amongſt them, as were of infinite prejudice to *Mohammed*'s affairs; and that, perhaps, was the chief reaſon why he reſolved to give himſelf up to deſperate courſes; for we are told, that he now plunged himſelf into all kinds of irregularities. That he might, however, enjoy himſelf in as much ſecurity as he could, he garriſoned *Bokhara*, which lay in the heart of his dominions, with twenty thouſand men, and retired, with his vaſt treaſures, to *Samarkand*. *Bokhara*, the capital of *Great Bokhara*, was one of the ſtrongeſt, and moſt delightful, places, in all the eaſt. It was ſo much renowned for producing men of learning, that a *Bokharian* was always underſtood to be a perſon of literature. But all the advantages of art and nature could not defend it againſt *Jenghiz Khan*. The garriſon, diſguſted, or intimidated by the behaviour of the ſultan (after making ſome ſhew of reſiſtance) abandoned the place; but were followed by the *Moguls*, and cut in pieces. The inhabitants, upon this, were received under the protection of *Jenghiz Khan*, on condition of giving no harbour or ſhelter to the ſultan's ſoldiers. He treated them, however, not only with ſeverity, but contempt. He entered their city in a triumphal manner, on horſeback, and, riding up to the great moſque, he demanded, with a ſcornful ſmile, whether that was not their ſultan's palace. Being told it was the houſe of God, he ordered a chief magiſtrate of the place to hold his horſe, and, mounting the pulpit, he threw the koran under his horſe's feet, and then began an harangue, which he pronounced with wonderful eloquence, ſetting forth, in the ſtyle of all enthuſiaſts, the amazing things that God had wrought for him, with the perfidy, cruelty, and infidelity, of his enemy the ſultan *Mahommed*. After this, he talked in a ſmooth manner to the inhabitants, whom he commended, for putting themſelves under his protection, but threatened them very ſeverely, if they did not diſcover all their effects, and concealments, particularly the ſultan's ſoldiers. Notwithſtanding all this, *Jenghiz Khan*, for ſome reaſons that do not appear plainly in hiſtory, or-

Inſtance of his contempt of *Mahometaniſm*.

dered

dered the city to be burnt down, which was executed with unparalleled barbarity; he likewiſe ordered all the ſultan's ſoldiers, who were found in the place, to be butchered, and part of the garriſon having thrown themſelves into the citadel, after a very brave defence, could obtain no other terms than having their lives ſpared. His barbarity.

While *Jenghiz Khan* was thus victorious in perſon, he was no leſs ſo by his ſons *Jagatay*, and *Oktay*, who, as we have already obſerved, had been detached to beſiege *Otrar*, which ſeems, in fact, to have been the principal object of the khan in this expedition, on account of the barbarous murders committed there upon his ſubjects. The ſiege, though little taken notice of in hiſtory, was extremely remarkable. *Gayer Khan*, the ſame who had put the *Mogul* merchants to death, continued ſtill to be governor of the city; the garriſon conſiſted of fifty thouſand men, and *Mohammed* ſent an additional ten thouſand, under the command of one *Hajib*. As *Gayer* knew well, that, if vanquiſhed, he was to expect no mercy, he omitted no means of making a moſt obſtinate defence; and the princes, deſpairing of ſucceſs, conſulted their father, whether they ought to proceed in this expedition. The anſwer of *Jenghiz Khan* was entirely in his own character; for he told his ſons, that they muſt fight: though ſome ſay, that he went in perſon and directed the operations of the ſiege, which is far from being improbable. By the beſt accounts, they were, at firſt, very unpromiſing; for though the *Moguls*, with moſt indefatigable trouble, brought their battering engines to play againſt the walls, yet the fire of the beſieged deſtroyed them. But nothing was inſurmountable to their perſeverance and patience. In five months time, *Gayer* was beat from poſt to poſt, and, at laſt, obliged to entrench himſelf within the inner fortifications. *Hajib* foreſaw that the *Moguls*, in the end, muſt prevail, and adviſed a capitulation, which *Gayer* utterly rejected. Upon this, *Hajib*, at the head of his ten thouſand men, iſſued out of the city, and put himſelf under the protection of the *Moguls*; but they, with almoſt an unexampled magnanimity, put him, and the chief officers under him, to the ſword; as expecting nothing but treachery, from thoſe who could betray their own prince: the common ſoldiers were made ſlaves, though ſome pretend, that they, likewiſe, were cut in pieces. This deſertion, however, facilitated the reduction of the place. For though *Gayer* diſputed it inch by inch, and had driven all the uſeleſs mouths out of the city, yet he was, at laſt, obliged to throw himſelf into the caſtle; where he defended himſelf ſo obſtinately, that the whole of his garriſon were reduced to himſelf and other two men. The princes, it is true, could have had little difficulty in cutting off this miſerable remnant, had it not been, that the order from *Jenghiz Khan* was peremptory, for taking *Gayer* alive. At laſt, he was Siege of *Otrar*, which is taken.

pent up with his two companions on the terras of his own palace; where he was ſupplied by his wife with large ſtones, which he threw down upon his enemies, till, his ſtrength being exhauſted, he was taken, loaded with chains, and put to death. As to the place, the ruins of the walls were repaired, but the caſtle was demoliſhed, though the city itſelf was repeopled.

as is *Sagnak*, Prince *Tuſhi*, after the conqueſt of *Oirar*, undertook that of *Sagnak*; which, being a place of great importance for *Jenghiz Khan*'s conqueſts, he would willingly have ſpared. For this purpoſe he entered into a parley with the governor, who granted a paſſport to one *Haſſan*, a *Mahometan Mogul*, to treat of an accommodation. But, in fact, the *Khowarazmian* court and officers had inſpired their people with a moſt invincible averſion towards the *Moguls*; which their appearance was far from contributing to remove. *Haſſan* was admitted into the city, but was there put to death. Upon this, *Tuſhi* made his troops take an oath that they would revenge his murder. They accordingly ſtormed the place, and, after putting ten thouſand of the inhabitants to the ſword, *Tuſhi* ordered a magnificent monument to be erected to the memory of *Haſſan*. The reduction of *Sagnak* was followed by that of *Uzknat*, the inhabitants of which, afraid of the fate of thoſe of *Sagnak*, voluntarily ſubmitted, and obtained a protection from the conquerors. *Alſaſh*, which lies upon the river *Sir*, was next ſummoned to ſurrender; and, becauſe it did not obey, but held out for ſome time, *Tuſhi* ordered great numbers of the inhabitants to be put to the ſword.

and *Jund*. The next place attacked by the *Moguls* was *Jund*, a city lying on the confines of *Tukeſtan*, and near the river *Sir*. This place was of vaſt ſtrength, and was the inheritance of one *Kutluk*, a prince immenſely rich, and ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed againſt the *Moguls*; but the irreſiſtable progreſs they had made, daunted him ſo much, that he retired with his riches through the *Deſert* into *Khowarazm*. Upon his abandoning his capital, *Timur*, a *Mogul* general, and an able engineer, was ſent to ſummon it; but, though ſome of the inhabitants were inclined to ſurrender, the majority were ſo much prepoſſeſſed againſt the *Moguls*, that he narrowly eſcaped being torn in pieces. He made obſervations, however, on the ſtrength of the place, which he perceived muſt coſt a vaſt deal of blood to reduce; and therefore, upon his return to the *Mogul* camp, he propoſed to make two falſe attacks, but to plant ladders, and to make the real attack at a third place. This ſcheme, though by no means agreeable to the *Mogul* genius, after ſome debate, was agreed to, and proved ſucceſsful without coſting the *Moguls* a ſingle life. This was a happy circumſtance for the inhabitants, for no more than two or three, who had perſonally abuſed *Timur*, were put to death; and the reſt, after their numbers had been taken, were ſuffered to return home.

It

It is almoſt incredible, that a barbarous people, like the *Moguls*, uſed to a roving life, ſhould make ſo rapid a progreſs in the art of war, as to ſubdue the ſtrongeſt cities in the eaſt. *Tuſhi* now divided his army into two bodies, each of fifty thouſand. The one he allotted for beſieging cities, and the other for the operations of the field. His intentions in this were to penetrate into *Kojend*; but before he could do that, the city of *Tonkat*, in *Ilak*, muſt be reduced. This city was ſo delightful in its ſituation and neighbourhood, that it was very frequent then for the inhabitants to ſay, that, if *God* was to reſide on earth, he could not chuſe a more beautiful ſpot to reſide at than *Tonkat*. *Elak*, a *Mogul* general of great experience, commanded the fifty thouſand men deſtined for the ſieges; and he found himſelf under an abſolute neceſſity of reducing *Tonkat* before he could penetrate into *Kojend*, it being one of the barriers of *Ilak*. The place was defended by one *Ilenko*, with a *Turkiſh* garriſon; but the inhabitants refuſing to ſtand the ſiege, the place was taken by ſtorm, and the garriſon put to the ſword for preſuming to make diſpoſitions for its defence. *Kojend*, a place of vaſt importance and ſtrength, was next beſieged by order of *Tuſhi*. It was the barrier of *Bokhara* on the ſide where it lay; and, beſides its natural ſtrength, it was governed by one *Timur*, who was juſtly looked upon to be one of the beſt officers of the eaſt. As he knew that the ſtorm muſt fall upon his government after the reduction of *Tonkat*, he had omited no precaution for its defence; and had rendered all the country round *Kojend* a mere deſart. As we have at preſent very few accounts of thoſe cities, which were then of ſo much ſtrength and importance, and as even their names are uncertain, it is impoſſible to aſcertain the nature of their operations, though they are minutely deſcribed; but, according to the beſt accounts, they were moſt dreadful on both ſides. The *Mogul* engines diſcharged even mill-ſtones againſt the walls; and *Elak*, who commanded the ſiege, built a bridge, the abutments of which he afterwards filled up with great ſtones, to give his men firm footing for their aſſaults. *Timur*, on the other hand, equipped certain boats, of a peculiar conſtruction, from which he annoyed, with his engines, the *Mogul* camp, which lay along the river. He likewiſe built a ſtrong fortreſs, which he garriſoned with one thouſand men, and which was a kind of inlet to the city. By means of certain pretended deſerters to the *Mogul* camp, he perſuaded *Elak* that it would be eaſy to reduce that fortreſs, which muſt be attended by the immediate reduction of the town. The *Moguls* ſoon found, by their vaſt loſs of men, with what deſign this advice had been given, and deſiſted from their attempt; but attacked the city in another manner, with ſuch amazing obſtinacy, that *Timur* was obliged to betake himſelf to his boats, in order to ſecure his own retreat. The *Moguls* purſued him, and vaſt numbers

Policy and conduct of *Tuſhi*.

Kojend beſieged,

and taken.

Valour of *Timur*.

of men were loſt on both ſides. Hiſtorians tell us, that on this occaſion, *Timur* performed moſt extraordinary acts of valour, eſpecially when his boats, being forced upon the ſhallows of the river, were attacked by the purſuers, which often was the caſe. At laſt, however, all his followers were cut off, and he was purſued by three *Moguls*, one of whom he ſhot through the eye, and they all then deſiſted from the purſuit. Thus eſcaping, he fled to *Farnakant*; and, having collected ſome faithful followers, he ſurprized that city, and cut in pieces the *Mogul* garriſon there; upon which he was made governor of the ſame by the ſultan *Mohammed*. It is but juſtice to the memory of *Timur*, who muſt be conſidered as a very extraordinary perſonage, to follow him to his death. Being the ſworn enemy of the *Moguls*, he fought them till they had over-run all *Perſia*; and, at laſt, the admiration of his virtues prevailed with the *Mogul* government to ſuffer him to retire to *Kojend*, where he found one of his ſons living, and had permiſſion to re-enter upon his eſtate.

His death.

But it had paſſed, by that time, to other poſſeſſors, who became his declared enemies; and who, finding out the *Mogul* officer whom he had wounded in the eye, he was by him ſhot dead.

Account of *Samarkand*.

By this time, *Jenghiz Khan* had proceeded within a day's journey of *Samarkand*, then one of the chief cities of all the eaſt, and the capital of *Bokharia*. The reader, from the modern accounts of this great province and city, can have but a very imperfect idea of its ſtate at the time we now treat of. Tyranny blaſts all the bounties of nature: and the inhabitants of this country, fallen, as they are, into a ſtate of ſlavery, retained only the faint veſtiges of power and riches. The deſtroyers of mankind, however, even at this time, have not been able, as we are told, to deſtroy all the majeſty of *Samarkand*. It ſtill retains its bulwarks; it has a noble caſtle; its ſtreets are paved; many of its houſes are built with ſtone dug out of neighbouring quarries, a magnificence uncommon to that country; and its neighbourhood is one of the moſt delightful ſpots in the eaſt: but the chief glory of *Samarkand* was its noble univerſity, in which ſome of the greateſt men of the eaſt were educated. When *Jenghiz Khan* marched againſt it, it is ſaid to have been three leagues, or nine miles, in compaſs; but, in the time of *Alexander the Great*, who, by ſome, though falſly, is ſaid to have been the founder of it, it was twelve leagues, or thirty-ſix miles, in circumference. In ſhort, it is repreſented, at this time, to have been a terreſtrial paradiſe; but ſo fortified as to render it impregnable to any enemy, but one who, like *Jenghiz Khan*, commanded troops who had no idea of dread or danger.

Its vaſt importance.

The irruption of the *Moguls* into *Bukharia*, had rendered *Samarkand* the aſylum of all the *Kowarazmian* ſubjects; and the ſultan *Mohammed* had placed in that city, or its neighbourhood,

bourhood, an army of one hundred and ten thouſand men, who were ſtrongly entrenched, to oppoſe the *Moguls*. It was in the latter end of *May*, 1220, and in the year of the *Hejra* 617, when *Jenghiz Khan* appeared before this formidable city. He was received, on his firſt approach, by a ſally from the troops; and the inhabitants are ſaid to have been ſo numerous, that the city, large as it was, was unable to contain them. But *Jenghiz Khan* repelled the ſally with great ſlaughter both to himſelf and his enemies, and encamped under the walls. The garriſon was compoſed of the braveſt men in the eaſt, and moſt of them were *Turks*; ſo that *Jenghiz Khan*, with all his intrepidity and reſolution, muſt have been baffled in his attempt, had not ſome differences ariſen between the garriſon and the inhabitants; who, amongſt the other means of defence, had twenty elephants. It is probable, that the diſſolute life of the ſultan made the chief noblemen and inhabitants deſirous of changing their maſter; for the kadi and the mufti, with about fifty thouſand of the chief perſonages of the country, preſented *Jenghiz Khan* with the keys of the city, imploring his compaſſion for the inhabitants in general. But the *Tartar*, always acting by invariable maxims, was inexorable, and refuſed to give quarter to any but thoſe who made an abſolute ſubmiſſion to his power. *Alub*, the khan, who governed the city, refuſed this; and, being ſtill at the head of a very numerous garriſon, he formed barracades upon the ſtreets; and, notwithſtanding the *Moguls* had got admittance into the place, he diſputed with them every inch of the city for four days. But the *Moguls* forcing one poſt after another, *Alub* ſaw himſelf in danger of being maſſacred, or, which was worſe, taken priſoner, by his mercileſs enemies. Upon this, he and his chief officers, at the head of one thouſand reſolute horſe, broke through the *Mogul* camp and eſcaped. This diſcouraged the remainder of the garriſon, of whom thirty thouſand were put to the ſword, and, among them, many princes and noblemen of great eminence. Thus this noble city came under the power of the *Tartars*; and *Jenghiz Khan* made a preſent of thirty thouſand of the inhabitants, as ſlaves, to his officers; leaving the remainder in poſſeſſion of the city, upon their paying a tribute of about two hundred thouſand pounds a year.

It is taken with great ſlaughter.

Though the loſs of *Samarkand* gave a dreadful blow to the ſultan *Mohammed*, yet he ſtill was poſſeſſed of vaſt reſources. *Jenghiz Khan* was no ſtranger to this, and he ſent three of his generals, *Zena*, *Suday*, and *Togazar*, at the head of three thouſand light-horſe, to purſue him; with orders to receive the ſubmiſſion of, or to force the ſame from, all the cities and countries through which they ſhould paſs; but not to deſiſt from their purſuit, even though the ſultan ſhould fly to *Darbend* and *Shizwan*; and to offer no injury to ſuch places as ſhould quietly ſubmit. The purſuing generals formed their army into three diviſions, and each took a ſeparate route.

Mohammed purſued.

route. *Togazar* marched towards *India*, and the other two took the route of *Koraſan*; but all of them were diſappointed in the object of their purſuit. *Amin*, however, the governor of *Koraſan*, offered to ſubmit to *Jenghiz Khan*; and was received into protection by the two *Mogul* generals, who fell into his territory. *Togazar*, in his return from *India*, pretending he knew nothing of *Amin*'s ſubmiſſion, began to commit hoſtilities; but the inhabitants had ſpirit enough to march againſt him, to defeat his army, and kill himſelf. Upon this, *Zina* and *Suday* attacked and plundered *Zaveh*, and put great numbers of the inhabitants to the ſword; while the ſultan fled into the *Perſian Irak*: which was, by no means, in a condition to ſhelter him ſo well as the province of *Koraſan*, which was full of great and populous cities, could have done. The two ſurviving *Mogul* generals, having intelligence of the ſultan's route, followed him to *Niſhabur*: which opened its gates to them, as ſome hiſtorians ſay, upon being ſummoned: but others pretend the chief inhabitants requeſted the *Moguls* to continue the purſuit of the ſultan; and, that, upon their return, they would deliver up the city. *Mohammed* then fled to *Baſtam*, from whence he ſent his jewels, ſealed up in ten coffers of prodigious value, to be depoſited in *Ardahan*, a caſtle that was deemed to be almoſt impregnable. Retiring from *Baſtam*, he was received by his ſon *Roknoddin*, at the head of a body of about thirty thouſand horſe; but, when they came to *Farzina*, they were overtaken by their *Mogul* purſuers; who defeated their army, and obliged the ſultan to fly to *Eaſtadad*, in *Mazandaran*. There he might have been ſafe againſt all the power of *Jenghiz Khan*; but his crimes purſued him; the horrible murders he had been guilty of, while in the plenitude of his power, raiſed him up enemies in every ſpot during his adverſity. A *Perſian* nobleman, whoſe uncle he had murdered, conducted a party of the *Moguls* to a little ſea-port town to which *Mohammed* had retired. In this place, after a review of his life, he betook himſelf to extraordinary acts of devotion, and formed a great many pious reſolutions of amendment: but, before he had an opportunity of putting them in practice, he was diſturbed by accounts, that the *Mogul* detachments, headed by the *Perſian* nobleman, were at hand in purſuit of him. He had, however, time to throw himſelf on board a ſmall bark; but his purſuers were ſo near at hand, that they reached it with their arrows. This was upon the *Caſpian Sea*; and trouble, fatigue, and anguiſh of mind, threw the miſerable monarch into a pleuretic diſorder, and forced him to put into the iſland *Aboſkum*. Here, being in want even of the neceſſaries of life, he was viſited by his ſon the brave *Jalaloddin*, whom he nominated to be heir of his empire; and at the ſame time recommended to him an implacable vengeance againſt the *Moguls*. After this, he died in

His diſtreſs,

and miſerable death.

in a little tent erected on the ſea-ſhore, with ſcarcely cloaths to cover his nakedneſs.

Such was the fate of the mighty prince *Mohammed*; but ſome hiſtorians have interlarded his hiſtory with immaterial particulars; but with few variations from the general account we have given. *Jenghiz Khan*, at the time of *Mohammed*'s death, was at *Samarkand*; from whence he iſſued the moſt inhuman orders, even to the maſſacreing the mother, children, and relations of the unfortunate ſultan. Being apprized of his death, he ordered his three ſons, *Tuſhi*, *Oktay*, and *Jagatay*, to march, at the head of a great army, to beſiege *Korazm*, or *Khowarazm*, the capital of the great province of the ſame name. It does not lye within the limits of general hiſtory to be particular as to the marvellous beauties which travellers have aſcribed to this country and its capital. They would appear romantic, was it not that the ſtupendous remains of their cities and forts are ſtill to be ſeen; as well as the evident alterations that the country had ſuffered from tyrants and barbarians, and even from the courſes of rivers and other natural caſualties. It retains the ſame name that is given to it by *Herodotus*, the *Greek* hiſtorian; and its prodigious fertility, ariſing from a great lake, called the *Lake of Eagles*, and three rivers; of which one, *Amu*, is the celebrated *Oxus* of the antients; and the names of the other two are *Keſel* and *Sir*, which render it inexpreſſibly fertile and rich. To this we are to add, that the inhabitants were reckoned the moſt polite of any in the eaſt; and, immerſed as they were in indolence and luxury, they were ſo famous for their turn to poetry, that even the cries of their children have, by eaſtern writers, been ridiculouſly repreſented, as having in them ſomewhat that was muſical. But the deſcription of this country is not more romantic than its hiſtory. *Korazm*, we are told, at this time, was governed by *Turkan Katun*; which, amongſt the eaſterns, appears to have been a common name for ſovereign princeſſes; and ſhe was the widow of *Takaſh*, the ſultan of *Khowarazm*, of whom we have already given a full account. This lady was the daughter of a *Turkiſh* prince, and, by her ſuperior abilities, ſhe held an abſolute dominion over her ſon the ſultan *Mohammed*; and was a kind of vicegerent to him over his vaſt empire. But ſhe ſtained all her noble perfections, the chief of which was her adminiſtration of juſtice, and the diſtribution of charity, by her vaſt cruelty. She is ſaid to have held, as hoſtages, the children of twelve ſovereign princes, whom ſhe put to death when the *Moguls* invaded her ſon's dominions; and to have been guilty of other acts of inhumanity. She had a great partiality in favour of *Kothboddin*, her grandſon; and had even influence enough to prevail with *Mohammed* to diſinherit *Jalaloddin* in *Kothboddin*'s favour, till that ſultan, convinced of *Jalaloddin*'s ſuperior abilities, reſtored him to the ſucceſſion. This gave her ſo much diſguſt, that,

Progreſs of *Jenghiz Khan*.

His troops take *Khowarazm*.

Cruelty of a ſultaneſs.

that, abandoning the affairs of government, ſhe left the inhabitants to defend themſelves; and fomented a conſpiracy againſt *Jalaloddin*, in which even the *Moguls* were concerned. *Jalaloddin*, upon this occaſion, though forced to abandon his capital, behaved with the utmoſt intrepidity; but, notwithſtanding he defeated the *Moguls* in ſeveral engagements, he was at laſt ſurrounded, and obliged to fly, leaving two of his brothers, and almoſt all his followers, dead upon the ſpot. *Jenghiz Khan* endeavoured to avail himſelf of thoſe diviſions amongſt the *Khowarazmians*, and gave orders for his ſons to preſs the ſiege of that capital, with all poſſible expedition; which they did, and, at laſt, inveſted the place. The *Khowarazmians*, however, perceiving their danger, united under one *Himar*, a relation of the late ſultana, and bravely deſpiſed all the menaces of the *Moguls* ſummoning them to ſurrender. It was remarkable, that even the *Khowarazmian* ladies, the deſcendants, it is more than probable, of the antient *Amazons*, took the field againſt the *Moguls*, and behaved with as much intrepidity as the boldeſt veterans: ſo that the *Moguls* vigorouſly, but ineffectually, beſieged the place for ſeven months. *Jenghiz Khan* knew not what it was to give up an enterprize; but he perceived, from the ſlow progreſs of this ſiege, that he had been miſtaken, in point of policy, when he inveſted his three ſons with the joint command of the ſiege. The *Moguls* found that it was impoſſible to take the town without filling up the ditch; which could not be done without turning the courſe of the river that perpetually ſupplied it with water. This they attempted to do, and three thouſand men were employed upon the work, who were all cut to pieces by the beſieged in one night.

Oktay made general of the *Mogul* troops.

This miſcarriage might have had a fatal effect upon *Jenghiz Khan*'s affairs, had he not committed the ſole command of the ſiege to his ſon *Oktay*. Under him the canal, into which the courſe of the river was to run, was finiſhed; and the ditch being filled up with rubbiſh, the *Moguls*, after a moſt obſtinate attack, planted their ſtandards upon the wall; but were repulſed by the valiant *Himar* and the garriſon. This ſerved only to redouble the ardor of the *Moguls*; they renewed the aſſault, and at laſt made a lodgment upon the fortifications; while the beſieged, under *Himar*, fought their enemy, from houſe to houſe, through every ſtreet of the capital. The vaſt ſupplies which *Jenghiz Khan* ſent to *Oktay*, made it ſoon evident that the city muſt be reduced. No quarter was given on either ſide, and no fewer than one hundred thouſand *Khowarazmians* are ſaid to have fallen during the ſiege; while ſome hiſtorians double that number.

Generoſity of a *Khowarazmian* officer.

Amongſt the beſieged was one *Nojmoddin*, a man of ſo exemplary courage and virtue, that even the *Mogul* general *Oktay* ſought to reſcue him from death. For this purpoſe he ſent him a meſſage, offering him ſafety for himſelf and ten of

of his friends. *Nojmoddin* rejected the favour, and *Oktay* encreaſed the number to one thouſand; but *Nojmoddin* generouſly declared, he would bury himſelf in the ruins of his country, unleſs all the inhabitants were ſaved likewiſe. This could not be granted; and, a general aſſault being given, both *Himar* and *Nojmoddin* were killed; the city was taken; and the inhabitants who ſurvived the ſlaughter were reduced to a ſtate of ſlavery, and diſtributed, by the *Mogul* general, amongſt his troops.

The fate of *Khowarazm* ſtruck other cities and provinces with terror; the conqueror diſmantled its fortifications; and the other cities of the country, *Kat*, *Ferabar*, *Dargan*, and *Zamakſhar*, ſubmitted to him without reſiſtance. *Oktay*, after this, marched to join his father, who had marched from *Samarkand* to *Termed*; which important city he took after a ſiege of eleven days, and, as is ſaid, put to the ſword all its inhabitants. The country around furniſhing abundance of jewels and pearls, the inhuman *Moguls* ripped up the bellies of the people, thinking they had ſwallowed them; and yet hiſtorians have mentioned this mighty conqueror, *Jenghiz Khan*, not only without horror, but with praiſe. However, notwithſtanding the ſucceſs that attended his own arms, and thoſe of his ſons, he met with ſome checks in *Khowarazm*, where his generals commanded againſt *Jalaloddin*'s officers: but the good fortune of theſe monſters prevailed in the main. *Neſa*, in *Khowarazm*, which, for its agreeable ſituation, was termed *Little Damaſcus*, was by them beſieged and taken, and the inhabitants maſſacred. After this, the *Moguls* beſieged *Kaender*, which was reckoned the ſtrongeſt place in all *Khowarazm*. Some of the richeſt men in that country had retired thither with their effects, but fled as ſoon as the *Moguls* began the operations of the ſiege. The inhabitants, however, defended themſelves ſo bravely, that the *Mogul* general offered to raiſe the ſiege, upon their furniſhing him with ſome cloaths, and other neceſſaries, that his army greatly wanted. The known cruelty of the *Moguls* deterred every one from undertaking to execute this commiſſion after the terms were agreed upon. At laſt, two venerable old perſonages went to the *Mogul* camp with the ſtipulated commodities; and no ſooner were they received, than the throats of the two aged deputies were cut.

Termed taken.

Barbarity and perfidy of the *Moguls*.

A nevian, for ſo the *Moguls* call their princes or generals, termed *Hubbe*, attacked *Damagan* about this time; and, ſuch was the terror which thoſe monſters ſtruck into the inhabitants, that they deſerted the place; and after that he took *Amol*, and reduced many places of the *Eaſtern Tabareſtan*, as he did all the *Weſtern*. We have already mentioned *Turkan Katun*, the mother of ſultan *Mohammed*; and her having, out of hatred to *Jalaloddin*, her grandſon, abandoned *Khowarazm*, and retired with all her immenſe riches. For ſome time, the place of her retreat was unknown; but *Jenghiz Khan*, amongſt

Hiſtory of the ſultaneſs.

amongſt other qualities of a great general, poſſeſſed that of having excellent intelligence; and, at laſt, he diſcovered that that princeſs had taken refuge in a fortreſs called *Hal*. He ordered *Hubbe* to beſiege it, which he did for three months, but without effect. He then commanded him to turn the ſiege into a blockade, and to ſhut up the place with ſtrong lines of circumvallation; which was accordingly done. The garriſon, however, could have held out againſt every thing but the want of water; which never was known to fail before the lines were finiſhed, ſo very rainy was the climate: but water failing all on a ſudden, ſtruck the garriſon with conſternation, and they judged it to be a puniſhment inflicted upon the ſultaneſs for her inhumanity. She ſtill might have made her terms, and have been relieved by *Jalaloddin*; but ſo invincible was her hatred towards him, that ſhe declared, rather than have the leaſt connection with him, ſhe would ſubmit to the worſt indignities the *Moguls* could inflict. The ſtrictneſs of the blockade, and the want of water, at laſt, obliged her to ſurrender the place; and with it all her immenſe riches, with her children and grand-children; and that too without obtaining any terms, or, at leaſt, none that were obſerved. *Jenghiz Khan* ordered her to be carried to his camp, or court, where he made a mock of her miſery, and threw to her ſcraps from his table; while all her ſons, daughters, and grand-children, excepting the youngeſt, were butchered before her eyes; and, at laſt, the youngeſt underwent the ſame fate. Not contented with inflicting thoſe inhuman mortifications upon this once great princeſs, her conqueror ordered her to be expoſed as a public ſpectacle thro' thoſe places where ſhe uſed to appear in her greateſt pomp and luſtre; but, in the end, he put her to death. It is, however, remarkable, that *Tuſhi*, the ſon of *Jenghiz Khan*, married one of her great-grand-daughters; and the others were betrothed to ſome of the chief *Mogul* generals and princes. The north and weſtern parts of *Khowarazm* were now reduced by *Jenghiz Khan*, who then laid ſiege to the city of *Ray*. This place was miſerably divided by religious differences; and one part of the inhabitants, without the conſent of the other, ſurrendered the city to their common enemy, who put to the ſword all who had oppoſed them. The conqueſt of *Ray* was of the utmoſt importance to *Jenghiz Khan*'s arms. The moſt conſiderable places to be now reduced in *Koraſa*, or rather in the empire of *Perſia*, were *Hamadan*, *Kon*, and *Iſpahan*. The *Moguls*, however, were not inſenſible of the beauty and delicacy of their conqueſts; and enjoyed them, for ſome time, till they were ordered by *Jenghiz Khan* to proceed to new ones. *Kon* ſoon fell a prey to them through the religious diviſions that prevailed in the place, and moſt of the inhabitants were put to the ſword. *Hubbe* after this laid ſiege to *Hamadan*, called by the ſacred writers *Ematha*, and by the *Greeks Ekbatana*.

Her diſgrace and death.

This

This city and neighbourhood, before they were deſolated and deſtroyed by tyranny, were juſtly conſidered amongſt the moſt beautiful objects of the eaſt; and, at the time we now treat of, the place was ſo ſtrong, that *Jenghiz Khan* gave private orders to *Hubbe* to grant it a capitulation, rather than drive it to extremities. *Hubbe*, accordingly, made an accommodation with *Majedoddin*, the governor of the garriſon, to the great diſappointment of his troops, who expected to have plundered it; and the more, becauſe the inhabitants had behaved with uncommon haughtineſs, a fault that ſeldom paſſed unpuniſhed by *Jenghiz Khan*. This great conqueſt, of *Hamadan*, was followed by the reduction of many other places in *Perſia*; in ſome of which, the barbarous conquerors put fifty thouſand perſons to the ſword. *Hamadan* taken.

In the year of the *Chriſtian* æra, 1221, *Jenghiz Khan*, who, in all his proceedings, obſerved vaſt magnificence, exhibited a grand hunting-match in the plains of *Termed*. The manner of performing it was uſual amongſt the antient *Scythians*, or *Tartars*, and was lately in practice amongſt their deſcendants, particularly the *Scots*. The hunters, to the number of, perhaps, forty, or fifty, thouſand *Moguls*, encompaſſed a large ſpace of ground, within which was the game, of every kind, deer, lyons, elephants, tygers, and all kinds of animals. They then, by degrees, narrowed the circle, by doubling, or trebling the ranks, and kept the prey, which began to grow deſperate, at bay, on the points of their arms; after that, they ſtruck up all kinds of martial inſtruments of muſic, which confounded the creatures ſo much, as to bring them into a kind of ſtate of inſenſibility. The khan and his ſons, with other great lords, then advanced with their ſwords within the circle, and began the ſlaughter, and, when tir'd, they attended *Jenghiz Khan* to a magnificent tent erected for them, on a neighbouring eminence, where they ſaw the hunting finiſhed, by the deſtruction, or taking of the game. But what is moſt remarkable, is, that we are told this great match continued for four months; till a ſtop was at laſt put to the ſlaughter, by a petition of the princes of the blood to *Jenghiz Khan*. Remarkable deſcription of a hunting.

We have been the more particular in relating this piece of rude magnificence, as it will ſerve to give our reader ſome idea of this mighty conqueror's manners, and the means which he employed, in at once amuſing, and exerciſing, his troops. The hunting being over, he reſumed the operations of the campaign againſt the brave *Jalaloddin*, who had taken refuge in *Balk*, a city that lies to the ſouth of the province of *Samarkand*, and eaſt of that of *Proper Bukharia*. The province is about three hundred and ſixty miles long, and two hundred and forty in breadth; and, at the time we now treat of, the city was eſteemed amongſt the richeſt of all the eaſt, and particularly noted for commerce. It had been taken, by the ſultan *Mohammed*, from its lawful prince, who Account of *Balk*.

who had been confined in irons; and *Jenghiz Khan*, therefore, imputed it to the inhabitants as a crime, that they had ſheltered *Jalaloddin*. They willingly would have made their ſubmiſſion, and have purchaſed their pardon by immenſe preſents; but the barbarian, intent upon the ſpoils of ſo great a city, rejected all their offers, and upbraided them with befriending *Jalaloddin*. In ſhort, he rejected all the rich preſents that were offered him, and that people, dreading his reſentment, tried to appeaſe him by ſubmiſſion, and opened their gates to his troops. No ſooner was the vanguard entered, than the inhabitants were ordered to rendezvous in a great plain, where the young men were ſelected for ſlavery, and the more aged put to the ſword; and the city, after being plundered, was diſmantled of its walls. According to the eaſtern authors, the riches which the *Moguls* found in *Balk* were incredible. It had long enjoyed peace, with a moſt profitable trade; and the inhabitants, being remarkable for learning, and the arts, had enriched it with public monuments and buildings; amongſt which, are reckoned, twelve hundred temples, and as many baths, beſides private chapels, and other public edifices.

Mogul cruelty.

Jalaloddin purſued.

After this great conqueſt, *Jenghiz Khan* ſent eighty thouſand men, under his ſon *Tuli*, in purſuit of *Jalaloddin*, who had fled to *Perſia*; while he himſelf undertook the ſiege of *Talkan*. This appears to have been one of the moſt difficult of all his undertakings. The city, or, rather, fortreſs, was almoſt inacceſſible, by its ſituation on a very high mountain, and a numerous garriſon, provided with every thing neceſſary for a moſt obſtinate defence; while the heats of the ſeaſon, and the rockyneſs of the ſoil, put the *Mogul* army under inexpreſſible difficulties. They were expoſed, without ſhelter, to the wildfire, and the other combuſtibles, of the beſieged; and ſuch numbers of them were killed, that the conſtancy of even *Jenghiz Khan* himſelf was put to ſo ſevere a proof, that he thought of abandoning the ſiege: but as that would have been, to him, worſe than death, he ordered his ſon *Tuli*, who had not yet left *Koraſan*, to join him, and, in the mean time, diſcontinued his attacks. But, in a few days, having got together a great number of grappling irons, ladders, and other engines, he renewed his attacks with ſuch fury, that his ſoldiers, notwithſtanding the great ſlaughter made of them by the garriſon, gained the heights of the mountain, and, being perpetually ſupplied by freſh forces, the place was, at laſt, after a ſiege of ſeven months, taken, with the ſlaughter of all its inhabitants, before the main body of *Tuli*'s army had joined the camp; though, ſome ſay, that he received a ſtrong reinforcement from it.

Talkan beſieged,

and taken.

Farther conqueſts of the *Moguls*,

Jalaloddin, by this time, was recruiting his troops in *Perſia*, and *Tuli* having ſtopped ſhort, reduced the city of *Koraſan*, and marched againſt *Maru*; a city ſo delightfully ſituated, as

as to obtain the name of, *king of the world.* Nothing being thought able to withſtand the *Mogul* arms, the inhabitants marched out, loaded with rich preſents, which they gave to *Tuli*, and offered him the keys of the city. This ſubmiſſion pleaſed the barbarian ſo much, that the keys of the city were returned; nor did *Tuli* think it worth his while to throw a garriſon into the place: but, no ſooner had *Tuli* begun to purſue his march, than one of the *Khowarazmian* generals, *Bukha Turkman* (who, upon the approach of the *Moguls*, had retired to the neighbouring faſtneſſes with a body of men) ſeized upon the city, and refuſed to ſuffer *Maſar*, who was the ſultan's governor, and had retired, by his order, upon the approach of the *Moguls*, admittance into it. But *Maſar*'s party being very ſtrong in the place, *Bukha*, for the ſake of peace, reſigned the government to *Maſar*, who ſoon ſaw himſelf at the head of eighty thouſand men. *Tuli* and his generals began now to perceive the overſight he had committed, in not taking poſſeſſion of *Maru*, and ſent a ſummons for *Maſar* to ſurrender; but he put the meſſengers to death. *Tuli*, upon this, on the 24th of *February* 1221, marched againſt *Maru* with his whole army; but *Maſar* defended himſelf ſo vigorouſly, and made ſo many ſallies, that the *Moguls* loſt a vaſt number of men. Their perſeverance, however, was invincible, and, for twenty-two days, they every day renewed their attacks, but were as bravely repulſed by the garriſon. *Maſar*, however, became ſenſible that he muſt ſubmit in the end; and though, in one ſally, he cut in pieces one thouſand of the braveſt of the *Mogul* troops, yet he ſent preſents to *Tuli*, and demanded a capitulation. The barbarian, who began to deſpair of taking the city, or was in haſte to join his father, gave a ready ear to this propoſal; for he ſent *Maſar* a protection for his own perſon and goods, and for thoſe of four hundred of his friends; but, at the ſame time, obliged him to deliver in liſts of all the rich people of the place. This being done, the *Moguls*, as was their general practice, ordered the inhabitants to appear in a neighbouriug plain, where one hundred thouſand of them were cut in pieces; but the reſt were ſaved, and ordered to their reſpective habitations.

Maru taken.

One hundred thouſand men maſſacred.

The virtues of the ſultan *Jalaloddin* had begot in his ſubjects a fidelity unuſual to the people of the eaſt; and which *Jenghiz Khan* ſeverely reſented, whenever he diſcovered it. Though the city of *Niſhabur* had ſubmitted to the *Moguls*, yet it had ſecretly raiſed large ſupplies for *Jalaloddin*; which *Jenghiz Khan* diſcovering, he ordered his ſon *Tuli* to give over all other enterprizes, that he might march againſt *Niſhabur*, and the city of *Tuz*; which, it ſeems, had been guilty of the ſame offence towards *Jenghiz Khan*. The people of *Niſhabur*, expecting no mercy, made, for ſome days, a noble defence; but *Tuli* having prepared prodigious

Niſhabur taken, after

numbers of battering engines, made a breach, by which his *Moguls* entered, and not only put all the inhabitants to the ſword, but deſtroyed the city, and all the diſtrict that belonged to it. It is ſaid that the *Moguls*, after this deſtruction, had the curioſity to number the dead, which amounted to one million ſeven hundred and forty-ſeven thouſand perſons: but this number, perhaps, includes thoſe that were killed at *Tus*, which was taken and deſtroyed much about the ſame time.

vaſt ſlaughter.

Such maſſacres are related with pain, and, indeed, they would ſeem incredible, had not the like depopulations, in the ſame places, happened in our own time; an amazing proof of the ſalubrity of the climate, and the temperance of the inhabitants. But all the places of *Jalaloddin*'s dominions were not equally faithful to him. *Herat*, another very populous city in *Perſia*, was uſurped by one *Shamſoddin*, who was at the head of one hundred thouſand men. *Tuli*, however, having intelligence, that *Jalaloddin* had ſhut himſelf up in *Herat*, marched againſt that city, and ſummoned it to ſurrender; but *Shamſoddin* put his meſſengers to death, and bad him defiance. This brought on a vigorous ſiege, in which the *Moguls* met with repeated repulſes, till *Shamſoddin* was mortally wounded with an arrow. His friends, however, prudently concealed his death, and offered to treat with *Tuli* about a capitulation. The barbarian, dreading the courage of *Samſoddin*, readily liſtened to the propoſal, and agreed to eaſe the inhabitants of half the taxes they paid to *Jalaloddin*. But *Tuli*, perceiving that he had been impoſed on, or from ſome other motive, ordered twelve thouſand of the garriſon to be put to the ſword, and marched, with ſixty thouſand of his troops, to join his father at *Turkan*.

Siege of *Herat*, it is taken.

In the mean while, the unfortunate *Jalaloddin* was hunted from place to place; but, at laſt, he raiſed twenty thouſand men in the province of *Sejeſtan*, and, being joined by his unkle *Amer Malek*, who had been governor of *Herat*, with ten thouſand more *Turkiſh* horſe, he marched to *Gazna*; where an army of *Moguls* were beſieging *Kandahar*, in the neighbourhood. He immediately attacked them, and the garriſon of *Kandahar* making a ſally at the ſame time, the *Moguls* were almoſt all of them put to the ſword. It is, at this time, difficult to account for the prodigious recruits which *Jenghiz Khan* muſt have received, to have compleated his conqueſts, after ſuch loſſes as he ſuſtained. But, not to mention the neighbourhood of *Bokharia* to *Tartary*, by which he had infinite ſupplies from thoſe populous countries, we are to reflect upon the inconſtancy of the eaſtern people; many of whom had been ſeverely treated by *Jalaloddin*'s family, and had, in revenge, joined with the *Moguls*. The army before *Kandahar* was no ſooner routed, than *Jenghiz Khan* ordered *Kukutu*, one of his beſt generals, to march

History of *Jalaloddin*.

Recruits of *Jenghiz Khan*.

march againſt *Jalaloddin* with eighty thouſand men. But the *Turks* of *Gazna*, and the neighbouring countries, who were all of them *Mahometans*, had an invincible averſion towards the *Moguls*; and, though they had no great affection for *Jalaloddin*, yet they joined him with thirty thouſand men. *Jalaloddin*, upon this, attacked *Kukutu* with ſuch fury, that, though the ſcale of victory ſometimes inclined to one ſide, ſometimes to the other, yet the *Moguls* loſt the battle, and very few of *Kukutu*'s men eſcaped the ſlaughter.

He is oppreſſed by the *Turks*, and his general is defeated.

While *Jalaloddin* was thus victorious, *Jenghiz Khan* was advancing, with the main body of his army, againſt *Gazna*; but he was impeded in his march by the garriſon of *Bamyan*, who ſhut their gates againſt him. This ſtop was unexpected, and the more vexatious to *Jenghiz Khan*, as he found the country, for ſome miles round, rendered quite a deſart by the inhabitants of *Bamyan*, who had long expected his viſit; and, being determined to defend themſelves, had removed even their ſtones, and all the other materials that could be of uſe in battering the city. Under ſuch circumſtances, *Jenghiz Khan* made his approaches with infinite loſs and labour: but fortune ſtill befriended him. He found means to bring up other materials, and to erect wooden towers, which, after the manner of the age, he covered with raw hides, to defend them from the combuſtibles of the beſieged, and from which he battered the city; but all to no effect, for his engines were deſtroyed, and his troops repelled, in every aſſault. At an infinite expence, he prepared freſh materials, and renewed the ſiege, but with no better ſucceſs; and, at laſt, had the mortification to hear of the great defeat that had been given to his general *Kukutu* by *Jalaloddin*. This news enraged him beyond meaſure, and, opening his immenſe treaſures, he diſtributed them amongſt his ſoldiers, to encourage them to renew their attacks: which inſpired ſuch an emulation amongſt his troops, that a boy, his grandſon, the ſon of *Oktay*, endeavouring to diſtinguiſh himſelf to pleaſe his grandfather, who tenderly loved him, was killed. This ſerved only to redouble the fury of *Jenghiz Khan*; and his intrepid perſeverance, at laſt, bore down all oppoſition; breaches were made in the wall, through which the barbarians ruſhed, and gave no quarter to the inhabitants. The horrors of the maſſacre were heightened by the inhumanity of the mother of the boy who had been killed, and whoſe revenge was ſo inſatiable, that ſhe ſtood by till the belly of every woman in the place was ripped up, and the throats of all the children cut. In ſhort, the ſcene was ſo diſmal, that even the hardened *Moguls* gave, to the place, the appellation of the "unfortunate city." Thoſe tranſactions are related with ſome variations; but authors are agreed, in the main, in the facts we have exhibited.

The *Moguls* march againſt *Gazna*.

Bamyan beſieged.

Jenghiz Khan's grandſon killed.

Cruelty of his mother.

Jalaloddin ruined by the avarice of the *Turks*.

The avarice of *Jalaloddin*'s *Turkiſh* auxiliaries ruined him. The ſpoils they had acquired by their late victories were immenſe; and they quarrelled about the diſtribution of them. *Jalaloddin* not having ſufficient power to adjuſt their differences, they roſe to ſuch a height that they left the ſultan. They ſoon, however, became ſenſible of their imprudence; but it was too late. The vigilant *Jenghiz Khan*, being informed of every thing that had paſſed, ordered eighty thouſand of his troops to ſeize all the paſſes, and to cut off all poſſibility of the *Turks* rejoining *Jalaloddin*, who was obliged to fly towards the river *Indus*, beyond which he had ſtill great dominions; and to leave *Jenghiz Khan* in poſſeſſion of his capital and province of *Gazna*, which his troops entered without reſiſtance. At this time, according to the moſt authentic accounts, *Jenghiz Khan*, notwithſtanding all his labours and loſſes, was at the head of three hundred thouſand fighting men, with whom he cloſely purſued *Jalaloddin*, whoſe army amounted to no more than thirty thouſand; and who was likewiſe encumbered by his mother, wife, and family; all whom he moſt tenderly loved. He continued, however, undaunted amidſt all his calamities; and, finding that he could paſs no farther, he choſe a ſpot of ground, formed, by the winding of the river, narrow in front, and flanked on both ſides with mountains, where he drew up his army, with the river in his rear. To take from his great officers all hopes of eſcaping, he ſent to the other ſide the few boats that were upon the river; which, in that place, was remarkably rapid by the contraction of the ſtream; reſerving only one to carry over to a place of ſafety thoſe dear pledges of affection, his family: but, unfortunately, before it received them, it was, by the violence of the waves, ſtove in pieces; ſo that they were obliged to remain in the camp.

He makes a ſtand with his army.

He defeats the *Turks*.

Jalaloddin, to compleat his misfortunes, was, at that time, greatly indiſpoſed with a cholic; but, underſtanding that the van of *Jenghiz Khan*'s army had advanced to a certain paſs, where he could attack it with advantage, he left his litter, and, mounting his horſe, put himſelf at the head of a ſelect body, and ſuprized the *Moguls* ſo critically that the whole van-guard was cut in pieces; and *Jalaloddin* led his men victoriouſly back with vaſt booty to his ſtrong camp. This blow ſtunned *Jenghiz Khan*, and gave him the higheſt idea of *Jalaloddin*'s military abilities. He reſolved, however, to attack him at all hazards; and, by the force of money, procured intelligence of a path round one of the mountains, by which he might fall upon the ſultan's rear. Thither he ſent *Bela*, with a ſtrong body of troops, while he himſelf made diſpoſitions for attacking the ſultan in front. He gave the command of his right wing to his ſon *Jagatay*, and that of his left to *Oktay*, and he commanded the centre in perſon. Perceiving that the ſituation of the ground did not admit of his

his flanking his enemy, he formed his left wing into a kind of a column, to ſupport his attacks. *Jalaloddin* commanded the main body of his own army, his vizir commanded his left wing, and *Amur Malok* his right. The ſignal of the charge being given, *Jalaloddin* attacked the khan's centre with ſuch fury, that *Jenghiz Khan* himſelf was unhorſed, though he was ſurrounded by ſix thouſand of his braveſt guards. This created ſuch a confuſion amongſt the *Moguls*, who thought their khan had been killed, that victory was upon the point of declaring itſelf abſolutely for the ſultan, when the detachment under *Bela*, having compaſſed the round of the mountain, attacked the flank and the rear of the *Khowarazmians*, where they thought themſelves moſt ſecure, and conſequently were leaſt provided for defending themſelves. This diverſion gave *Jengiz Khan* time to mount another horſe, and to re-animate his troops, who now attacked the *Khowarazmians* on every hand, and defeated them, after the engagement had laſted for ten hours.

Great battle between him and *Jenghiz Khan*.

The *Khowarazmians* defeated.

Jalaloddin ſtill continued intrepid, and maintained the fight at the head of a ſmall body of his braveſt ſubjects. His eldeſt ſon was taken priſoner, ſome of his troops threw themſelves into a river, and others retired to ſtrong paſſes in the mountains, where the *Tartar* horſe could not follow them. *Jenghiz Khan*, by means of *Bela*'s detachment, had now got between the river and the rear of *Jalaloddin*'s remaining army, which, we are told, did not exceed ſeven thouſand men; and he iſſued general orders to his officers, to do all they could to take *Jalaloddin* alive. With this view, he drew up his troops into a ſemicircular form; which taking from *Jalaloddin* all hopes of eſcaping, he led his troops upon a deſperate attack; and, finding all was loſt, he reſolved, rather than fall into the hands of ſo mercileſs an enemy, to truſt himſelf to the *Indus*, deep, rapid, and almoſt impaſſable as it was. But the tender calls of nature carried him to bid adieu to his mother, wife, children, and family. According to ſome accounts, at the requeſt of the women, he killed them with his own hands, to ſecure them from the brutality of the *Tartars*; but all his ſons were put to death by the inhuman *Jenghiz Khan*.

Deſpair of *Jalaloddin* whoſe family is deſtroyed.

This conqueror was one of the moſt unfeeling monſters that hiſtory has mentioned. He admired, and was perpetually praiſing, the virtues of *Jalaloddin*, whoſe innocent children he had juſt butchered; and nothing was more common than for him to ſay to his own children, preſſing his mouth with his fingers, as a mark of ſerious admiration, "Happy "is that father who has ſuch a ſon as *Jalaloddin*." At other times, he was heard to ſay, "Happy is the ſon who can "boaſt of ſuch a father." But theſe ſentiments were ſo far from mollifying the *Tartar*, that they ſerved only to increaſe his dread and hatred of the ſultan, who behaved, on this terrible occaſion, with unparallelled intrepidity: for, ſoon after the bloody adieu taken of his family, he put off his heavy

Jenghiz Khan admires his virtues.

Jalaloddin's wonderful eſcape.

armour, retaining only his ſword, bow, and quiver; and, calling for a freſh horſe, he plunged him into the river, in the ſight of *Jenghiz Khan*, who run down to the bank to behold him. Being perceived by *Jalaloddin*, before he had paſſed the middle of the river, he reproached him moſt bitterly for his cruelty and injuſtice; and we are even told diſcharged ſome arrows againſt him; and then again committing himſelf to the ſtrength of his horſe, he arrived ſafe at the oppoſite bank; where, after paſſing a ſolitary night, he was joined next day by ſome of his faithful troops who had ſurvived the defeat. As to *Jenghiz Khan*, it is ſaid that he forbid his being purſued, when ſeveral of his *Tartar* officers offered to plunge into the river after him. From which, and ſome other circumſtances, we might be inclined to believe, that he intended to ſpare his life, had it not been that he inhumanly butchered his ſons. Perhaps his motive for wiſhing to take him alive, was no other than avarice, which might force him to diſcover where he had concealed his immenſe treaſures; part of which, we are told, *Jenghiz Khan* recovered, by means of divers, out of the bed of the river.

Jenghiz Khan's progreſs in *Irak.*

Jenghiz Khan was no leſs fortunate in the *Perſian Irak*, which was ſubdued by his generals *Hubbe* and *Suida*; who, after that, marched to *Azarbejan*, or the antient *Media*, after defeating ſeveral ſtrong parties of *Khowarazmians* whom they met on the road. But all thoſe ſucceſſes coſt *Jenghiz Khan* dear; and he computed, that, in his laſt campaign, he had loſt no fewer than two hundred thouſand men, twenty thouſand of whom had been killed in battle near the *Indus*. Freſh ſupplies, however, allured by the hopes of plunder, ſtill kept his armies compleat; and his two generals in *Azarbejan* having received ſtrong reinforcements, took *Ardebil*; and, tho' they met with no reſiſtance, they put to death vaſt numbers of the people for the ſake of plunder. They then attacked *Tauris*, the capital of that province, which was bravely defended by its governor; but he being defeated in a pitched battle, the inhabitants compelled him to come to an accommodation with the *Moguls*; which the barbarians readily did, being apprehenſive of ſome commotions in *Iſpahan*; to which they immediately returned, after being attacked by the *Georgians*. Theſe laſt were reckoned the moſt free, and were, at this time, the braveſt, people of all the eaſt, ſince the *Khowarazmian* empire was in a manner extinguiſhed.

War between the *Moguls* and *Georgians.*

The *Georgians*, at once dreading and deteſting the *Moguls*, accordingly, in the year 1222, took advantage of the abſence of *Hubbe* and *Suida*, and attempted to recover *Azarbejan* from the *Moguls*, who had been left there. But the latter being very numerous, the *Georgians* were unſucceſsful, though, in their return, they repulſed the *Moguls*, who endeavoured to enter their country. They could not, however, prevent the *Moguls* making themſelves maſters of *Maragha*, a fine city in that neighbourhood in friendſhip with the

the *Georgians*. *Hubbe* then went to ſuppreſs an inſurrection which had broke out at *Hamadan*, and which he quelled with a good deal of difficulty and loſs. The two *Mogul* generals then reduced and plundered the weſtern part of *Azarbejan*, and all that lay between that province and *America*; treating the inhabitants of all the cities they took with greater or leſs cruelty, as their barbarous caprice, revenge, or intereſt dictated. But they were, diverted from purſuing this expedition, by intelligence they received that a great body of *Georgians* were advancing to attack them. Upon this they divided their army, and drew the *Georgians* into an ambuſcade, where they gave them a total defeat, and, as is ſaid, cut thirty thouſand of them in pieces. The intention of the *Moguls* was to have proceeded, after this victory, againſt *Teflis*, the capital of *Georgia*; but they found the paſſes of the country ſo well guarded, that they were obliged to leave them.

Operations of *Jalaloddin*.

The ſultan *Jalaloddin*, *Jenghiz Khan*'s capital enemy, was ſtill alive on the other ſide of the *Indus*, and as active as ever in his military operations; in which he was greatly favoured by the vaſt fatigues of *Jenghiz Khan*'s army, who were then repoſing in their winter-quarters. Early in the ſpring, however, the khan again took the field. He ordered twenty thouſand men, under *Bela*, to advance towards *Multan*, on the other ſide of the *Indus*. Eighty thouſand men were diſpatched, under *Henku*, to reduce *Herat*, which had rebelled. *Oktay* commanded in the province of *Gazna*, and prince *Jagatay* marched, with ſixty thouſand men, towards the provinces of *Sond* and *Karman*, where *Jalaloddin*'s friends were ſtill very powerful. *Jenghiz Khan* would have headed one of thoſe expeditions himſelf, but he underſtood that *Tangut* and all *Kitan* were then threatning a rebellion; which determined him to return to *Tartary*: but he took *Kandahar*, a place of great trade, lying between the borders of *Perſia* and *India*, in his march. About the ſame time, *Bela* reduced *Multan*; but found *Lahur*, another city of *India*, too well guarded for him to attack it. *Henku* proceeded with more ſucceſs againſt *Herat*, where he is ſaid to have put all the inhabitants, excepting fifteen, to the ſword: ſo that, by the *Mogul* calculations, they ſlaughtered upwards of ſixteen hundred thouſand perſons during the ſix months they were employed in this expedition. *Oktay* proceeded with equal ſucceſs, but leſs cruelty, againſt *Gazna*, which, for ſome time, made a vigorous defence under a brave governor: but he being ſlain, and the garriſon, which was very numerous, greatly reduced, he ſtormed and took the place. It was thought, from the cruel, unforgiving temper of *Jenghiz Khan*, that *Oktay* durſt not have ventured to ſave any of the inhabitants from the ſword; he, however, was moderate enough to be contented with the ſlaughter made of the garriſon; and, after indulging his troops, he ſuffered the inha-

Succeſs and cruelty of the *Moguls*.

Gazna taken.

bitants to redeem themſelves and their habitations at a certain tax. *Jagatay*, with his diviſion of his father's army, entered *Karman*, or *Karamania*, a rich, but, to a *Mogul*, an unwholeſome, province of *Perſia*. Such was the providence of *Jenghiz Khan*, that he put his ſon on his guard againſt this inconveniency. But *Jagatay* having taken and deſtroyed the chief towns of the province, put his troops into winter-quarters. The *Moguls*, by this time, were exceſſively rich through the plunder they had made: not only their officers, but their common men, were attended by ſlaves; and they ſoon came to reliſh the pleaſures of that enchanting country, by raiſing houſes, laying out gardens, rearing flocks, and entering upon all other domeſtic buſineſs; being, perhaps, of opinion, that *Jenghiz Khan* would ſuffer them to remain there as a bulwark againſt *Jalaloddin*'s attempts.

Mortality of the *Moguls* in *Jerman*.

But what the khan had foreſeen happened. The *Moguls* ſoon contracted diſeaſes, of which many died; and the whole army would have had the ſame fate, had not *Jagatay* carried them again into the field, and ordered the throats of all the uſeleſs ſlaves to be cut; by which he ſaved the remainder: and, having put them under the command of proper generals, he marched to *Balk*. *Jenghiz Khan*, after reducing *Kandahar*, being unwilling, if poſſible, to leave *Koraſan*, delayed his march for ſome time; and, at laſt, received the ſubmiſſions of the khan of *Tankut*, whom he pardoned.

Khan of *Tankut* ſubmits.

Curioſity of *Jenghiz Khan*.

During this receſs from the affairs of war, *Jenghiz Khan* gave a full ſcope to his inquiſitive temper; and, being near the chief ſcenes of the antient *Perſian* idolatry, he moved from place to place to inform himſelf of their antiquities, and particularly of every thing relating to the famous *Zoroaſter*, who was thought to be the founder of fire-worſhip amongſt the *Perſians*. Having paſſed the river *Amu*, in order to return to *Bokhara*, he was equally curious to converſe with the learned *Mahometans*, with which that country abounded, concerning the principles of their religion. Thoſe that related to the belief of one God, and to the practice of almsgiving, he was ſo far from condemning, that he ſaid he held the ſame belief, and approved of the practices. But, when the doctors told him, that one of their capital articles of their religion conſiſted in their pilgrimages to *Mecca*, and in worſhipping *God*, he treated them with contempt and ridicule; "As if," ſaid he, "the whole earth was not the temple of "*God*, its creator." A freedom of ſentiment that was extremely diſguſting to the *Mahometans*.

He goes to *Samarkand*.

The khan having amuſed himſelf with whatever was curious in thoſe countries, but without loſing ſight of his military operations, of which he had, perhaps, a greater variety than any prince ever known, went to *Samarkand*; where he ſpent ſome months, till he could order his affairs ſo as to return with ſafety to *Tartary*. He had not yet been rejoined by *Hubbe* and *Suida*, who had orders to return from *Georgia*

gia by the way of *Darbend*, or the city of the *Iron Gate*, lying between the *Caſpian Sea* and the mountains; to the top of which the walls reach, and are amazingly ſtrong. The ſpace on which the city is built, is ſaid to have been not a quarter of a mile broad; but the length, between the ſea and its ſtrong caſtle, built upon the top of the hill, is above a mile, ſome ſay near two miles. Being thus fortified by art and nature, it is looked upon as impregnable; and no travellers can paſs through it, but at a gate which moves by iron chains and gives name to the place. This city, or, at leaſt, part of it, was built by *Alexander the Great*; and its neighbourhood is ſaid once to have been a paradice. Deſcription of *Derbent*.

When *Hubbe* and *Suida* received orders to return by *Darbend*, they had no idea that they muſt paſs through this impregnable fortreſs, which belonged to a ſovereign prince, whoſe dominions they entered with their uſual fury, and took *Shamakiya*, the capital of *Shirwan*. But, when they came to underſtand the difficulties and dangers they had to encounter, they changed their conduct, and entered into a treaty with the prince of *Darbend*; who, with great difficulty, was prevailed upon to give the barbarians a paſſage through that city; which, when the *Mogul* generals had viewed its ſituation and ſtrength, they declared they never could have forced. This is ſaid to have been the only army that had ever paſſed through *Darbend* ſince the days of *Alexander the Great*. They now proceeded into the country of the *Tartars* of *Dayheſtan*, the antient *Alani*, and by ſome called *Allans*, to this day. This people, alarmed and terrified by the appearance of the *Moguls*, broke up and deſtroyed the roads to hinder their march; and drove away all the cattle, and whatever could ſupply them with proviſions; which obliged the *Mogul* generals to take two of their cities, *Tarku* and *Terki*. But, intrepid as the *Moguls* were, they muſt have been cut off to a man, before they could have reached their own country, had not their chiefs applied to the *Kalmuk Tartars*, who, like themſelves, were idolaters: there being, beſides, many other reſemblances in their manners and language. The *Kalmuks*, partly by preſents, and partly by perſuaſions, liſtened to the *Mogul* generals, who told them they were their countrymen, and ſought only to go peaceably home to their own country; which the *Kalmuks* granted: and, upon this, the other nations, who were not near ſo powerful as the *Kalmuks*, being intimidated, ſuffered them to paſs. After this amazing march, they had ſtill the broad and rapid river of the *Volga* to paſs before they could reach *Kipjak*, where they intended to winter; but even this difficulty they ſurmounted, by the aſſiſtance of their new allies the *Kalmuks*. The *Moguls* paſs thro' it, and thro' the country of the *Tartars*. and reach *Kipjak*.

The country of the *Kipjaks* was then governed by *Tuſhi*, to whom it had been given by his father *Jenghiz Khan*, together with all the vaſt undiſcovered, and moſt of them unconquered, countries in the neighbourhood; which *Tuſhi* had which is thoroughly ſubdued by the *Moguls*.

had orders to ſubdue: even the country of the *Kipjaks* ſeem not to have been then thoroughly reduced. For, when *Hubbe* and *Suida* came to take up their winter-quarters amongſt them, the natives bore their new gueſts ſo uneaſily, that *Tuſhi* was obliged to ſend againſt them part of his troops, who, at laſt, ſubdued them. *Tuſhi* being then obliged to attend his father, he committed the care of his dominions to *Hubbe* and *Suida*, with orders to conquer all the people round who had not yet ſubmitted; and the two *Moguls*, favoured by the ice, carried their conqueſts as far as the famous city of *Aſtrakan*; which they took, though it lies upon an iſland formed on the *Volga* near the *Caſpian Sea*; and thus that vaſt tract of rich lands and coaſts was entirely reduced to the obedience of *Jenghiz Khan* and his ſon *Tuſhi*.

who penetrate to *Aſtrakan.*

During thoſe tranſactions, *Jenghiz Khan* reſided at *Samarkand*, to the inhabitants of which city he ſhewed unuſual indulgencies; and from thence he iſſued mandates for holding a general diet, of all the princes of his blood, his governors, generals, and other great lords, at *Toncat*. Nothing was, perhaps, ever ſo magnificent as the appearance of *Jenghiz Khan* upon this occaſion; had it not been tictured by a barbarity which even the practice of the antient *Romans* cannot recommend: for he ordered the unhappy *Turkhan Katun* to be carried as a ſlave before his chariot, attended by all his great priſoners of ſtate and quality; and the proceſſion was cloſed by a diſplay of the magnificent crowns, jewels, and other riches, that had belonged to the ſultans of *Khowarazm*. In this ſtate *Jenghiz Khan* proceeded from *Samarkand* to *Toncat*, through thoſe countries where that unhappy princeſs had been ſo long adored as a deity.

Jenghiz Khan's cruelty to an empreſs.

His magnificent march, and general diet.

But the magnificence of *Jenghiz Khan*, during the diet, or parliament, he had indicted, exceeds all deſcription, tho' not belief, when we reflect upon the prodigious acquiſitions of riches and territory he had now made. *Toncat* is a town ſituated upon the river *Sir*, lying extremely convenient for a communication with *Tartary:* and, by its ſituation, the beauty of its neighbourhood, the conveniency of its water-carriage, and many other advantages both of art and nature, it was perhaps better calculated than any town in *Jenghiz Khan*'s dominions for ſuch a congreſs. The members being all aſſembled, *Jenghiz Khan* pitched upon the plain of *Toncat*, which runs level to the length of ſeven leagues; but even that ſpace was hardly ſufficient to contain the tents, and other habitations, of the members. The great khan's tent, and the apartments of his houſhold, took up two leagues; and regular ſtreets and markets were laid out for the accommodation of the company. The tent, or moveable houſe, where the diet was to ſet, and the khan was to appear in all his glory, was formed ſo as to contain conveniently about twelve thouſand perſons; and, by way of diſtinction, it was covered with white: having two entries; at one of which the

the khan alone was to enter; and, at the other, which was for common uſe, ſtood his guards. Within this tent was placed a magnificent throne for the khan; and, on an eminence near it, the famous black felt, to put him in mind of the coronation oath he had taken upon it. Tents all along this vaſt plain were diſtinguiſhed by flags and ſtreamers of gold and ſilver, with ſilks of the richeſt dye, which had a moſt agreeable effect; and the *Tartars*, as well as the *Chineſe*, *Perſians*, and the other more polite nations who attended this aſſembly, were, by the khan's orders and example, dreſſed in all the magnificence that the moſt precious metals and jewels, with the fineſt embroidery, could beſtow.

His diverſions and feaſts.

Before the opening of the diet, *Jenghiz Khan* ſignified his pleaſure that a whole month ſhould be ſpent in feaſting and hunting; both which were performed to the utmoſt extent of luxury and grandeur. When *Jenghiz Khan* received his ſons, he entertained them with the higheſt marks of affection; and all of them made him noble preſents. That of *Tuſhi*, not to mention other valuable curioſities, conſiſted of ſets of horſes, each ſet containing the ſame number, but of different colours, and the whole amounting to one hundred thouſand.

Reflection.

The reader will naturally reflect upon the vaſt alteration of manners which *Jenghiz Khan* appears now to have introduced amongſt his *Tartars*; who, at the time of his acceſſion, differed little from brutes; but in this, perhaps, his genius was inferior to that of *Peter* of *Ruſſia*. It is, however, amazing, that, employed as *Jenghiz Khan* was, in ſuch a variety of extended, and ſome of them barbarous, conqueſts, he could give himſelf leiſure to think upon forming laws, or giving new conſtitutions to his empire. The regularity with which all this was done, was owing, in a great meaſure, to the care which his ſon *Jagatay*, who acted as his father's firſt miniſter, and as marſhal of the diet, had taken to preſerve and enforce the laws; as well as that every thing ſhould paſs with the greateſt order and decency. *Jenghiz Khan* a legiſlator.

He opens the diet

When the diet was met, *Jenghiz Khan*, who is ſaid to have been the moſt eloquent man in his dominions, made a long ſpeech; in which he recommended the conſtitutions he had formed, and obſerved how much they had contributed to his vaſt ſucceſſes.

and cloſes it.

Before the cloſe of the diet, he received the compliments and proſtrations of all his tributary princes, and the deputies from the countries he had conquered; and then the aſſembly was diſmiſſed.

His great diſcernment exemplified in his employing his ſons.

Before we entirely diſmiſs this ſubject, we are to obſerve, that *Jenghiz Khan*, amongſt other talents, poſſeſſed, to the utmoſt, that of diſcerning the characters and peculiar abilities, of thoſe employed under him; and to this undoubtedly was owing, more than to any other cauſe, the vaſt and continual ſucceſs he always met with: for we ſeldom or ever find

find him deceived or betrayed. To his ſon *Tuſhi*, a prince of great generoſity and magnificence, he gave the poſt of honour; which was that of being his huntſman, or maſter of his horſe; for he ſettled all the œconomy of the court. *Jagatay*, as we have already ſeen, was his chief judge and ſecretary of ſtate. But his eldeſt ſon, *Oktay*, on account of his great experience, preſided next to his father at the council-board; and nothing regarding the regulations of the provinces, or indeed any thing of conſequence, was tranſacted but according to his opinion, eſpecially in the affairs of money, and the management of the revenues. *Tuli* acted as his father's firſt aid-de-camp, and gave all the orders concerning military affairs. It muſt, however, be acknowledged, that his own ſtrong natural parts, were the primary ſprings of all his greatneſs; for he was equally fortunate in the choice of all his other miniſters and generals; and ſevere, or rather inhuman, as he was, it does not appear that he ever diſgraced or puniſhed one of them.

Two generals go to court.

When *Tuſhi* returned to his government at *Kipjak*, which was now become of itſelf a great empire, his two lieutenant-generals immediately reſigned to him the command of the army; and he gave them leave to repair to the khan's court to repoſe themſelves, after the incredible fatigues and adventures they had undergone. *Jenghiz Khan* received and rewarded them like faithful ſervants, took them into his familiarity, and expreſſed great delight in hearing the particulars of their expeditions, and ordered that they ſhould always have admittance to his perſon.

Jenghiz Khan meditates the conqueſt of *China*.

Jenghiz Khan, though now aged, had loſt none of his vigour, either in body or mind. Having finiſhed his conqueſts, he concerted with his ſons, and other great men, a form of ſucceſſion and government for them. He then caſt his eyes eaſtward, where a prince, called *Utakin*, but whom the *Chineſe* writers call *Wache*, governed that part of *China*, which had been ſubdued by *Jenghiz Khan*, who, it ſeems, was his brother; but all military affairs were under the direction of the khan's favourite *Muhuli*. In 1220, *Lyewko*, the king of *Lyantong*, who had always acted with remarkable fidelity under *Jenghiz Khan*, died; and *Utakin* conferred his government upon his widow, and gave a body of troops to preſerve the tranquility of her country until the arrival of *Jenghiz Khan*. *Muhuli*, on his part, preſerved the great reputation he had acquired; and *Changyan*, a *Chineſe* general of great ſpirit and intereſt, having had his father and mother put to death by *Mingan*, another *Chineſe* general, came over, and ſerved in *Muhuli*'s army. The *Chineſe* were, at this time, miſerably divided amongſt themſelves; and *Muhuli* was the declared enemy of them all, but thoſe who had ſubmitted to *Jenghiz Khan*'s government; ſo that he was, at the ſame time, at war with the emperor of the *Kin* and the king of *Kya*. *Changya* did him vaſt ſervices againſt both; and,

Progreſs of *Muhuli*.

and, at laſt, *Muhuli* ſubdued all *Korea*, and took the important fortreſs of *Ching-ting*. But *Muhuli*, upon this occaſion, is ſaid to have behaved with great humanity; and to have ordered, that all his priſoners ſhould not only be ſaved, but ſet at liberty, and their eſtates preſerved from plunder. *Suting*, the general of the *Kin*, at this time, was at the head of two hundred thouſand men; with whom he drove his enemies out of *Shenſi*, and, encamping at *Wangling-han*, he ordered a detachment of twenty thouſand men of his army to attack *Muhuli* at *Tſianfu*; but the *Mogul* general defeated this detachment, and, purſuing his advantage, he attacked the main body of the *Chineſe* army with ſuch fury, that he gave them a total defeat. *Muhuli* then formed the ſiege of *Tongchangfu*: but, being intent upon other conqueſts, he turned it into a blockade; which reduced the garriſon to ſuch extremity, that they endeavoured to eſcape; but ſeven thouſand of them were cut in pieces by the *Moguls* who blockaded the place, and who then took poſſeſſion of it. *Muhuli*, ſtill purſuing his conqueſts, entered the province of *Ortus*; and the king of *Kya*, perceiving that his progreſs was irreſiſtible, made his terms with the *Mogul*; which prevented their farther hoſtilities in *Kya*: and *Muhuli* then turned his arms againſt the *Kin*. In order to penetrate into *Shenſi*, leaving the country of *Kya*, he blocked up *Kan-yan*; but he was obliged to raiſe the blockade, and march againſt *Kyachew*, which he took and fortified; and, after gaining many other great advantages over the enemy, he proceeded againſt *Kayfong*. But, in the year 1222, while he was in the career of his victories, he died, in the fifty-fourth year of his age. The riſe of the khan's affection for this great general, is ſaid to have been owing to the following incident. Having, in his youth, been defeated by ſome of his enemies, he endeavoured to return to his camp, attended only by *Muhuli* and *Porchi*. A great ſnow falling, they loſt their way; and the khan being obliged to paſs the night upon ſome ſtraw over the ſnow, they held a covering or canopy over him till morning. But *Muhuli*'s conduct juſtified the khan's partiality for him; for, to his laſt, he ſerved him with ſuch inconceivable affection and ardour, that he underwent as much fatigue and danger in the field, as the meaneſt ſoldier in the army.

He ſubdues *Korea*.

Tonchangfu beſieged and taken.

Kan-yan blocked up.

Muhuli's death and character.

Jenghiz Khan ſeems to have returned, in the year 1224, to *Tartary*: but there is, at that period, a kind of chaſm in his hiſtory. All we know, is, that he was grealy affected with the death of *Muhuli*; and, that he appointed his ſon *Pulu* to ſucceed him in all his honours and dignities. We likewiſe, in general, learn, that he ſtill continued to treat the unfortunate *Turkan Katun* very cruelly, and carried her about with him loaded with chains. Being arrived at his *Tartarian* capital, *Karakoram*, he applied himſelf to make other regulations

Jenghiz Khan arrives at *Karakoram*,

tions in his government; and ordered his chief officers, both military and civil, in *Tartary* and *China*, and all his vaſt dominions on that ſide, to attend him, to give an account of their conduct; and then he rewarded or puniſhed them as their actions appeared to him to deſerve; but more eſpecially as they were reported to him by his brother *Utakin*.

and prepares to enter *China*.

He then propoſed to paſs the *Tula*, and enter *China*; which he did with a great army, and attended by his chief general officers. His pretext for his undertaking this expedition, was, that *Lite*, the king of *Kya*, ſince the death of *Muhuli*, had given, not only protection, but employments, to ſome of *Jenghiz Khan*'s declared enemies; and had been guilty of many other indignities againſt his perſon and government. The march of this mighty conqueror filled all the countries through which he paſſed with aſtoniſhment; and *Jenghiz Khan*, who ſeems to have been perfectly ſenſible of the vaſt effects that exteriors have in matters of government, exacted the perſonal homages and proſtrations of all the governors and princes of the countries through which he paſſed.

Interview between him and *Tyauli*.

Amongſt others who reſorted to him on this occaſion, was *Tyauli*, in order to get *Utakin*'s grant of the government of *Leotong* confirmed. The khan was ſenſible of the merits of her huſband towards him, but was perfectly charmed with the wiſdom and virtue of the queen. He condoled with her upon her huſband's death; and, in return of the compliments ſhe had made to him, upon his great conqueſts, he praiſed her fine abilities for government, and the prudence with which ſhe managed her kingdom; promiſing always to be a friend to her family.

Her great generoſity.

Tyauli upon this exhibited an unparallelled generoſity of ſoul. She had been married to *Lycwko*, who, by his firſt wife, who was dead, had a ſon named *Pitu*. *Tyauli* had likewiſe ſeveral ſons by him, the eldeſt of whom was *Shenko*, a prince of diſtinguiſhed merit. Notwithſtanding this, *Tyauli* begged of *Jenghiz Khan* to nominate *Pitu* to the ſucceſſion of *Leotong*. *Jenghiz Khan* could not help expreſſing his admiration of this generous requeſt, and endeavoured to diſſuade her from inſiſting upon it; but offered to nominate *Pitu* to govern in conjuction with *Shenko*, her own ſon. But the queen was ſo earneſt in her petition, that *Jenghiz Khan* granted it, and provided for *Shenko* at his own court. He then entered into a relation of the particulars of his glorious expeditions; and, when *Tyauli* took her leave, he ordered an eſcort, under the command of a great lord, to attend her and *Pitu* to their own dominions.

He takes *Yetſina*.

After this, in *February*, 1226, *Jenghiz Khan* proceeded in his expedition againſt *Lite*, and took an important city named *Yetſina*; but we know neither its preciſe ſituation, nor thoſe of many other towns and fortreſſes which he reduced at the ſame time. We know, in general, however, that

that, in a few months, he made ſuch a progreſs, that the king of *Kya* broke his heart and died. After this, in *November*, the *Moguls* took *Lingchew*, a city of great importance, not far to the ſouth of the great wall.

The war againſt the *Kin* reſumed.

While *Jenghiz Khan* was thus puſhing his conqueſts in *Kya*, which ſome authors have miſtaken for *Tangul*, *Oktay* penetrated into *Honan*, and beſieged the *Kin* emperor in his capital of of *Kayfong*, lying to the eaſtward of the city of *Honan*. But the *Moguls*, finding themſelves unable to take the city, raiſed the ſiege, and marched towards *Shenſi*, where they reduced a vaſt number of places, of moſt of which we only know the names as they were pronounced at that time. But *Oktay*'s affairs calling him back to *Tartary*, he left the command of his army to *Chanan*, with orders to reſume the operations againſt the *Kin* in *Honan*. This general making diſpoſitions for continuing the war, and for re-entering *Honan*, the emperor of the *Kin* again offered to conclude an accommodation with *Jenghiz Khan*, who rejected his terms. Upon this, the *Kin* unanimouſly reſolved to ſell their lives and liberties at the deareſt rate they could, and raiſed an army of two hundred thouſand men for that purpoſe. This called *Jenghiz Khan* in perſon into their country, where he killed thirty thouſand of their men, and took *Hochew*, *Sining*, and *Kintaufu*; after which he retired into *Shenſi*, for the ſake of the cool retreats, which the mountain *Lupan* afforded againſt the heat of the ſummer.

They are defeated.

Leti, king of *Kya*, was ſucceeded by his ſon *Likyen*, called by *Chriſtian* writers, *Skidaſku*. This prince was very earneſt to have checked the progreſs of *Jenghiz Khan*, and found the ſame diſpoſitions in the *Chineſe* of *Manji*, and his neighbours the *Eaſtern Turks*; which laſt were extremely diſguſted with the cruel treatment inflicted, by *Jenghiz Khan*, upon their favourite queen and countrywoman, *Tukan Katun*: as the former were with *Jenghiz Khan*'s ſeizing upon *Kitay*. But, though an alliance was formed amongſt them, yet *Jenghiz Khan*, by the force of money, having bribed great numbers of *Likyen*'s ſubjects to become ſpies, he had early intelligence of all the enemies motions. His army, at this time, conſiſted of four hundred and fifty thouſand men, one hundred thouſand of which he ſent to keep the *Kitayans* from rebelling; while he himſelf, with the remainder, advanced againſt the confederates; whoſe army, according to the weſtern authors, conſiſted of five hundred thouſand men, moſt of them furniſhed by the *Oriental Turks*.

Likyen oppoſes *Jenghiz Khan*, and forms a great confederacy againſt him.

Jenghiz Khan ſeems to have conſidered this as the moſt important expedition he ever was engaged in: all his army, numerous as it was, conſiſted of veteran troops; and he had with him all his braveſt and moſt experienced generals. His ſons, *Oktay*, *Tuli*, and *Jagatay*, with the commanders *Karaſhar*, *Hubbe*, *Suida*, *Henku*, *Bela*, *Bedroddin*, *Daniſhmend*, the khan of the *Igurs*, and others; and every one of thoſe

A bloody campaign follows.

thoſe commanded a number of forces proportionable to his dignity, rank, and intereſt. Hiſtorians greatly differ concerning the particulars of the campaign that followed; but all ſay that it was the moſt bloody of all that ever was known in the world. The *Moguls* rendezvouſed at *Ezina*; and it is agreed, on all hands, that *Likyen* detached a body of thirty thouſand choice troops to ſurprize the perſon of *Jenghiz Khan*; but his intelligence was ſo good, that the deſign was diſcovered and defeated, though the *Kyans* obtained ſome advantages at firſt. After this, the two main armies ſhowed an equal impatience to come to a general action; and at laſt they came within ſight of one another.

Great general action; Hiſtorians tell us, that nothing was ever preſented to the eye more beautiful, than the diſplay of the confederate army on this occaſion: their officers were dreſſed in cloth of gold and ſilver, ſilks, and other rich ſtuffs and ornaments produced by *China*, which had more manufactures of that kind than all the world beſides; and their common men were more ſuperbly dreſſed than the *Mogul* officers. *Jenghiz Khan* confided leſs in the numbers, than in the courage, diſcipline, and experience of his troops; and *Likyen* had equal confidence in his general *Mayan Khan*, and the known valour of the *Turks* commanded by the prince of *Turjeh*. All we know of the particulars of the battle is, that, when the confederate army was drawn out, their lines of battle took up a vaſt ſpace of ground; and that the *Moguls* were drawn up upon a frozen lake. In the beginning of the engagement the troops of *Kya*, or, as it is called, *Tangut*, ſoon gave way to the fury of the *Moguls*. But the *Chineſe* of *Manji*, headed by *Mayan Khan*, and the *Turks*, not only kept their ranks, but fell upon the victorious *Moguls* with ſuch intrepidity, that they cut thirty thouſand of them to pieces, and penetrated the very centre of the khan's army, which was all compoſed of ſelected veterans, commanded by prince *Oktay* in perſon. But even this choſen band muſt have given way to the impetuoſity of the confederates, had not the latter, believing themſelves ſure of victory, loſt their ranks, and attacked in diſorder. The *Moguls*, on the other hand, remained compacted and firm; and when the confederate generals thought themſelves ſure of victory, they were ſtruck with conſternation at the diſcipline of their enemies. While this diſpute continued hot and obſtinate on both ſides, the *Moguls* who had been routed, rallied, under their leaders, and, with a body of reſerve, they attacked the confederates in their flanks and rear, and, after a moſt bloody diſpute, in which *Likyen* ſignalized his valour, broke them, ſo that the victory remained to the *Moguls*, who are ſaid, in this battle, to have killed three hundred thouſand of their enemies; but the loſs of *Jenghiz Khan* does not appear. *Likyen*, finding all loſt, fled to *Ninghya*; which was beſieged by *Jenghiz Khan*, and obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion; which

the *Moguls* defeated;

but remain victors at laſt.

Three hundred thouſand men killed

which opened new and moſt frightful ſcenes of maſſacre in that unhappy country. As to the particulars of *Likyen*'s fate, authors are not agreed upon them; but it ſeems indiſputable, that he was put to death upon *Jenghiz Khan*'s order. Some ſay, that, upon the rendition of *Ninghya*, he went to throw himſelf at *Jenghiz Khan*'s feet, but was ſlain in his journey; but the relations of others, better informed, are more particular, and probable. They tell us, that he eſcaped to a fort called *Arbaka*, and that, after the great battle, the *Mogul* armies fell into the countries of the *Turks* at *Turgi*, who agreed to ſubmit to them; and that they likewiſe attacked the *Manji*, or *Southern Chineſe*; but, with what ſucceſs, does not appear. But before *Jenghiz Khan*, in the ſpring of the year 1226, entered upon the latter expedition, *Likyen* ſent one of his officers to treat with the khan, and to aſk permiſſion to repair with ſafety to his court, to pay him homage. The khan promiſed him the ſafety he required, and to forget whatever had paſſed. But no ſooner did the officer ſet out on his return to his maſter, than *Jenghiz Khan*, who began, about this time, to find his health declining, ſent for his ſons, and gave them private orders to put him to death as ſoon as he came into their power, and this order they were to execute, if he, the khan, ſhould die, before the arrival of *Likyien*, which was accordingly done, with moſt punctual barbarity; ſo inhumanly faithleſs was this tyrant, even in his laſt hours.

Likyen eſcapes.

The death of *Likyen* put an end to the kingdom of *Kya*, according to ſome good authorities, and, indeed, the preceding confirm them. When this diabolical conqueror returned from his weſtern expeditions, he was adviſed by ſome of his chief lords to exterminate the inhabitants of *Kitay* and *Kya*, and to give their country as a reward to his own troops, and to people it with *Moguls*, who would turn it into paſture; and that, in conſequence of this advice, he deſtroyed eighteen millions of the inhabitants; but was, at laſt, diverted from purſuing his inhuman reſolution, only by the remonſtrances of *Yelu Chutſay*, the wiſeſt of all his miniſters; who made him ſenſible, how much more it would be to his advantage to preſerve the inhabitants, and reap the fruits of their induſtry in manufactures and agriculture. *Kya* had been an independent kingdom for about two hundred years.

The kingdom of *Kya* aboliſhed.

Eighteen millions of men killed.

While *Jenghiz Khan* was thus victorious in *China*, the active *Jalaloddin* had returned from *India* to *Perſia*, where he obtained many advantages over the *Moguls* there, and endeavoured to animate all the neighbouring princes into a confederacy againſt them; but their diviſions not ſuffering this confederacy to take place, *Jalaloddin*, after a great variety of fortunes, reinſtated himſelf in great part of his dominions, and then attacked thoſe princes who had refuſed to join him; but, after meeting with ſeveral victories, and

Adventures of *Jalaloddin*.

defeats, he was, at laſt, ſurprized, and entirely routed, by the *Moguls*; after which, he is ſaid to have been hunted from place to place, and to have been killed in a private houſe, belonging to one of his friends, where he had taken refuge.

His death.

But, by this time, all good fortune became taſtleſs to *Jenghiz Khan*; for, while he was moving towards the borders of *Turkeſtan*, to overawe the *Turks* who ſhould attempt the conqueſt of the *Kin*, he received certain accounts of the death of his eldeſt ſon *Tuſhi*; who was ſucceeded by his ſon *Patu*, a prince of great virtues. *Tuſhi*'s death affected *Jenghiz Khan* ſo deeply, that every thing, after, appeared to him to be indifferent; at laſt, his ſpirits were ſunk ſo much, that he fell ſick. His illneſs, undoubtedly, was increaſed by his long reſidence in moiſt places, which diſagreed with his conſtitution. At laſt, about the middle of *Auguſt*, 1227, he became ſenſible of his approaching end, and ordered all his generals and great men to be ſummoned, to receive his laſt commands. He was then in his camp, which was pitched in a foreſt upon the road to *Ching*, and they being introduced to his preſence, he raiſed himſelf in his bed, with that majeſty which was ſo peculiar to his perſon, and began with the deduction of the meaſures they were to purſue in the war againſt the *Kin*, and he adviſed them, by all means, not to attempt to penetrate into their country by *Tong-quan*, but to demand a paſſage into it through the territory of the *Song*, who were mortal enemies to the *Kin*; and that their firſt operation ought to be the ſiege of *Talyangfu*; that the danger of that capital would bring the army of the *Kin*, by fatiguing marches, to *Tongquan*, ſo that they might be attacked, and defeated, with eaſe. Some hiſtorians ſay, that theſe were his laſt words; but it is certain, from all accounts, that, before his death, he addreſſed himſelf to his ſons, and his deſcendants; telling them, that, though he left to them the greateſt empire in the univerſe, yet the preſervation of it depended upon their unanimity. After this, he ordered the princes, who were proſtrated before him, confeſſing themſelves his ſlaves, to ariſe; and then he nominated his ſon *Oktay* to be his heir and ſucceſſor in his dignity, or great khan, or khan of khans. Upon this, the princes, and all the company, again bowed the knee, and promiſed to be obedient to his will. There are writers who ſay, that the laſt order he gave was, that *Likyen*, who had not yet arrived, ſhould be put to death as ſoon as he came to the camp; and that then he reſigned his breath.

Particulars of the death of *Jenghiz Khan*;

who names *Oktay* to be his ſucceſſor.

His character,

Hiſtorians differ as to the age of *Jenghiz Jhan* when he died. Moſt of the eaſtern hiſtorians ſay, that he was ſixty-ſix years of age. But, when we conſider all circumſtances, we are apt, with *La Croix*, to aſſign ſeventy-three years to his life, and twenty-two to his reign; in which laſt number all authors are agreed. The bare enumeration of this man's conqueſts,

Death of *Tuſhi*.

conqueſts, after the age of fifty, proves him to have been, the moſt warlike genius that ever exiſted on the earth; conſidering that, at the age of forty, he was only at the head of a petty hord of ignorant, undiſciplined, ſavage *Tartars*, with underſtandings little above the level of brutes; and yet he ſoon rendered them ſuperior, in point of diſcipline, to the *Khowarazmians*, and *Turks*, and the moſt renowned troops in the weſtern part of *Aſia*. Perhaps, after mentioning thoſe general facts, it is needleſs to enter upon any particular detail of the abilities of *Jenghiz Khan*, as a general; for they muſt be admitted to have been complete and ſupreme. It may not, however, be amiſs to obſerve, that the difficulties, diſcouragements, and misfortunes, he met with, while he was in a ſtate of obſcurity, formed him to that great character he afterwards arrived at; for we cannot imagine, that a great military genius ſhould, all of a ſudden, break out, after the age of forty. *Jenghiz Khan*, in his civil and political character, certainly was poſſeſſed of all the ſtrong lines of judgement that ever centered in the greateſt legiſlators. He believed in one *God*; but his court religion, was an aſylum to perſons of all religions, who could contribute to poliſh and improve his people. It is true, he ſeems to have looked upon revelation, of every kind, with contempt; but the famous oath, which he and his followers took, when they drank the waters of *Panchuni*, and when they hewed in pieces the wild beaſts, together with the obligation that he put himſelf under at his coronation, are indiſputable evidences of his believing in a particular providence. Beſides, the very firſt article of the yaſſa, or the laws which he publiſhed at *Karakoram*, pronounces *God* to be the diſpenſer of life and death, of riches and poverty; and that his will and power are unbounded and abſolute.

But the great genius of *Jenghiz Khan*, as a lawgiver, ap- laws, pears in nothing more, than in his being able to get the better of a number of rivetted prepoſſeſſions, which were of great detriment to the *Tartars*, as a people. He had ſo true notions of grandeur, that he ordered his ſubjects to give him and his ſucceſſors no other title but that of khan, only pronouncing it with two A's, by which it acquired the ſignification of *Khan of Khans*; he likewiſe ordained, that all his ſucceſſors (*Oktay* ſhould have been excepted) ſhould be elected in a general aſſembly of the khans, and other chief *Moguls*. We ſhall not reſume any account of his military inſtitutions, farther than juſt to mention, that he enjoined, over all his dominions, a ſtrict preſervation of the game through all the ſummer months in the year, that his ſoldiers, during winter, might be encouraged to exerciſe themſelves in hunting.

He aboliſhed a ridiculous ſuperſtition of the *Tartars*, of and inſti- not eating blood, and the entrails of creatures; having tutions. found himſelf, by experience, that a body of men might

be often at a loſs to find themſelves food, and wholeſome nouriſhment. Were we diſpoſed, upon this occaſion, to deviate from our ſubject, it would be no difficult matter to ſhew a ſtrong ſimilarity between the manners of our *Gothic* and *German* anceſtors, and the *Tartars*; for, at firſt, they were very near neighbours, if not the ſame people. *Jenghiz Khan* made war his great object, and that of his people; but he obliged all, who were not employed in war, to apply themſelves to ſome buſineſs that might be of benefit to the ſociety; but to allot one day in ſeven for his, the khan's, ſervice. Great thefts, ſuch as that of an ox, or a horſe, were puniſhed with death, and, ſmaller ones, by baſtinadoes, unleſs the party was rich enough to buy off the puniſhment, by paying nine times the value of the thing ſtolen. He ordered that no perſon ſhould be a ſlave, or a ſervant, in the country where he was born. The reaſon of this extraordinary inſtitution was, that all might be at liberty to apply themſelves to war, and to exert themſelves in making captives, who were to be their ſlaves and ſervants. He was, likewiſe, ſevere upon all who, in any ſhape, interfered in the property of another man's ſlave, or ever gave them meat, or drink, without the maſter's permiſſion. He prohibited marriages between parties who were in the firſt or ſecond degree of conſanguinity; but a man might marry two ſiſters, and as many wives as he could maintain; and he was allowed the free uſe of all his woman ſlaves. But adultery was puniſhed with death, and the adulterer might be killed in the commiſſion of the act. The tribe of *Kaindu* were indelicate enough to remonſtrate againſt this law, as breaking upon the rules of hoſpitality, which obliged them to offer their wives, as well as daughters, to their viſitors and friends, and preſented petitions for the repeal of it, amongſt them. They were ſo earneſt, that *Jenghiz Khan* indulged them in their requeſt; but, at the ſame time, declared his abhorrence of it, and pronounced it to be infamous.

Wiſe, but extraordinary piece of policy.

But the moſt extraordinary, though, perhaps, one of the wiſeſt inſtitutions, that *Jenghiz Khan* introduced amongſt the *Tartars*, was that by which he cemented tribes and families to one another in ſociety; for he permitted two heads of families, though all their children had been dead, the one to marry his dead ſon to his dead daughter, and this marriage, or contract (for it was reduced to writing) was deemed to be as valid, as if the parties had been alive. He aboliſhed the cuſtom, which the *Tartars* had, of throwing themſelves into rivers, and ſtreams, during the time of thunder, by enacting, that no perſon ſhould waſh, either their cloaths or themſelves, in running water, becauſe, by diſturbing the ſtream, it occaſioned the thunder; and, by this law, he preſerved the lives of many of his ſubjects. He adjudged to death all ſpies; all who were convicted of perjury, or giving falſe evidence; all ſodomites, and ſorcerers; but, in

in what ſenſe that laſt word is to be taken is ſomewhat doubtful. It is certain that *Jenghiz Khan* had his aſtrologers, and that ſome necromantic arts found encouragement in his reign; but of what ſpecies they were we cannot aſcertain. The more diſtant from himſelf that the governors of his provinces were, the more ſeverely did he puniſh them if they failed in their duty; which, however, ſeldom happened.

His wives.

Jenghiz Khan, as we are told by hiſtorians, had no fewer than five hundred wives, who were lodged in four palaces; but the preference was always given to the *Tartar* ladies, the deſcendants of the *Chineſe* women being excluded from the ſucceſſion. *Hyuchen* appears to have been the firſt in dignity of all his wives; which is a reaſon why his ſon *Oktay* was appointed to the ſucceſſion. As to his children, it is impoſſible to determine their number; nor does he himſelf ſeem to have had any regard for any of them but thoſe we have mentioned in the courſe of his hiſtory.

Oktay, *the ſecond khan, or emperor, of the* Moguls.

Difficulty concerning the *Mogul* ſucceſſion.

THOUGH hiſtorians agree that *Jenghiz Khan* left in writing a partition of his dominions amongſt his ſons, yet it does not clearly appear, either what that partition was, nor in what language, character, or manner, the writing was drawn up. There ſeems, likewiſe, upon the face of the hiſtory, to be another difficulty that has been taken notice of by no writer; and that is, nominating *Oktay* to be his ſucceſſor; and yet ordaining, that all future khans ſhould be elected by a general meeting of parliament of the chief *Moguls*. This inconſiſtency appears to have made *Oktay* very ſhy of mounting the throne.

Jenghiz Khan buried.

Particular reaſons rendered it adviſeable to conceal the death of *Jenghiz Khan*, as long as poſſible, from the public; and one of thoſe reaſons, we are told, was the inhuman order he gave, upon his death-bed, for murdering *Likyen*. That prince, his ſons, and ſome of his chief noblemen, truſting to the aſſurance of ſafety given by *Jenghiz Khan* arrived at his court, or rather camp, a very few days after he expired, and were there put to death. The interment of the khan was extremely magnificent; and the *Moguls*, in a kind of frenzy, occaſioned by the loſs of him, put to death a great many people immediately after his burial: which barbarous example was faithfully copied in after-ages, for numbers of ſubjects were put to death upon the interment of every *Mogul* emperor. The place of his burial is ſaid to have been under a beautiful tree, where, ſome days before his death, he had repoſed; and a noble monument was afterwards erected in the ſame place.

Tuli acts as regent.

Oktay being at a great diſtance from the ſeat of government when his father died, his brother *Tuli* took upon him the regency, according to the deceaſed khan's will. But the ambiguity we have already taken notice of, of *Jenghiz Khan*'s deſtination, created great perplexities amongſt the *Moguls*. It did not appear to them, that *Oktay*, before the general meeting was held, could be recognized as grand khan; and, in fact, he himſelf ſeems to have been of the ſame opinion; for the government was held by *Tuli*, for near two years, before *Oktay* was recognized as grand khan. The war, however, againſt the *Kin*, was carried on according to the plan directed by *Jenghiz Khan*; and the ſiege of *Hochew* was formed. This important city, which is now called *Minchew*, was defended by a *Chineſe* nobleman, called *Chinin*, with vaſt reſolution; but he perceived, at laſt, that the place muſt ſurrender to the barbarians. He acquainted his wife with this melancholy news, and deſired ſhe would provide for her ſafety. Her anſwer was, that ſhe would taſte with him the bitterneſs of death, as ſhe had done the comforts of life. Upon this, ſhe, her two ſons, and her ſon-in-law, took poiſon; and the unhappy huſband killed himſelf: ſo that the city fell a prey to the *Moguls*.

Minchew taken.

Magnanimity of a wife.

Character of the *Chineſe*.

The hiſtory of the *Chineſe*, at this time, affords ample matter for reflection: for, tho' they muſt be admitted to have been, at that period, the moſt moral, the moſt induſtrious, and, perhaps, the moſt polite, people on the face of the earth; yet, being groſly ignorant of all hiſtory but their own, and too proud to be inſtructed, they fell a prey to a handful of deſpicable barbarians. The little intercourſe they had with their neighbours ſerved but to increaſe their pride, by the occular evidences they had of their barbarity and ignorance in the politer modes of life. The *Arabs*, the *Perſians*, and the *Syrians*, it is true, were far more ſentimental than the *Chineſe*; but, compared to them, they were barbarians as to arts and induſtry. It is evident, that this ſuperiority of the *Chineſe*, in the arts of peace, made them fall the victims of war. For the *Moguls*, in ſubduing them, had ſcarcely any other labour but the fatigue of cutting their throats; ſo totally had the *Chineſe* diſuſed themſelves to all military diſcipline; by which alone the independency of a people can be preſerved againſt a barbarous enemy. Deſpair, however, ſeems, in ſome meaſure, at this time, to have ſupplied the art of war amongſt the *Chineſe*; for we are told that, early in the year 1228, the *Kin*, under a prince of that country, defeated a body of the *Moguls*, and killed eight thouſand of them.

The *Mogul* ſovereignty declined,

There was, amongſt the ſons of *Jenghiz Khan*, no diſpute but that of evading the ſovereignty; which each ſeemed unwilling to accept of. None of the *Moguls* had ventured to give *Oktay* the title of ſupreme khan; and the regent *Tuli* wiſely reſolved to take the ſenſe of a general meeting upon the

the will of his father: but, previous to that, they unanimouſly agreed amongſt themſelves to make the deſtination of *Jenghiz Khan* the rule of their conduct, though they ſeem to have referred the interpretation of it to a general meeting of the ſtates of *Tartary*. Before this meeting could be convened, *Oktay* preſſed his brother *Jagatay* to accept of the ſovereignty, as being beſt qualified, by his great experience in the laws and conſtitutions of the empire. *Jagatay* declining that, *Oktay* declared that he would not take upon himſelf the ſovereignty, unleſs he was called to it by the voice of the general diet. Thoſe diſputes and doubts, according to the *Weſtern Aſiatic* accounts, made a kind of an inter-regnum for about two years. At laſt, the general diet was held, the will of *Jenghiz Khan* was read in it, conſidered, and approved of; and it was the opinion of the majority, that *Oktay* ſhould aſcend the throne of the *Moguls*. This great honour is ſaid to have made no impreſſion upon him, and his brothers were, in a manner, forced to uſe violence in placing him in the imperial ſeat. Being then determined to reign, he made *Yeluchtſay* his firſt miniſter, and his brother *Tuli* his boſom friend. A moſt magnificent feaſt was given to the members of the diet, attended with very rich preſents; and then *Oktay* applied himſelf to the affairs of goverment; which, by the prudence of *Tuli* and *Jagatay*, had not at all ſufferred by the inter-regnum.

but conferred on *Oktay*.

Such an unanimity, at ſo critical a period, when the greateſt empire in the world was to be diſpoſed of, is very extraordinary; and *Shewſu*, the emperor of the *Kin*, was ſo much alarmed, that, invincible as he once thought himſelf, he ſent to propoſe an accommodation with *Oktay*. But the commands of *Jenghiz Khan* to continue the war were held as ſo many oracles, and all propoſals of that kind were rejected. *Chelawhen*, one of *Jenghiz Khan*'s intrepids, and now the commander of *Oktay*'s armies in *China*, was ordered to beſiege *King-yang-fu*, in *Chenſi*; but, deſpairing to take it, he abandoned the ſiege; nor do the *Moguls* ſeem to have made any conſiderable acquiſitions in *China* during the firſt year of *Oktay*'s reign.

The *Kin* ſeek peace.

The truth is, that this khan had much greater ſenſibility of heart than his father ever poſſeſſed; and, upon his acceſſion to the throne, he reſolved to do all he could to eaſe his people. For this purpoſe, he gave orders to *Yelu* and *Chinay*, another prince or nobleman of great integrity and wiſdom, to draw up a plan for reforming all the abuſes of government and for eſtabliſhing the future œconomy of his empire. According to ſome authors, *Yelu* was the firſt who ever reduced the laws of the *Moguls* into writing. But, perhaps, this can be underſtood only in a limitted ſenſe; ſince it appears pretty certain, that *Jenghiz Khan* had a method of promulgating laws, if not by writing, by characters of wood and ſtone, or by ſome other invention that anſwered the ſame end.

Oktay's mild reign.

Yelu reduces the laws of the *Moguls* to writing.

end. These great ministers applied themselves next to regulate the œconomy and the revenues of this vast empire. *Jenghiz Khan* had bequeathed, in writing, to his son *Jagatay*, the empire of *Great Bukharia*, with many other fine provinces. *Kipjak*, which comprehended all the countries to the north-east, and north-west, of the *Caspian-Sea*, was possessed by *Batu*, *Tushi*'s son. *Tuli* had, for his allotment, *Korasan*, *Proper Persia*, and all that part of *India* which had been conquered by his father. Other princes of the blood ruled over other provinces; and they, or their descendants, afterwards arrived at great eminence; but *Oktay* was lord-paramount of all, and reigned immediately over *Mogulstan*, which comprehended all *Tartary*, *Kitay*, and the other *Chinese* conquests. His superiority over his brethren, and their descendants, consisted in their acknowledging him their great khan, or chief; and in his regulating, or reforming, whatever he conceived to be amiss in their respective governments; so that they might, in some sense, be considered as feudatories to him.

Partition of the empire.

Regulations of *Yelu*.

The first business which *Yelu*, and his partner *Chinay*, who had drank with *Jenghiz Khan* the waters of *Panchuni*, applied themselves to, was to ascertain the annual value of the dominions committed to their care. The better to do this, they advised *Oktay*, by all means, to endear himself to the *Chinese* and the people of *Kitay*. He accordingly advanced many of his *Chinese* to the principal posts of his army in *China*. This, perhaps, would have been bad policy, did it not appear that the *Chinese* were most miserably divided amongst themselves; and the generals employed by *Oktay* had given him repeated marks of their attachment to his and his father's government, which they preferred to that of their own tyrants. By this conduct, *Oktay* and his ministers acquired a perfect knowledge of the value of their dominions; and the rates, or quantities of money, silk, and grain, to be paid by the conquered provinces, were soon settled; as were the proportions of horses, and other cattle, to be paid by the *Moguls*.

Greatness of *Oktay*.

Thus the greatness of *Jenghiz Khan* survived, for some time, in his son *Oktay*, but in a more amiable light. The renown of his virtues, and the mildness of his government, brought distant princes to submit to his authority. Amongst others, we are told that the prince of the *Ishmalites*, or assassins, threw himself at his feet; as did the prince of *Ispahan* in *Persia*. *Oktay*, however, was not destitute of ambition; and he, and his brother *Tuli*, pursued the operations against the *Kin*, as planned out by their father. As to the particulars of their expedition, the dryness of the *Chinese* historians, and the fabulousness of others, leave us greatly in the dark. We know, however, that they made a great progress against the *Kin*; but, that, deviating from their father's plan of operation, they laid siege to *Tongquan*, and were obliged to raise

His progress against the *Kin*.

it;

it; and *Tuli*, with ten thouſand troops, was almoſt totally cut off. This happened in the year 1231: and, by the advice of the *Kin* officers, who had been taken priſoners, they reſolved to purſue *Jenghiz Khan*'s plan; and to demand a paſſage through the country of the *Song* into that of the *Kin*, with an intention to beſiege *Pienking*, the capital of their empire. *Tuli* accordingly, early in the ſpring, demanded that paſſage from the governor *Myenchew* in *Shenſi*; but that governor put the meſſenger to death. Upon this, *Tuli* entered the country of the *Song* with fire and ſword, and cut in pieces upwards of one hundred thouſand of the inhabitants; and, by a march equal to that of *Hannibal* over the *Alps*, cutting roads through mountains, filling up valleys, paſſing rivers upon rafts, and ſurmounting a thouſand other difficulties, he opened to himſelf a paſſage to *Honan* through paſſes that, becauſe deemed inacceſſable, were unguarded; and ſtruck the *Kin* with ſuch terror, that all fled before him; while *Oktay* himſelf, after reducing many important places, paſſed the great river *Wangho* with another large army.

Tuli's march againſt *Honan*.

The emperor of the *Kin*, at that time, kept his court at *Kay-fong-fu*; and was by no means deficient in his duty towards his people. He had two generals, named *Hota* and *Hapua*, upon whom he greatly depended; and, upon the ſudden irruption of the *Moguls* into the very heart of his country, he aſſembled a great council to deliberate upon the means of defending it. The opinion of the majority was, that all the open country ſhould be abandoned; and, that all proviſions of grain, and forage of every kind, ſhould be carried into fortified places; which, they obſerved, the *Mogul* army, after the fatigues and hardſhips they had undergone, were, by no means, able to beſiege. They perceived, at the ſame time, that *Tuli*'s army was reduced to a handful of thirty thouſand men; and that, if the *Kin* ſtood upon the defenſive, the enemy muſt either lay down their arms, or periſh with hunger. This advice, perhaps, was the moſt prudent that could have been followed; but the emperor rejected it with a ſigh, and, reflecting upon his people's calamities, ordered his generals inſtantly to march and fight the enemy. Nothing could have happened more fortunately for *Tuli*, who paſſed the river *Han* to attack the *Chineſe*. A battle enſued, in which the latter had the ſuperiority; but, in a few days after, *Tuli* ſurpriſed the *Chineſe* generals, and cut off a great number of their men. By this time, the vanguard of *Oktay*'s army had paſſed the *Wangho*, and, entering *Honan*, his general *Suida* was detached to inveſt the capital, which was of a moſt amazing circumference. It was garriſoned by eighty thouſand ſoldiers, and twenty thouſand of the country people. *Oktay* ſent orders for *Tuli* to join *Suida*; and the emperor of the *Kin*, before that junction could be formed, ordered his generals *Hota* and *Hapua* to attempt to raiſe the ſiege at the head of one hundred and fifty thouſand

Oppoſed by the *Kin*, who are defeated by the *Moguls*.

thouſand troops. *Tuli*, who appears, on this occaſion, to have commanded in chief, felled vaſt numbers of trees to impede the *Moguls* in their march; but he was more aſſiſted by a deep ſnow, which fell at the ſame time, and hindered the *Kin* army from approaching the capital. Soon after, *Tuli*, having received great reinforcements, attacked the *Kin* army on all ſides, and defeated it. Being then joined by the great khan himſelf, they beſieged and took *Kunchew*, where the *Kin* general *Hota* was killed; his colleague having been made priſoner in the general action.

Virtues of the *Kin* generals.

Upon this occaſion, ſome of the *Kin* generals gave noble proofs, that they well underſtood, and could practiſe, the doctrine of their great legiſlator *Confucius*. *Hapua*, by his courage and magnanimity, had endeared himſelf ſo, even, to his enemies, that *Tuli* offered him a high rank in the *Mogul* ſervice. He declined it, and modeſtly aſked the favour of dying upon his maſter's ground; a favour granted him by the barbarians, it is ſaid, with ſome reluctance. *Hoſhang*, a prince of imperial extraction, was the moſt eminent amongſt the *Kin* for all virtues, both civil and military. Having ſurvived the general defeat we have taken notice of, he concealed himſelf, that he might again be of ſervice to his country. Being diſcovered and taken, he pretended he had ſome diſcovery to make to *Tuli*, and demanded to be carried before him. This favour being granted, he diſcovered his quality to *Tuli*, and told him he was glad of having that opportunity of ſetting to his country-men a glorious example, for their imitation, by his death; and, for that reaſon, he had avoided periſhing obſcurely with the vulgar. *Tuli*, tho' he endeavoured to bring him over to his party by magnificent promiſes, had not magnanimity enough to treat the *Chineſe* as his virtue deſerved; and, finding him determined not to ſerve amongſt the *Moguls*, he gave him up to the fury of his ſoldiers, who, in his death, gratified, to the full, their native ferocity; for, on his refuſing to kneel, they cut off his legs; and, perceiving his eloquence had ſome effect upon the moſt humane amongſt them, they cut up his mouth, ſo as to deprive him of the uſe of his tongue. Some of the *Moguls*, however, held his virtues in ſuch admiration, that they made libations of mare's milk at his grave, and wiſhed ſuch a patriot as he might ariſe amongſt themſelves.

Cruelty of the *Moguls*.

Kay-fong attempted in vain to be relieved.

The ſiege of *Kay-fong* ſtill went on with great vigour; and, the former attempts for relieving it proving ineffectual, the troops in the neighbourhood of *Tongquan*, conſiſting of one hundred and ten thouſand foot, and about fifteen thouſand horſe, were, by the *Kin* emperor, ordered to march to the relief of his capital. But this great army miſerably periſhed in its march, partly by the ſwords of the enemy, partly by the treachery and cowardice of its leaders, and many of them through fatigue and the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, which rendered the roads impaſſable. To compleat their miſeries, vaſt numbers

numbers of peaſants, women and children, fled along with this army; and all who were not able to keep up with it, were put to the ſword, together with the two *Kin* generals. It is tireſome for an hiſtorian to dwell upon ſuch reiterated ſcenes of horror; and, indeed, was it not that the vaſt populouſneſs of *China*, together with its plenty, is atteſted by an unexceptionable evidence, the numbers ſaid to have been ſlain, during theſe wars, would be incredible. In ſhort, it does not appear that any of this numerous body ever arrived at *Kay-fong*; and the *Moguls* not only took *Tongquan*, and the poſts near it, but intercepted all the convoys of proviſions that were coming to *Kay-fong*.

It is extremely difficult to aſcertain the progreſs the *Chineſe* had made, at this time, in the art of war. It is certain that they had the uſe of gun-powder, and that they diſcharged bullets and ſtones through tubes; but the beſt hiſtorians have not ventured to pronounce thoſe tubes to have been worked in the ſame manner as the modern cannon: they likewiſe had other methods of employing fire, and diſcharging projectiles of all kinds, which, in the modern art of war, are unknown or unpractiſed. Nothing can better prove thoſe aſſertions, than the defence which the *Kin* made againſt the *Moguls* on this occaſion. The city of *Honan* being beſieged by the latter, was defended by *Kyanſhin*, a brave officer, though no more than four thouſand men were in garriſon; from which he ſelected a band of four hundred, who followed him naked; and, being an excellent engineer, he did ſuch execution againſt the *Moguls*, who were thirty thouſand ſtrong, that they were forced to raiſe the ſiege after it had laſted three months.

Reflections upon the *Chineſe* art of war at this time.

Siege of *Honan* raiſed.

But the great efforts of the *Moguls* were levelled againſt *Kay-fong*, the ſiege of which place was carried on by *Suida*, one of their moſt reſolute and experienced generals. They made uſe of an engine they called *pau*, and thoſe paus were of two ſorts; one in the nature of the antient baliſta, for diſcharging ſtones of moſt prodigious ſize and weight; and the other was worked by fire; but whether it was a real cannon does not appear. The reader will not be ſurprized that the barbarians were acquainted with theſe improvements, when he reflects what a vaſt part of *China* was now in their poſſeſſion; and how eaſy it was to learn them from ſo timid, and ſo mercenary, a people as the *Chineſe* are to this day. The *Kin*, however, who defended *Kay-fong*, ſeem to have been greatly ſuperior to the *Moguls* in thoſe arts; and their artillery did ſuch execution upon the beſiegers, that *Oktay*, being under ſome neceſſity of returning into *Tartary*, entered into a negotiation with *Shewſu*, the *Kin* emperor; and offered to leave him in poſſeſſion of his dominions, provided he would pay him tribute, and put into his hands twenty-ſeven families, whom he was to name for hoſtages. *Shewſu* loved

The ſiege of *Kay-fong* continued.

Peace between the *Moguls* and the *Kin* is made and broken.

loved his people, and they adored him; but he was an irresolute prince, and longed extremely to get rid of the *Moguls*. He therefore lent a greedy ear to *Oktay*'s propoſal, and ordered his ſoldiers to deſiſt from hoſtilities: but neglecting, it ſeems, to ſtipulate the like ceſſation in his own favour, *Suida* continued the ſiege with double vigour, and half filled the ditches. The garriſon, upon this, fell into a kind of mutiny, and *Shewſu* was obliged to appear in a manner very unſuitable to his rank to appeaſe it, and to inform them of the treaty that was on foot, and that he would ſend his ſon as a hoſtage of peace that ſhould put an end to all their miſeries.

Operations againſt *Kay-fong* are reſumed.

It does not clearly appear, in what kind of ſubordination to *Oktay Suida* acted; for, even after this hoſtage was ſent, he redoubled his attacks with greater fury than ever: but all of them being defeated, by the frequent ſallies, and frequent fire of the *Kin*, *Suida* was, at laſt, obliged to agree to a ceſſation of arms, and to draw off from before the city. *Ganyong*, a *Mogul* general, having, upon ſome diſſatisfaction, joined the *Kin* emperor, perſuaded him to renew the war, and even to put to death thirty of *Oktay*'s deputies who were treating of peace. Upon this, *Suida* received orders from his maſter to reaſſume the operations againſt *Kay-fong*; and the war broke out with greater fury than ever. The *Moguls* daily receiving freſh reinforcements, were ſo vigilant, that they cut off all the bodies of men, and all the proviſions, deſigned for the relief of the capital; which ſoon became, notwithſtanding the nature and plenty of the country, to be afflicted with peſtilence and famine.

Death of *Tuli*.

Notwithſtanding all theſe misfortunes, it does not at all appear that *Suida* was able to take *Kay-fong*. On the contrary, *Oktay*, at this time, met with an irreparable loſs by the death of his brother *Tuli*, one of the greateſt generals of his age, and one of the moſt faithful and affectionate of his ſubjects. By this time, however, *Oktay* had entered into a negotiation with the emperor of the *Song*, who, in conſideration of having *Honan* delivered to him, as ſoon as *Oktay* had ſubdued the *Kin*, promiſed to join him with his troops. *Suida* alſo was continuing his operations againſt *Kay-fong*, which *Shewſu* at laſt abandoned, and the place was given up in 1233, by a traitor named *Tſuli*, who had been left in it, after he had maſſacred a great number of the chief inhabitants and noblemen. After this, *Shewſu* loſt all his authority. His army either deſerted from him, or were cut in pieces by the *Moguls*; and *Puchaquen*, one of his generals, at laſt took upon himſelf the command of the army and empire.

Oktay's treaty with the *Song*.

Kay-fong taken by treaſon.

The imperial race of the *Kin* murdered.

The treaty between *Oktay* and the emperor of the *Song*, did not admit the former to ſpare any of the imperial race of the *Kin*, who were all of them moſt barbarouſly put to death by

by *Suida*. That monſter even went ſo far as to propoſe to put to the ſword the whole ſurviving inhabitants of *Kay-fong*, which amounted to about fourteen thouſand families; and this barbarity would have been executed, had not the remonſtrances of *Yelu* prevailed with *Oktay* that they ſhould be ſaved, and that no more general maſſacres ſhould be committed. *Suida*, however, ſuffered the traitor *Tſuli*, who had betrayed *Kay-fong* into his hands, to be ſtripped of all the vaſt plunder he had made of the imperial palaces, in deteſtation of his treaſon. Cruelty of *Suida*. His averſion to treaſon.

While the *Kin* emperor remained under the dominion of *Puchaquen*, he received a thouſand indignities from that general, who likewiſe performed many brave actions againſt *Temutay*, a *Mogul* general. But thoſe ſervices ſerved only to render him more inſolent; and he, at laſt, put *Shewſu* under an arreſt. That emperor, however, had ſtill brave and dutiful ſubjects; and three of them put to death *Puchaquen* in the ſight of the army, which immediately ſubmitted upon the ſight of the emperor. After this, *Shewſu* moved from place to place through his dominions; but finding all was full of blood-ſhed and miſery, he was often ſeen to weep moſt bitterly, and was anſwered in the ſame manner by his ſubjects. To add to his misfortunes, the brave *Kyangſhin*, who had hitherto ſo nobly defended *Honan*, finding the place no longer tenable, endeavoured to break through the *Mogul* army who beſieged it, commanded by one *Tachar*, and was taken priſoner. *Tachar* ſo much admired his virtues, that he offered *Kyangſhin*, not only his life and liberty, but preferment, if he would make but one reverence towards the north in honour of *Oktay*. *Kyangſhin*, inſtead of this, made a genuflection towards the ſouth, where his own ſovereign reſided; upon which *Tachar* ordered him to be put to death. Many other examples of inflexible loyalty and fortitude were exhibited by the *Kin*'s ſubjects at this fatal period of their empire. The *Kin* emperor confined by his own general, who is put to death. *Kyangſhin* taken and put to death.

The emperor *Shewſu* began now to be ſenſible of the great errors he had committed in his government, and particularly of his breach of faith towards his enemies. But his ſubjects imputed that to his love for them, and gave him a thouſand marks of their affection. At laſt, he had the diſcernment to appoint a prince, named *Huſeyhu*, to command his troops, and to preſide in his councils; and he retired to *Tſayſhew*; a place at ſo great a diſtance from the *Moguls*, that he there indulged himſelf in the hopes of again taſting repoſe. He could not have made a better choice than he did of *Huſeyhu*, who was a prince of great courage and capacity; and ſo devoted to his ſovereign's ſervice, that he ſold all his eſtate to raiſe and maintain ten thouſand choſen troops, whom he diſciplined and commanded in perſon; and animated to the defence of *Juningfu*, the city of *Tſaychew*, where the emperor Loyalty of *Shewſu*'s ſubjects. Great virtues of his general *Huſeyhu*.

ror took up his reſidence. It was not long before he had occaſion to exerciſe all his virtues.

The *Song* join the *Moguls*.

The *Song*, in conſequence of their late treaty with *Oktay*, had now taken the field; and twenty thouſand of them, under a general called *Monkong*, were detached to join the *Tartar* general *Tachar*, in order to beſiege *Juningfu*, after finiſhing their conqueſts in *Honan*. *Huſeyhu* had omitted nothing for making a vigorous defence; but the army under the two generals was compoſed of the flower of all the *Song*, and *Mogul* troops; and the intrepidity of the *Moguls* was aſſiſted by the beſt of the *Chineſe* engineering. They perceived, however, from the reception they met with in their firſt aſſaults, that it would be difficult to take the place by ſtorm, and they reſolved to reduce it by famine, as well as force; and, for that purpoſe, ſurrounded it by ſtrong lines of circumvallation. The garriſon, notwithſtanding, animated by the preſence and exhortations of their emperor, and his brave general, made a reſolute defence againſt the repeated attacks of the *Tartars*. But the numbers of the beſieged were daily diminiſhing, without any means of their being replaced; ſo that *Huſeyhu* ordered the ſtouteſt of the women to work, in men's cloaths, upon the fortifications. The winter was now far advanced, and the beſiegers had made many advantageous lodgments upon the outworks of the city, particularly in a tower that was given out to be enchanted, but was not proof againſt the valour of the *Song* and the *Tartars*; who were amazed to find, after all they had done, that they had freſh redoubts to attack, that had been raiſed, within the place, by the indefatigable *Huſeyhu*, who defended them for three days and three nights; and who cut in pieces, in his ſallies, great numbers of his enemies.

Juningfu beſieged.

Brave defence made by *Huſeyhu*.

The valour of the *Kin* emperor.

Monkong, who beſt knew the genius of the *Kin*, having certain intelligence, that the beſieged were reduced to the laſt diſtreſs by famine, put *Tachar* upon his guard againſt the efforts of their deſpair. This was not without reaſon, for the emperor collected the little ſtrength he had left him, harangued his people in a moſt pathetic manner, and told them, he was determined to die like a ſovereign, with his ſword in his hand. He then diſtributed the money and jewels he had about him to his faithful followers; and, putting on an ordinary habit, he made a moſt deſperate effort to cut his way through the beſiegers. But the latter being upon their guard, he was driven back into the city; where he ordered all the ſurviving horſes to be killed; for the ſubſiſtence of the garriſon. *Monkong*, being now encouraged with the belief that the common men of the garriſon could no longer ſtand to their arms, made five different attacks, with vaſt reſolution, but was repulſed in them all, with great loſs. Next day, however, the combined army ſucceeded, and planted their ſtandards upon the walls. Previous

His diſtreſs and death;

vious to this, the emperor had nominated *Chengling*, a prince of his blood, as his ſucceſſor; and finding the enemy had entered the city, he put himſelf to death; ſome ſay, by hanging, and others by throwing himſelf into the flames. As to the noble *Huſeyfu*, after performing wonders at the head of his remaining garriſon (which did not exceed one thouſand men) even when the enemy had entered the city, hearing of his ſovereign's death, he drowned himſelf in the river *Ju*; and his example was followed by many of his officers, and five hundred of his ſoldiers. *Chenglin* was put to death next day in a tumult; and, in him, ended the dynaſty of the *Kin*, after it had continued for about one hundred and ſeventeen, or one hundred and nineteen years.

and that of *Huſeyfu*

The alliance between the *Song*, and the *Tartars*, was too unnatural to be laſting. The former had as much reaſon to be jealous of the *Moguls*, as the *Kin* had. But they were governed by a weak prince, named *Litſong*, who was under the dominion of his queen; and, though his generals had taken poſſeſſion of the places conquered from the *Kin* of *Honan*, yet they were not able to keep them againſt *Suida*; and the emperor condemned their proceeding. This, however, did not ſatisfy *Oktay*, who made it a pretext for attacking the *Song*, as he had done the *Kin*.

Breach between the *Moguls* and the *Song*.

While *Oktay*, by his conqueſts and ambition, was ſhewing himſelf the true repreſentative of the great *Jenghiz Khan*, his excellent miniſter, *Yulu*, omitted no means to inſpire him with a love for the arts of peace, and good government. He ſucceeded ſo far, that *Oktay*, for ſome time, ſeemed to have loſt all that was *Tartar* about him; but his reſolution was not to be depended on, upon account of his vaſt propenſity to drinking, which, at times, rendered him brutal and barbarous. He, however, perſiſted invariably in his regard for *Yelu*; every day affording him freſh proofs of the advantages ariſing from his adminiſtration: for, after the capital of *Kya* was taken, he rejected that kind of plunder that the vulgar are fond of, but ſecured for himſelf all the curious paintings, maps, books, and mathematical inſtruments, he could get, and, particularly, a very large quantity of that excellent root, Rhubarb; which that country produces in the greateſt perfection. Soon after, the army falling into thoſe diſeaſes that commonly attend exceſs, *Yelu* opened his ſtorehouſes of health for the afflicted, and removed their diſorders; to the credit of his own care and foreſight. He aboliſhed that dependance, which the miniſters of one department of buſineſs generally have upon thoſe of another, in barbarous countries; by perſuading the emperor to name mandarins, or officers, who, in their ſeveral departments, ſhould be independant upon one another, and all of them accountable to the ſovereign only. Thus, the civil policy, the learning, the revenue, and the armies of the empire, had their ſeveral mandarins, who not being controuled by others, applied

Prudence, diſintereſtedneſs, and good conduct of *Yelu*.

applied only to the faithful diſcharge of their duties. But the great point he had to aboliſh with his maſter, was, the cuſtom of beſtowing the governments of cities, provinces, and territories, upon his officers, by way of reward. He ſucceeded, at laſt, in convincing *Oktay* how dangerous this practice was, and how oppreſſive it generally was to the people, when a great man was at liberty to indemnify himſelf at their expence; and how ſtrong a temptation the practice often was for rebellion. He, therefore, perſuaded the emperor to be as liberal of his gold, and rich ſtuffs, jewels, and other precious commodities, as he pleaſed, to thoſe who had ſerved him well, but to be very frugal of other ſorts of rewards.

His advice to his maſter.

This conduct, which was diametrically oppoſite to the intereſt of the great *Tartars*, raiſed up a vaſt number of enemies to *Yelu*, who was himſelf a *Kitan* by birth. The chief of his enemies were *Wachin*, and *Shemohyen*; the firſt of them related to the khan, and the latter, one of the great miniſters of ſtate; and they concurred in loading *Yelu* with many groundleſs accuſations, beſides remonſtrating againſt him for the advice he gave, as to the management of the revenues, and the finances. *Oktay* had penetration enough to diſcern the motives of their enmity, and remained firm to his miniſter, who, in like manner, continued to ſerve his maſter with great zeal, and an intrepidity which daunted the reſt of his friends: for ſome of them, afraid of the confederacy againſt him, excuſed themſelves from ſerving in the high poſts to which *Yelu* had recommended them. Soon after, that miniſter gave a noble proof of his magnanimity: for when his capital enemy, *Shemohyen*, was accuſed to the khan of ſeveral capital crimes, *Oktay* ordered, that he ſhould be tried and judged by *Yelu*; who reported to his majeſty, that he found him guilty of nothing but too much pride; and that, when the war was over, it would be time enough to deliberate upon his puniſhment. This extraordinary proof of virtue, endeared *Yelu* ſtill more and more to the khan; and, ordering the books of his treaſury to be laid before his other grandees, he ſhewed them what vaſt improvements *Yelu* had made in his revenues: ſo that, upon the whole, many of his greateſt enemies became converts to his virtues, which the khan recommended to the imitation of all his chief men.

He is ſtrongly oppoſed.

His intrepidity and ſucceſs.

Yelu carried his improvements into all parts of civil life, and never failed to take every opportunity of remonſtrating againſt the horrors of war: but, in this part of his duty, he ſeems to have been unable to get the better of his maſter's *Tartar* nature. He ſucceeded, however, ſo far, as to perſuade *Oktay*, in the year 1235, to convert his capital of *Karakoram* (which, before then, ſeems to have been no more than a collection of huts and tents), into a fortified city, adorned with noble houſes, built by his great men, and

He perſuades *Oktay* to cultivate the arts of civil life.

and a moſt magnificent palace for his own reſidence, with fountains for refreſhment, and parks for hunting. In this undertaking, the moſt ingenious artiſts that were to be found in *Kitay*, and the conquered countries, were employed; and it was peopled with inhabitants from *Turkeſtan*, *Kitay*, *Perſia*, and other weſtern countries of *Aſia*: but ſuch is the vanity of ſublunary glory, that this ſuperb city is not now diſcernable, even by its ruins; nor have geographers been able even to aſcertain its ſituation; for it is uncertain, whether the city now mentioned under that name, is the ſame with the antient *Karakoram*.

Oktay renews his preparations for war

But the cultivation of the arts of peace ſeems to have increaſed *Oktay*'s rage after conqueſts. About this time, he raiſed greater armies, and undertook greater expeditions, than ever. Three hundred thouſand men were ſent, under *Suida*, and *Batu*, prince of *Kipjak*, ſon to the late *Tuſhi*, to purſue the attempts which that general had already made, upon the borders of the *Caſpian Sea*. *Suida* was likewiſe attended by *Queyyew*, the great khan's eldeſt ſon, the other princes of the blood, and the deſcendants of *Jenghiz Khan*'s intrepids (as his four chief generals were called) who were all fond of learning the art of war under ſo great a maſter. The differences between *Oktay*, and the *Song*, ſtill increaſing, other great armies were raiſed to ſubdue them. That which againſt the *Song*. was deſtined againſt *Sechwen*, was commanded by prince *Kotovan*, the emperor's ſecond ſon, who was aſſiſted by *Chakay*, one of the generals who had drank the waters of *Panchuni* with *Jenghiz Khan*. Another army was ordered to march againſt the *Song*, by way of *Kyangnan*, and it was commanded by *Kuchu*, the emperor's third ſon, who had under him, *Temutay Changjan*, king *Pitu* (who has been already mentioned) with many other great princes. The progreſs of the *Moguls* againſt the *Song*, as uſual, was at once rapid and terrible. *Kongchanfu* ſubmitted to *Kotovan*; and the *Song* not being well united amongſt themſelves, gave prince *Kuchu* an opportunity of making himſelf maſter of *Kyangnan*, *Syangyon*, and *Tegen*; in all which places he met with great plunder; and the inhabitants of the latter were put to the ſword. But, about this time, *Kuchu*, who was tenderly loved by his father, died. *Yelu*, however, did not fail to repreſent the glory that would attend *Oktay*, if, maſter as he was of the birth-place of the great *Confucius*, he would cauſe the halls and monuments there, dedicated to that great man, to be repaired, which was accordingly done; and *Confucius* honoured. *Oktay*, as a further teſtimony of his regard for his miniſter, ordered, that the *Chineſe* doctors, and literati, who had been made priſoners in the learned province of *Kuquang*, ſhould be ſet at liberty, and taken into his ſervice, for the purpoſe of civilizing the *Moguls* and *Tartars*.

His progreſs.

In the mean while, prince *Kotovan*, at the head of five hundred thouſand men, as is ſaid, entered the province of *Shenſi*, Bravery of the *Song*.

Shenſi; and a great battle was fought, between him and a handful of the *Song*, who had devoted themſelves to die for their country, under two brothers, *Yeuwen*, and *Tſauwan*, who were very advantageouſly poſted. But though the battle laſted for two days, and the fields, for two leagues round, run with blood, the *Moguls* remained maſters of the field, being ſtill ſupplied with freſh numbers, and the *Song* were at laſt ſurrounded and cut in pieces, with their two brave generals. This victory, which coſt the *Moguls* an incredible number of men, was followed by the reduction of *Sechew*, and the ſiege of *Venuhew*, by the *Moguls*. This laſt place was defended by *Lyew*, who, finding no hopes of relief, poiſoned himſelf, with his family; and, ſuch was the abhorrence of the *Song*, for the *Moguls*, that a child of ſix years of age, upon his knees, begged for, and obtained, a draught of the fatal cup; forty thouſand more of the *Song* did the ſame, at the ſame time.

Sechew taken.

Deſperate deaths of the *Song*.

Obſervation on their conduct.

This deſperate practice in a ſenſible people, and a people ſo devoted to their country as the *Chineſe* were, is pretty unaccountable. We are, however, to reflect, that it was not the intereſt of the *Mogul* officers and ſoldiers, to give them leave to die with their ſwords in their hands; but, as we have already obſerved, to make ſlaves of all who could be ſerviceable to them: add to this, the *Chineſe* are naturally addicted to ſelf-murder, and are encouraged in their practice of it by their religion, which either aſſigns a reward for it, or teaches them that there is no life after this; for the *Chineſe* were then, and are now ſtill divided, between thoſe opinions.

Mingkong beats the *Moguls*, and

The ravages of war ſtill continuing againſt the *Song*, the great general *Mingkong* put himſelf at the head of their armies; and the bravery of *Keyewyo*, the governor of *Chinchew*, obliged the *Mogul* governor to raiſe the ſiege of that place, with vaſt loſs. *Wangchew* being, at the ſame time, beſieged by the *Moguls*, was relieved by *Mingkong*; and *Chahan*, the great *Mogul* general, and the general, or maſter, of their ordnance, was defeated before *Yangtong*, which he had beſieged, and obliged to retire, with great loſs, by its brave governor *Tukew*. *Chahan* then, in the year 1238, undertook the ſiege of *Suchew*; but *Tukew* throwing himſelf into the place, by means of the moſt undaunted reſolution, and a fire greatly ſuperior to that of the *Moguls*, obliged the beſiegers to abandon the prodigious works they had raiſed, and to retire towards *Tartary*, after loſing half their army in the ſiege, and the purſuit. Next year, the *Song*, under *Mingkong*, almoſt every where defeated the *Moguls*, and retook all the places they held in *Shenſi*, and *Honan*; together with all their magazines, and captives.

retrieves the *Song* empire.

This great reverſe of fortune, next to the vaſt reſolution with which the examples of great generals can inſpire a people, is to be attributed to *Yelu*'s loſing part of that influence which he had over his maſter. For *Oktay*'s ſenſes, through

through exceſſive drinking, began now to be affected, and his favourite empreſs *Tolyckona* got an entire aſcendancy over him. She, on the other hand, was governed by rapacious favourites, one of whom, a *Mahometan*, whoſe name was *Gantulumar*, offered to double the khan's revenue, as raiſed by *Yelu*. It was in vain for the latter to repreſent, that this rapaciouſneſs would, in fact, not only deſtroy that induſtry by which the revenue was raiſed, but the means employed in collecting it would render the people deſperate. Thoſe repreſentations having no effect, he retired, with a ſigh, from the council-board. His enemies thus getting the better, employed all the arts of oppreſſion againſt the beſt ſubjects the khan had; and thoſe were followed by a total proſcription of the *Chineſe* from all the places they held in the government, while the moſt worthleſs wretches were raiſed to poſts of profit and dignity; and all the priſons of the empire were filled by the inhuman farmers of the revenue. *Mingkong* made advantage of all thoſe errors of government. He repeopled the re-conquered countries, by inhabitants drawn from the interior parts of the *Song* empire; to whom he aſſigned lands in the countries between *Sechwen*, *Kyang*, and *Han*; but they held thoſe lands by the tenure of the ſword, for he made every huſbandman a ſoldier; and, thus, he formed a uſeful militia againſt any future invaſion. It was during this reverſe of *Oktay*'s affairs, that he ordered his eldeſt ſon *Queyyew* to return, with his army, into *Tartary*, from the weſtern expedition, which is ſaid to have been very ſucceſsful; but we are much in the dark as to particulars.

Degeneracy and drunkenneſs of *Oktay*.

Good policy of *Mingkong*.

Oktay calls his ſon *Queyyew*.

The introduction of the financer *Gantuluman*, proved, at laſt, fatal to *Oktay*. That prince's exceſs in drinking had often thrown him into violent diſorders; and, in the beginning of the year 1241, his life was given over. Upon this, the empreſs *Tolyekona*, a woman of vaſt addreſs and genius for government, applied to *Yelu*, for his advice; not that ſhe loved him, but becauſe ſhe knew his great authority, and experience, might be of ſervice to her. *Yelu* honeſtly repeated what he had before urged at the council-board, and told her, that the diſorders in government were entirely owing to oppreſſion. His remonſtrances had ſuch effect, that, ſome hopes appearing of the emperor's recovery, the priſon doors were ſet open, and an act of grace was, at laſt publiſhed, reinſtating the *Chineſe* in all their rights and privileges; and ſuffering them to act even as mandarins, or judges, in certain caſes, and inferior capacities.

Oktay falls ill.

Converſation between the empreſs and *Yelu*.

Yelu, at the ſame time, did not fail to remonſtrate to the emperor, the pernicious conſequences of his intemperance, both to his perſon and government; but *Oktay* was too far gone in this vice to be reclaimed. His times of exceſs were, generally, after a great hunting, to which he always went attended by his grandees, and drinking companions. In

Oktay drinks himſelf to death.

November, this year, *Yelu* could not prevail upon him not to go to one of thoſe huntings; the conſequence of which proved mortal to him. For after being abſent five days, when he returned to a certain mountain, he was overperſuaded by *Gantuluman*, his financer, to ſit up all night drinking; and this debauch, next morning, put an end to his life, in the 13th year of his reign, and the 56th of his age; having previouſly named his grandſon *Shelyemen*, or, as he is called by the weſtern writers, *Siramon*, the ſon of his third ſon prince *Kuchu*, for his heir and ſucceſſor.

Such as we have repreſented them, were the moſt important events of this great prince's life; of whom, ſome particulars are mentioned in the preceding parts of this hiſtory.

His character.

His great merit appears in the reſpect and friendſhip he entertained for his excellent miniſter *Yelu*; to whoſe councils he ſeems to have owed his chief virtues: and who, beſides the inſtances we have already given of his humanity and wiſdom, prevailed with this khan to rebuild, and repeople, *Herat*, in *Koraſan*; which, as we have already ſeen, had been deſtroyed by the *Moguls*. His hiſtorian *Abulgaza Khan*, who wrote from the memoirs of *Fadlallah*, a nobleman who lived not long after *Oktay*, and other *Perſian* hiſtorians, have given us ſeveral other particular inſtances of his liberality and charity; yet moſt of them are extremely trifling, and appear rather to be fits of good-nature in drunken frolicks, than any ſettled love for virtue. We are told, however, that his liberality coſt him ten millions of gold in preſents; but the value of the coin is not aſcertained.

Remarkable ſtories of him.

Two inſtances of his juſtice ought not to be omitted here. An enthuſiaſt, of the tribe of *Virats*, who are the inveterate enemies of the *Mahometans*, one day told the great khan, that his father *Jenghiz Khan* had appeared to him, and commanded him to tell his majeſty, that his will was, he ſhould put to death all the *Mahometans* within his dominions. The emperor calmly aſked the fellow, "Whether "his father had ſpoken to him in perſon, or by an interpreter?" His anſwer was, "In perſon." "Doſt thou "underſtand the *Mogul* language?" reſumed the emperor. The *Virat* replied in the negative. "Then," continued *Oktay*, "thou muſt be an impoſtor. My father knew no "other language; ſo that thou could neither underſtand "him, nor he thee." And then ordered him to be put to death. The other inſtance was as follows: a ſevere law, amongſt the *Mahometans*, prohibited killing ſheep in any other manner, than by ripping up its belly, for a reaſon that has been already mentioned. This practice was not lawful for the *Mahometans*, and a meddling, malicious *Mogul*, having one day climbed up to the top of a *Mahometan*'s houſe, which he perceived ſhut up, he looked down the chimney, and ſaw the *Mahometan* kill a ſheep by cutting off the head. The *Mogul* inſtantly carried the *Mahometan* before

before *Oktay*; who, upon hearing the complaint, ordered the *Mogul* to be put to death: for this very good reaſon, that the *Mahometan*'s caution was to be commended, and that his crime was not near ſo great, as was that of mounting upon his neighbour's houſe without his knowledge.

The inter-regnum, and reigns of Queyyew Khan, *and the other ſucceſſors of* Jenghiz Khan.

IT is not, perhaps, eaſy, at this diſtance of time, and place, to determine the preciſe form of the *Mogul* conſtitution, with regard to the ſucceſſion of their princes to the empire. We have already mentioned the difficulties that *Oktay* was under, before he could be prevailed upon to mount the throne; and the period we now treat of, furniſhes us with a freſh proof, that the election of the chief khans, and noblemen, of the *Moguls*, and *Tartars*, in a general diet, was abſolutely neceſſary for making a great khan. For, after the death of *Oktay*, *Tolyekona*, without regarding the nomination of *Oktay*, by the conſent of her ſon *Queyyew*, who was the late khan's eldeſt ſon, and *Gantuluman*, the high treaſurer, took upon herſelf the regency, until a general diet of the grandees could be convoked. Her pretext for this, undoubtedly, was plauſible. *Yelu*, who was a foreigner, and the profeſſed patron of his countrymen the *Chineſe*, declared loudly for adhering to the emperor's nomination; and it was eaſy to foreſee, that, if that took place, he would ſoon reſume all his authority. Intereſt united his enemies againſt him, and the conjuncture was extremely favourable to their views. The great officers of the army, and of the ſtate, were abſent in the wars againſt the *Song*, and in other countries, ſtill more diſtant; and the empreſs, by means of the vaſt ſums furniſhed her by the high treaſurer, found means to bring over to her views thoſe who were moſt likely to oppoſe her at *Karakoram*; where her ſon was at the head of the army. But, notwithſtanding all the diſcouragements he was under, *Yelu* continued firmly attached to the intereſts of the young *Shelyemen*, and inſiſted upon having the high treaſurer diſplaced; till, perceiving all his efforts were in vain, he retired to a private life at *Karakoram*, and died, as is ſaid, of a broken heart, in 1243. We have little to add to what we have already related of this great miniſter, but that his private life was as amiable as his public, and that he himſelf formed his children and grandchildren to the practice of his own virtues. When he was dead, his enemies perſuaded the regent to make an enquiry into his effects, but, to their confuſion, they found amongſt them but very little money, and that all his wealth conſiſted

Difficulties and diſputes about the ſucceſſion.

Intrigues of the empreſs.

Death of *Yelu*.

His diſintereſtedneſs appears.

in the riches of a philoſopher, devoted to the ſtudies of mathematics, nature, antiquities, and muſic. His age, when he died, was no more than fifty-ſix years; and the *Chineſe*, in remembrance of his virtues, not only erected to him a magnificent tomb, but have been very particular in tranſmitting them in their hiſtories to poſterity.

Queyyew elected great khan.

All this while, the war, with various ſucceſs, was going on, between the *Moguls* and the *Song*; but generally to the advantage of the latter, through the excellent diſcipline that *Mingkong* had introduced amongſt them: and *Tolyekona*, the regent, two years after the death of *Oktay*, at laſt convened a general diet, at which *Suida*, and other princes, who had been employed in the weſtern expeditions, were expected. They did not, however, arrive till after *Queyyew* had been formally inſtalled. As we have already obſerved, the expedition of *Suida* is very darkly related by the *Chineſe* hiſtorians, who ſcarcely believed that any other country beſides their own exiſted. From the hints, however, that have fallen from them, it is certain that the *Moguls* carried their arms into *Ruſſia*, *Poland*, ſeveral places in *Germany*, and as far as *Hungary*. But, as thoſe countries were, at that time, fully as barbarous as themſelves, few of their inhabitants being converted to *Chriſtianity*, the particulars of their conqueſts are unknown. Plunder ſeems to have been the great aim of the conquerors, for it is certain they made few or no ſettlements in the countries they invaded.

Progreſs of the *Moguls* in *Europe*.

The dowager empreſs ſaid to have been a *Chriſtian*.

The election of *Queyyew* to be khan did not weaken the ſway which his mother had in the government. This princeſs is generally held to have been the daughter of the brave ſultan *Jalaloddin*; and we are told, by many popiſh authors who pretend to be converſant in oriental hiſtories, that ſhe either was a *Chriſtian* or a great favourer of that religion: but this, perhaps, can be underſtood no farther than, that, as there was no eſtabliſhed religion but deiſm, in the *Mogul* empire, the *Chriſtians*, who drove vaſt traffic all over the eaſt, were well received at the *Mogul* court; and, very poſſibly, ſome prieſts, of the ſame religion, might have talked to the empreſs about ſpiritual matters without her being diſpleaſed. Her ſon, after he came to the empire, diſcovered an unbounded generoſity to the grandees and the princes of the blood; which is not ſurpriſing, when we conſider how powerful a competitor he had in the perſon of *Shelyemen*. He is likewiſe noted for being the firſt *Mogul* prince who admitted lamas, or prieſts, into the adminiſtration of his government; but thoſe prieſts ſeem to have been the miniſters of *Chineſe* idolatry. One of them was ſo great a favourite, that the emperor gave him a gold ſeal, and appointed him to examine into the public grievances. This is almoſt all we know of *Queyyew*, whoſe empire loſt its greateſt enemy in his time by the death of *Mingkong*, the great *Song* general. As to the ſucceſs of his wars, we know little, but that he

Prieſts admitted into the government.

ſent an army to oblige *Korea* to pay tribute; and that he ſent another army to the weſt, perhaps to preſerve his conqueſts upon the *Caſpian Sea*. He died in the year 1248, in the forty-third year of his age, near *Karakoram*. Death of *Queyyew*.

It appears that *Shelyemen* lived at the court of *Queyyew*, in the character of prince ſucceſſor to the empire; and that he was conſidered as ſuch by the empreſs *Waliamiſh*, the late khan's widow, who took upon herſelf the regency till the great diet for the election ſhould be held; which, as uſual, did not happen till two or three years after the great khan's death. This inter-regnum is noted for introducing luxuries in dreſs and equipages, and for the vaſt expences of all kinds which the court run into. The diet was held in the year 1251; and, though the deſcendants of *Jengiz Khan*, who were numerous and powerful in it, were for electing *Shelyemen*, yet the voices of the grandees carried the election for *Mangu*, the ſon of *Tuli*, tho' that prince had been amongſt the firſt to nominate *Shelyemen*. Some accounts, however, pretend that *Mangu* was indebted for his election to the intrigues of his mother, a princeſs in great reputation for her piety and wiſdom. The election being over and confirmed, the new khan feaſted the members of the diet for ſeven days; and, amongſt the other proviſions, three hundred horſes were dreſſed for the gueſts; a food which, to this day, is in the higheſt eſteem with the *Tartars*. *Mangu* choſen great khan.

Mangu aſcended the throne at a time of life when age, and experience in the high commands which he had always borne with the greateſt courage and honour, rendered him very worthy of the power inveſted in him. He is ſaid to have been generous, open, and unſuſpecting; and this encouraged *Shelyemen* to enter into a conſpiracy againſt him; but it ended in the deſtruction of himſelf and confederates. The greateſt of *Mangu*'s generals was his brother *Hupily*. Conſpiracy againſt him diſcovered and defeated.

This *Hupily*, who came afterwards to be ſo great a prince, attached himſelf to a *Chineſe* lord *Yauſhu*, and was entirely governed by his directions. Being nominated by his brother to the government of all the conquered part of *China*, and of the countries, be-ſouth the *Great Kobi*, or *Deſart*, *Yauſhu* initiated him in the *Chineſe* learning, and prevailed upon him to follow, in all his conduct, the wiſe maxims of *Yelu* and *Minkong*; which greatly endeared him to the *Chineſe*, and kept them quiet under his goverment. Character of his brother *Hupily*.

But, whatever virtues *Mangu* had to recommend him to the throne, he ſeems, by his actions, to have degenerated into a bloody tyrant; for he grew ſo ſuſpicious of the other princes of *Jenghiz Khan*'s blood, that he put many of them to death, and ſent others of them into baniſhment. Not contented with this, he ordered the princeſs *Waliamiſh*, the widow of the great khan *Queyyew*, and formerly regent of the empire, together with the mother of *Shelyemen*, to be publicly executed, upon the ridiculous pretext that they Cruelty of *Mangu*.

were magicians. He likewiſe ordered his army to enter *Tibet*, and to deſtroy all who would not ſubmit to his government.

Curious account of an ambaſſy ſent him by St. *Lewis* of *France*.

The fact is too remarkable, not to mention here, that the *Chriſtian* religion was ſo much encouraged under the deſcendants of *Jenghiz Khan*, that not only many of the *Aſiatic Chriſtians*, but St. *Lewis*, who was, at the time we now treat of, engaged in his cruſades, believing them to be *Chriſtians*, but not papiſts, ſent ſeveral ambaſſadors to convert them to popery. This perſuaſion ſeems to have taken its riſe from a political view of ſome of the *Mogul* princes whoſe territories lay the moſt adjacent to *Egypt* and *Syria*; and therefore they thought, that an alliance with the cruſaders would be of great ſervice to them. Whatever may be in this, it is certain that St. *Lewis* received, from a certain *Tartar* prince, a letter courting his alliance againſt the *Mahometans*, and wiſhing good ſucceſs to the arms of the croſs; of which they ſpoke with great affection and devotion. From the corruption of names, it is very uncertain who the prince or princes were that wrote this letter; but, moſt probably, it was a ſon of *Batu*, who reigned in *Kipjak*, whoſe territories were very extenſive. *Lewis*, upon this, examined into the ſtate of religion in thoſe countries, and found that a great many *Chriſtians*, who had viſited them, and the *Neſtorian* prieſts and monks, the greateſt impoſtors on the face of the earth, confirmed him in the belief that they were *Chriſtians*; upon which the good king determined, if poſſible, to make them papiſts. Accordingly he ſent ambaſſadors to the great khan, and to the prince who is called *Erkoltay*, who wrote him a letter, together with valuable preſents for both; and his ambaſſadors, on this occaſion, ſet out with the *Tartar* envoys. They carried with them, likewiſe, letters from *Odo*, the pope's legate, to the ſame princes, exhorting them to ſubmit to the holy father. Soon after, a friar, named *Rubriquis*, who has left an account of his travels, was by the king ſent upon the ſame miſſion. The reader, however, is to carry it in his eye, that the preciſe period in which thoſe ambaſſies happened, was the very time when the deſcendants of *Jenghiz Khan* were meditating the great expedition into *Syria* and againſt the khalif of *Baghdad*, which ſoon after took place. *Rubriquis* has very minutely, and, it is to be preſumed, very honeſtly, deſcribed his travels and the court of *Batu*, through which he paſſed, making allowance for the credulity of his age, and the ignorance of his profeſſion. But the particulars are foreign to this hiſtory. He was attended by another friar, an interpreter, and three other perſons; and he arrived at *Mangu*'s court on the twenty-ſeventh of *December*, 1254. His deſcription of this place, the prince, and his family, together with an account of what happened there a little before his arrival, agree ſo well with other authentic hiſtories, that they are ſtrong evidences of his ſince-

who believes the *Mogul* princes are *Chriſtians*.

Rubriquis undertakes a miſſion into *Tartary*.

Particulars of his journey.

rity.

rity. *Mangu* admitted him and his attendants to his preſence; but they diſcovered that he was no *Chriſtian*. Upon his aſking them, therefore, concerning their buſineſs, they made an apology for the miſtake they had been under, and for coming before him empty handed; and begged leave to remain in his country, as miſſioners, till the bitter cold, which then prevailed, was over. The place where *Mangu* then kept his court was about ten days journey from *Karakoram*, and his dwelling was a kind of large tent, or booth, all hung with cloth of gold. He granted their requeſt with a very good grace, and told them, that, as for preſents, his power, and that of *Batu*, was ſo extenſive that they wanted none; and he gave them leave, if they pleaſed, to go to *Karakoram*. But the friars, meeting with ſeveral *Chriſtians* about the court, choſe to remain where they were. During their reſidence there, however, they ſaw the khan's chief wife, or empreſs, with her ſon and younger children, and ſome ladies, repair to the *Neſtorian* chapel; where ſhe aſſiſted in a kind of a worſhip, which, according to the deſcription of it, cannot be called *Chriſtian*; neither, indeed, does it appear that ſhe had been baptized. Soon after, the khan himſelf, who ſeemed to be about 45, and of a *Mogul* aſpect, came to the chapel; and his wife and he repoſed in a golden bed before the altar. He next called for *Rubriquis* and his companion, looked upon their Bible and Breviary, aſked the meaning of the images, and then retired; but left his empreſs. She then offered preſents to all the *Chriſtians* in the chapel, which were accepted of by all preſent but the two friars. After this, ſhe called for ſtrong liquor and victuals; and, aſking a bleſſing on her knees, ſhe regaled herſelf ſo heartily with the *Neſtorians*, that, in the evening, ſhe was carried off dead drunk. Next day, *Batu*, the ſame lady's ſon by the khan, came and made the prieſt drunk by way of revenge.

He is admitted to *Mangu*.

Deſcription of his audience, and of the religion of the empreſs,

who gets drunk in the chapel.

Theſe debauches could not fail of inſpiring *Rubriquis* with great horror; but, upon farther enquiry, he found that the head *Neſtorian* monk, who conducted all this impoſture, was an ignorant weaver; and, that he had acquired, and maintained, the credit he had by the moſt infamous means; and, that the khan, and the empreſs, were ſo far from being *Chriſtians*, that they were groſs idolaters, and devoted their whole time to intemperance and idolatry; in which they were aſſiſted and imitated by the *Neſtorians* themſelves.

Impoſtures of the *Neſtorians*.

We have been more than uſual particular in this relation; not only as it gives us a lively idea of *Mangu*'s way of living, but as it ſerves to prove what kind of *Chriſtianity* the ſucceſſors of *Jenghiz Khan* had embraced. It is plain, from the relation of *Rubriquis*, that the *Neſtorians* had inſinuated themſelves at this court, only by out-doing the moſt deteſtable idolatry of the *Chineſe*; which recommended them to a prince,

Reflection.

a prince, ſo exceſſively devoted to ſuperſtition and drunkenneſs, as *Mangu* is, on all hands, allowed to have been.

Mangu's great ambition and idolatry.

But, notwithſtanding this, *Mangu*, aſſiſted by *Batu*, ſtill maintained his ſuperiority in the *Mogul* empire; and formed ſchemes of conqueſts equal to thoſe of his greateſt predeceſſors. He was exceſſively liberal to his troops, and was the firſt khan who declared a *Chineſe* lama to be head of religion in his empire; and ſacrificed upon a high mountain, according to the ceremonial preſcribed by the *Chineſe* idolatry. Having aſſembled a general diet of his empire, near the river *Onan*, three great expeditions were reſolved upon; one againſt *India*, another againſt *Corea*, and the third againſt the khalif of *Baghdad:* and, at the ſame time, it was reſolved to proſecute the war againſt the *Song* in *China*; where *Hupily* had been very ſucceſsful, but would have been guilty of the moſt enormous cruelties, had it not been for the remonſtrances of his tutor *Yau*. He had ſubdued great part of *Yunnan*; and, by his advice, the great khan encouraged the building of cities, and agriculture throughout all the conquered countries. He likewiſe ſent large colonies of *Moguls* to people them, and erected ſeminaries of learning for their inſtruction in morality and the arts: ſo that hiſtorians ſay the *Moguls* were as great proficients as the *Chineſe* themſelves in both. *Hupily*, however, by his vaſt popularity amongſt the *Chineſe*, incurred the diſpleaſure of his brother, the great khan; upon which the latter turned him out of his government, and his favourite generals out of their commands. The great khan, at the ſame time, appointed commiſſioners for trying all delinquents in *China*; and their commiſſion was thought to have reſpect particularly to *Hupily*'s conduct.

His brother *Hupily* falls under his diſpleaſure,

The latter, enraged at meeting with ſo ungrateful a return for all his ſervices, would inſtantly have fled to arms; but he was diverted from that reſolution by *Yau*, who adviſed him to throw himſelf and family at the feet of *Mangu*, who was then at *Lupan*, where *Jenghiz Khan* died. *Hupily* followed this advice, and, attended only by his family, he ſurprized the khan, by appearing before him in the habit and form of a ſupplicant; and offered to ſubmit to any puniſhment he ſhould inflict. This appearance entirely removed the ſuſpicions of *Mangu*, and touched him ſo tenderly that he embraced him with tears, and reinſtated him in his government and dignity.

but is reinſtated in his favour.

A new capital built.

It was about this time, that the great khan, finding *Karakoram* a place very inconvenient for holding a general diet of his empire, which he ſeems to have been obliged to call upon all occaſions of emergency, ordered a *Chineſe* bonza, named *Ping*, who was a great mathematician, to lay out another city, for that purpoſe, in another more convenient ſpot. He accordingly built *Longkang*, lying to the eaſt of the city *Wangchew*, in a moſt delightful and fertile neighbourhood,

hood, ſurrounded it with ſtrong walls, and adorned it with palaces and moſt magnificent public edifices. As we have already given the particulars of *Hulaku*'s expedition and ſucceſs againſt *Baghdad*, we ſhall not reſume them here; but follow *Mangu* in an expedition which he undertook, in perſon, againſt the *Song*. This appears to have been in the year 1258, after *Tibet* had been ſubdued by his generals. To carry on this expedition, he diſtributed almoſt his whole wealth, and ready money, amongſt his generals and officers; ſo that, when ſome *Mahometan* merchants came to offer their commodities and jewels, he was able to buy but very few of them. Expedition againſt the *Song*.

The ſucceſs of *Mangu*'s expedition againſt the *Song*, at this time, notwithſtanding his vaſt preparations, was but very indifferent. The *Moguls* ſeem, as yet, to have been but novices in the art of erecting magazines; and to have truſted to the fertility of the places through which they marched. The *Song*, ſenſible of this, took care to remove all proviſions out of their reach, and to harraſs them by flying parties; ſo that, whatever advantages the *Moguls* got in the field, they were obliged ſoon to give them up. The latter, however, loſt *Chingtu*, a city of vaſt importance in *Sechwen*; but made themſelves maſters of *Lanchew*, but ſpared the governor *Yong*, upon condition of his aſſiſting him in his wars in *Sechwen*. At the ſame time, *Queylin*, the capital of the province *Quanſi*, was taken by the *Moguls*; who, under one of their generals, *Hulyang*, penetrated as far as *Shangſhaw*; while *Mangu*, with the main army, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of his wiſeſt general, who beſt knew the nature of the country, laid ſiege to *Hochew*, in *February*, 1259. This was one of the ſtrongeſt cities in all *China*, and was defended by one *Vangkyen*; while the *Song* general, *Luven*, with a flying army, obſerved all the motions of the *Moguls*, cut off their parties and proviſions, and put them under inexpreſſible difficulties. This ſiege continued till *Auguſt*; and ſickneſs from the heats of the ſeaſon, and other cauſes, had made vaſt havock amongſt the *Mogul* troops. *Mangu*, however, who was at the ſiege in perſon, obſtinately perſiſted in his reſolution; and, having ſupplied his camp with freſh armies, he ordered a general aſſault to be given. At firſt the *Moguls* were ſucceſsful ſo far, that they mounted the walls, from whence they called out to the governor to ſurrender, promiſing to ſave his life: but *Vangkyen*, far from that, defended the place ſo bravely, that the *Moguls* were repulſed with the loſs of the general who commanded the ſiege under *Mangu*. This enraged that khan ſo much, that he ordered the aſſault to be renewed, and led his men up in perſon; but they were repulſed, and he himſelf was killed on the ſpot, in the fifty-ſecond year of his age, and the ninth of his reign. His ſucceſs but indifferent. *Hochew* beſieged. *Mangu* killed in aſſaulting it.

Mangu,

His character.

Mangu, after he came to the throne, ſeems to have devoted himſelf entirely to ſuperſtition, idolatry, and ſtrong liquors; for *Rubriquis* ſays, that he was drunk when he gave him his firſt audience. This vice ſeems to have been common, at that time, in *Tartary*; and to have been introduced by the conqueſts of *Jenghiz Khan* and his ſucceſſors; which made the *Moguls* acquainted with ſtrong liquors, particularly with brandy, or ſome liquor that reſembled it; for the richeſt wines are thought too weak againſt the prodigious colds that prevail, during moſt of the year, in *Tartary*.

The ſiege of *Hochew* raiſed.

The vaſt loſſes which the *Moguls* had ſuſtained during the ſiege of *Hochew*, determined *Moko*, their ſurviving general, and brother to the late khan, to retire with his remaining troops, to *Shenſi*; and, in the mean while, he ſent a courier to acquaint his brother *Hupily* of *Mangu*'s death, and to invite him to mount the throne. *Hupily*, whom, after this, we are to call *Kublay*, as we have already ſeen, was then in great reputation for his virtue; and, to enhance his character the more with the *Moguls*, after he received the news of his brother's death, he undertook the ſiege of *Vuchang*, a city which had often been found impregnable by the *Mogul* arms. As the loſs of this city muſt have been fatal to the affairs of the *Song*, *Luven*, the brave governor of *Sechwen*, defended it in perſon; but *Kayar*, the *Song* generaliſſimo, who is, by hiſtorians, accuſed of cowardice and other crimes, made no attempts to relieve the place. Notwithſtanding this, *Luven* made an obſtinate defence; but *Kayar*, who managed all the affairs of the *Song* entire, offered, amongſt other terms of peace, that his maſter ſhould become tributary to *Kublay*, if he would retire with his army. *Kublay*, at firſt, rejected this offer with indignation; but, having certain advice that intrigues were on foot to place his brother *Aulipuko* on the throne, he, at laſt, concluded a treaty, by which the *Song* emperor was to pay him a tribute of fifty thouſand pounds ſterling a year; and the boundaries between the two empires being ſettled, *Kublay* returned towards *Tartary*, having previouſly cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor, according to ſome authors: but it is more probable that he delayed that ſtep till he took the ſenſe of a diet, which he did in the year 1260; when all the members recognized him for their emperor at the new city of *Kayping*.

Vuchang beſieged, and bravely defended.

Peace between the *Moguls* and the *Song*.

Kublay declared great khan.

Notwithſtanding this election, prince *Alipuko* was in poſſeſſion of *Karakoram*, at the head of a great army, and a ſtrong party, who proclaimed him emperor in that capital. But *Kublay* took his meaſures ſo well, that all his brother's intrigues and attempts were diſconcerted; and his army was defeated, with a vaſt ſlaughter and the loſs of his two beſt generals. After this, *Kublay* made himſelf maſter of *Karakoram*. As for *Alipuko*, he cut his way through his enemies; but authors are not agreed as to his fate afterwards: ſome

He defeats his brother.

ſome ſay he threw himſelf at his brother's feet and was pardoned; others, that he was thrown into priſon; where, in a year afterwards, he finiſhed his life. Some hiſtorians intimate, as if two general engagements had happened before *Kublay* reduced *Karakoram*; but they ſeem to be both one and the ſame.

His excellent plans of government laid down by his tutor *Yau*.

The defeat of this rebellion left *Kublay* at liberty to purſue the excellent plans laid down by his tutor *Yau*; and the hiſtories of *China*, as well as *Tartary*, are laviſh in his praiſes upon this ſubject. From their concurrence it appears, that his main aim was to introduce, amongſt the *Tartars*, the *Chineſe* arts, manufactures, and models of government. In all this he was indefatigable, and he filled all the moſt important places of his empire with literati, to the ſurprize of the *Moguls* in general, who had ſeen none but military perſons hold places of high importance. He ordered, that learned and ingenious men, of every country and religion, ſhould be encouraged and preferred at his court and throughout his empire; and he himſelf took great delight in the ſtudy of mathematics and hiſtory. We ſhall not, however, be particular as to the names of the perſons and the learned men whom he employed; nor as to the means he took in carrying thoſe noble ſchemes into execution. *Kublay* had elevation of genius enough to prefer thoſe arts to the worthleſs brutal manners of his *Tartars*; and he knew it muſt be by them only that he could become a truly great prince. But *Kublay* was ſtill a *Tartar* at the ſoul, without a true reliſh for any thing but power. He was likewiſe ſuperſtitious to a great degree, devoted to the lamas, or prieſts of idolatry; and without any true knowledge of the principles of morality, which ought to be the foundation of all greatneſs.

His ſtudies and ſuperſtition.

Upon the evacuation of the dominions of the *Song* by *Kublay*'s armies, about one hundred and fifty *Tartars*, having neglected to repaſs the river *Kyang*, they were cut in pieces by *Kya*'s orders. Though, perhaps, theſe perſons were ſtragglers, and deſerved their puniſhment, yet *Kya* gave this incident another turn; for it was repreſented at his maſter's court as a victory he had obtained over the *Moguls*. The *Song* emperor's name was *Litſong*, and he then reſided at *Hangchew*; but he was, as we are told, in a manner immured by his miniſter, and kept ignorant of all that paſſed in public, and even of the late treaty with *Kublay*. That emperor had ſent a miniſter, one *Hauking*, to notify to the *Song* emperor his acceſſion; and, at the ſame time, to carry the late treaty into execution. But *Kya* took care to throw this miniſter into priſon, as ſoon as he came within the *Song* dominions, to prevent his having acceſs to his maſter. In the mean while, ſome of the *Song* lords, and governors of places, declared for the *Moguls*, and ſome of the *Moguls* for the *Song*; ſo that hoſtilities could not be ſaid to have ceaſed between the two nations; and, at laſt *Kublay* declared war againſt

Tartars put to death.

Tartar miniſter impriſoned.

War with the *Song*.

against the *Song*, and gave orders for raiſing a great army, which he put under the command of a general named *Achu*, who had great experience in war.

Ahama ſuperintendant of the *Mogul* revenues.

All expeditions againſt the *Song* were attended with vaſt expences, nor can we believe that *Kublay*'s miniſters, who were almoſt all of them *Chineſe*, were very forward in inventing the ways and means of defraying them. A *Mahometan Arab*, called *Ahama*, who was well ſkilled in all the arts of oppreſſion, undertook to do this, provided the emperor would give him the ſuperintendency of his cuſtoms, and ſuffer none to take cognizance of his accounts but himſelf; to which propoſal *Kublay* agreed. This created a kind of mutiny amongſt the *Chineſe* miniſters, who, perhaps with very little reaſon, are repreſented as the wiſeſt of men, and the moſt diſintereſted of patriots. According to their original model of government, reſpective tribunals of mandarines, or miniſters, had been ſettled for all the different departments of public buſineſs; and the emperor could not regularly take cognizance of the public accounts, till they were laid before him by the tribunal of the revenue. Thoſe remonſtrances perplexed *Kublay* not a little: his good ſenſe had induced him to employ *Chineſe* miniſters in reforming and poliſhing his *Tartars*; but his ignorance and ſuperſtition had made him a zealot for all the forms and follies of *Chineſe* idolatry; and he was daily practiſing one or other of them. At the ſame time, he had a paſſion for money, which was equal to his neceſſities for it; and *Ahama* was the only perſon who could ſupply him; which he did in a moſt liberal manner. This increaſed the diſſatisfaction of the *Chineſe* miniſters ſo much, that ſome of the wiſeſt of them withdrew from the court; and they who remained, having got over to their ſide the heir-apparent of the empire, treated *Ahama* with the boldeſt invectives.

He meets with vaſt oppoſition.

Yau declared firſt miniſter.

Kublay, to extricate himſelf, had recourſe to his tutor *Yau*, who, in 1263, was declared prime miniſter: but he ſeems not to have held that place long; and *Ahama*, being maſter of the purſe, was maſter of the miniſtry: for, in 1264, that crafty *Arab* gained his point, and the emperor made him ſuperintendent of his revenues and cuſtoms, without being accountable to any one but himſelf. It was doubtleſs owing, in a great meaſure, to thoſe diviſions, that, for ſeveral years, no great operations of war were undertaken againſt the *Song*. To do *Kublay* juſtice, however, he made an excellent uſe of his leiſure time, by attending the education of his ſons; by embelliſhing his empire with public works; and, above all, by introducing amongſt the *Moguls* a new character in writing, which has ever ſince been called by their name: and this he did by means of one *Paſipa*, whom, as a reward of his labour, he created a regulo, or prince; a degree of honour amongſt the *Chineſe*, or rather

Mogul characters in writing.

the

the *Chineſe Tartars*; and his characters were ordered to be uſed in all the *Mogul* tribunals.

Amongſt the *Chineſe* miniſters who were diſguſted with *Ahama* was *Kyuheng*. He was celebrated for his wiſdom, his parts, his learning, and the boldneſs with which he had oppoſed that *Arab*; and, finding his remonſtrances were all in vain, he had withdrawn from court. *Kublay*'s perplexities increaſing, and being unwilling, perhaps unable, to part with his financer, he threw his eyes upon a deſcendant of the great *Muhuli* to be his firſt miniſter. His name was *Gantong*, and, though but twenty-one years of age, he was eſteemed, all over *Kublay*'s empire, as a prodigy of genius, of wiſdom, virtue, and univerſal knowledge. He was favoured by the *Moguls*, as being the fourth in deſcent from one of their greateſt heroes; and the *Chineſe* adored him for his accompliſhments in all their arts and learning. *Kublay*, therefore, thinking that this young man might happily be the means of uniting the jarring parties about his court, declared him his firſt miniſter; and, ſo great was his knowledge of military affairs, that he was adviſed by his generals to give him the command of his armies.

Perplexities of *Kublay*, who makes *Gantong* his firſt miniſter,

Another young man, of a like, but ſtill more extraordinary character, made his appearance, about the ſame time, at *Kublay*'s court. His name was *Peyen*, and he too was by birth a *Tartar*; but, by ſome very uncommon accident, he had been educated in *Perſia* and *Syria*, and had acquired all the polite learning of the eaſt. After the emperor's brother, *Hulacu*, had deſtroyed the khalifat and ſettled himſelf in thoſe countries, he ſent an ambaſſy to *Kublay*, and *Peyen* had obtained leave to attend the ambaſſadors. When *Kublay* ſaw him, his demeanour and aſpect prepoſſeſſed him ſo much in his favour, that he entered into particular converſation with him; and was ſo charmed by his politeneſs and wiſdom, that he immediately pitched upon him to be an aſſociate in the miniſtry with *Gantong*. After this, the operations of war againſt the *Song* began by the ſiege of *Sayangyan* and *Tanching*; which were defended by *Luven* and his brother *Luvenyang*. Thoſe ſieges proved too difficult for the *Moguls*, tho' the armies employed upon them amounted to three hundred thouſand men; but, in the courſe of the ſiege of *Syangyan*, the brave *Song* general *Luven* died. It is ſaid he broke his heart through the grief he had conceived at an error he had committed, in ſuffering the *Moguls* to impoſe upon him with regard to a poſt he had fortified, and which proved of ſingular uſe to their affairs. Notwithſtanding his death, *Axhu*, the *Mogul* general, was obliged to turn the ſieges of the two cities into a blockade; ſo that they could only be raiſed by water. They were, however, relieved by a ſmall embarkation, commanded by two *Song* officers, named *Changquey* and *Changſhun*; who, for their valour on this occaſion, obtained the name of intrepids; and, after performing a thouſand

with whom he joins *Peyen*.

His character and hiſtory.

Sayangyan and *Tanching* beſieged

ſand acts of valour celebrated in the *Chineſe* hiſtories, both of them loſt their lives in the ſame ſervice; and the two places were, at laſt, taken by the *Moguls*. It is ſaid that *Kublay*, by the advice of one *Ali*, who had ſerved under *Hulacu* in the weſt, procured two engineers from that country, who erected the batteries by which thoſe cities were taken in the year 1273.

and taken.

A new art of war introduced amongſt the *Moguls*.

It was now plain that the ſucceſſes of the *Moguls* againſt the *Chineſe* had been more owing to their intrepidity and perſeverance than to their knowledge of the art of war; which was far inferior to that which was now practiſed in *Syria* and the weſtern parts of *Aſia*. The truth is, the *Chriſtians*, by their cruſades, had greatly improved the *Aſiatics* in the art of war, and *Hulacu* had found means to become maſter of their diſcipline and engineering; to which the reduction of *Cyangyong* and *Fanching*, the two keys of the *Song* empire, were owing. A rumour of ſome cabals in *Tartary*, about this time, having reached *Kublay*'s ears, it was with ſome difficulty that *Ali*, *Lyewching*, and his other generals, could perſuade him to continue the war againſt the *Song*; but, being made ſenſible that the reduction of that empire was now very practicable, he agreed it ſhould be carried on with the greateſt vigour. The *Mogul* generaliſſimo being worn out with age, deſired leave to reſign; and the *Chineſe* miniſters were earneſt for having *Gantong* to ſucceed him in the command of the army; but the emperor himſelf beſtowed it upon *Peyen*, who was formally ſaluted generaliſſimo near *Syangyang*.

who purſue the war with the *Song*.

Peyen declared generaliſſimo.

His great ſucceſs.

Peyen, by his great actions, more than juſtified the good opinion *Kublay* had of him. One of his greateſt merits was the improvements he made in the art of engineering; and it is not, perhaps, too bold a conjecture, to maintain, from the *Chineſe* hiſtories of thoſe times, that he had the art of diſcharging red-hot bullets from iron engines, but whether cannon or not does not appear, tho' they ſeem to have been a kind of tubes, but perhaps without touch-holes. His firſt expedition was againſt *Shayang*; which, by amazing, but new, operations, both by land and water, was taken; as was *Sinching*, though three thouſand men died in defence of it, with their ſwords in their hands, to the high admiration of *Peyen* himſelf. That general, next, by artful feints, which diſguiſed his true deſigns, made himſelf maſter of *Shafukew*; and, ordering his troops to paſs the river *Kyang*, after beſieging and taking ſeveral important cities and poſts that had been neglected in all the preceding expeditions of the *Moguls* againſt *Vuchangfu*, that city, which had ſo often baffled their attempts, was at laſt taken. The garriſon had been ſo daunted by the great actions of *Peyen*, who had, with his own hands, killed ſeveral of the *Song* generals, that they forced their officers to ſurrender at diſcretion, though two of their chief officers declared againſt it. The barbarous *Moguls* would have put thoſe officers to death, but *Peyen* not only

only preſerved their lives, but commended their fidelity. After the reduction of *Fanching*, *Luveywhang*, diſguſted with the management of affairs at his maſter's court, entered into the ſervice of the *Moguls*. He was a lord of great intereſt and family, and did his new maſter vaſt ſervices; for he perſuaded many important cities and forts to ſurrender to the *Moguls* without ſtriking a ſtroke. *Kyangchew* was one of thoſe which, in hatred to *Kya*, the *Song* general, its governor *Shi* ſurrendered to *Peyen*; who, upon this occaſion, gave a proof of his temperance far ſuperior to that reported of *Scipio*. For, when *Shi*, at a magnificent banquet prepared for *Peyen*, offered to that general two young ladies of the imperial blood, *Peyen*, not only rejected the preſent, but ſeverely rebuked *Shi* for his propoſal. The war thus declaring, in every quarter, againſt the *Song*, *Kya*, but not till after raiſing a great army and a fleet, offered to treat of peace; but the khan's anſwer was, that the time was paſt. After this, the *Song* ſeemed to loſe all their courage. Their miniſter was unpopular, their conqueror was humane, and they were divided amongſt themſelves. *Peyen* therefore continued victorious, taking city after city; and the the braveſt of the *Song*, inſtead of uniting to reſiſt him, fell upon their own ſwords. Their great fleet was defeated, and their armies cut in pieces; while *Peyen* continued, every day, to acquire freſh intereſt amongſt the *Song* themſelves, through their averſion for their miniſter, and their diviſions amongſt themſelves. At laſt, the *Song* emperor's grandmother procured *Kya*, who, to his other ill qualities joined cowardice, to be removed; and, notwithſtanding the prodigious progreſs *Peyen* had made in that empire, ſhe re-inſpired the *Song* with the thoughts of defending themſelves, inſtead of falling upon their own ſwords, or ſubmitting to the conqueror. Her ſpirited edicts, for that purpoſe, procured a ſmall reſpite from miſery to her ſubjects. *Peyen*, however, without reſiſtance, entered *Nankin*, which was long the capital of *China*, and the moſt populous city, perhaps, that ever was in the world. Though it was immenſely rich, *Peyen* forbad all plunder; he relieved the neceſſitous, he ſent phyſicians to attend the ſick, he extended his good offices to all, and took the men of diſtinguiſhed merit into his friendſhip; at the ſame time leading a life of ſuch regularity and abſtinence, that he was admired even by the *Chineſe*, the moſt temperate people upon the earth.

Temperance of *Peyen* ſuperior to that of *Scipio*.

Conduct of the empreſs of the *Song*.

All that the empreſs-regent now could reaſonably hope for, was a tolerable peace. To pave the way to that, ſhe ſet at liberty *Hauking*, whoſe impriſonment had been one of the grounds of the war; but he died before he returned to his own country. But *Kublay* was ſecretly reſolved to become emperor of the *Song*; and he laid hold of ſome irregularities committed by that people, as a pretext for continuing the war; though the empreſs-regent, and their miniſtry,

Negotiations for peace.

gave him the ſtrongeſt aſſurances that thoſe irregularities were committed without their knowledge, and againſt their intentions. *Ali*, whom we have already ſpoken of, was made governor of that great city and province; and, though he had but forty thouſand men under him, he performed actions not inferior to thoſe of *Peyen*; for he defeated the fleet of the *Song*, killed the admiral with his own hand, and made ſo many important conqueſts in the neighbourhood, that he was congratulated upon them by *Kublay* in a moſt affectionate letter written with his own hand. The greateſt reſiſtance the *Moguls* met with, at this time, was from *Layting*, who defended the city of *Yang*; and from *Shi*, a brave *Song* nobleman, who ſtill kept the field againſt the *Moguls*. But his men being all of them new levies, he was defeated; and the empreſs, being ſtill in hopes of obtaining peace, was backward in putting him at the head of another army. He perſevered, however, undauntedly in his oppoſition, and in animating the people againſt their enemies.

Succeſs of *Ali*.

Commotions in *Tartary*.

But, while the arms of *Kublay* were thus proſperous in *China*, commotions happened which ſhook his throne in *Tartary*. A prince, named *Haytu*, was amongſt thoſe whom the tyrant *Mangu* had baniſhed for their attachment to prince *Shelyemen*. This prince *Haytu* was one of the grandſons of *Oktay*, and ſoon formed a great army upon the borders of *Tartary*, where he erected himſelf into an independent ſovereign. Having declared war againſt *Kublay*, he engaged, on his ſide, many princes of the royal blood, and a number of thoſe tribes that lye to the north-eaſt of *Turſon*, and upon the borders of *Little Buckharia*. He then invaded *Tartary*; but he was beaten by *Kublay*'s generals, and obliged to retire to his kingdom of *Almabig*. We need not be at a loſs to account for the motives that induced him to take up arms, when we reflect, that all the partizans of *Shelyemen* conſidered *Kublay* as an uſurper; as undoubtedly he was, if the will of *Oktay* was looked upon as the ſtandard of the ſucceſſion. But, whatever were his motives or pretences, it is certain that he formed a powerful party even amongſt the *Mogul* ſubjects of *Kublay*, and a ſecond time invaded *Tartary*, and beſieged *Idikut*, a prince who continued faithful to *Kublay*, in his capital in the country of *Igur*, with one hundred thouſand men. *Idikut* made ſo brave a defence, that he held out till *Kublay*'s generals forced *Haytu* to raiſe the ſiege.

War with the *Song* continued.

This invaſion was ſo formidable to *Kublay*, that he had ordered *Peyen* from *China* to ſuppreſs it: but *Peyen*, who aſpired to the glory of being the conqueror of the *Song*, perſuaded him to let him finiſh the war he had undertaken. Upon this, *Kublay* gave the command of the troops againſt *Haytu* to *Gantong*, who ſerved under his ſon *Nanmuhan*; to whom the great khan, his father, made over *Haytu*'s kingdom of *Almabig*. *Peyen*, having obtained this permiſſion, made diſpoſitions for undertaking the ſiege of *Hongchew* itſelf,

ſelf, by ſome called *Linggan*, the capital of the *Song* empire. But, before he could compleat this great undertaking, he was obliged to reduce a vaſt number of places which lay in his march; in ſome of which he and *Yaya*, and *Ache*, met with great reſiſtance. But the efforts of the *Song* againſt the *Moguls* were rather deſperate than well concerted, and were made by a few generous patriots who were reſolved not to ſurvive the ruin of their country. Amongſt the other places diſtinguiſhed for a noble defence, was *Changchewfu*. This city had been before in poſſeſſion of the *Moguls*, but had revolted; and it is called, by *Polo*, the great traveller, who lived, at that time, *Tingugui*. Some circumſtances diſtinguiſh the fate of this place from that of others ſubdued by *Peyen*; for we underſtand, by *Polo*, that he had in his army a body of *Allans*, who were *Chriſtians*. Theſe, probably, were the *Kamuk Tartars*, or the ſubjects of the empire of *Kipjak*, upon the *Caſpian Sea*; nor is it improbable that a great many *Chriſtians* were amongſt them. Being a very brave people, *Peyen* ſent them to ſtorm one of the quarters (*Polo* calls it an outer wall) of *Changchewfu*; which they accordingly carried: but getting drunk with the wine they found there, they were all of them killed in their ſleep by the gariſon. This exaſperated *Peyen* ſo much, that he redoubled his fury againſt the city. He raiſed a rampart of earth almoſt equal to the walls, and made fences for his men by the bodies of thoſe who were killed in the ſallies. In ſhort, he gave no reſpite, by night or day, to the beſieged; and, at laſt, ordering a general ſtorm, he was among the firſt who mounted the walls from his earthen rampart. Of the four generals who commanded in *Changchewfu*, one was killed in the attack, another was taken, and one eſcaped. The fourth made a noble reſiſtance in the ſtreets, and might have made his eſcape thro' the north-eaſt gate, which was open. Being adviſed to this, he gallantly anſwered, "'Tis not fit I ſhould die an inch "from the place where I am fighting." Being killed, *Peyen* ordered all the inhabitants to be maſſacred; the only inſtance of ſuch inhumanity he was ever guilty of; which makes it highly probable, that he had received other provocations from the natives beſides thoſe we have mentioned.

Remarkable ſiege and taking of *Changchewfu*.

By this time, the emperor of the *Song* was dead; and *Kya*, after all his effects had been confiſcated, was put to death by a mandarin, to revenge the calamities he had brought upon his country. The young emperor of the *Song* was but a child of ſix or ſeven years of age, and *Chini*, his firſt miniſter, endeavoured to make a new effort for peace. For this purpoſe, he ſent a nobleman, called *Leyw*, to lay all the blame of what had happened upon *Kya*, and to implore *Peyen*'s compaſſion for the infant emperor. *Leyw* delivered his commiſſion with tears; but *Peyen* not only rejected this, but an offer which *Chini* afterwards made him, that his young maſter ſhould call himſelf the grand nephew

Reflection of *Peyen*, of *Kublay*, and pay him a tribute. He obſerved, on this occaſion, that Heaven had repaid the injuſtice of the reigning dinaſty of the *Song* in its own kind; for they had wreſted the empire from its lawful prince, who was of the ſame age with *Chini* his maſter. *Shonſha* was another city memorable for its defence. Its governor, and the head inhabitants, after holding out againſt all *Ali*'s formidable artillery, finding the place muſt be taken, moſt ſolemnly performed the rites required by their religion, when they devote themſelves to death; which all of them ſuffered by their own hands or thoſe of their friends; and this rage was ſo general, even among the common people, that, when *Ali* entered the city, he found it deſtitute of inhabitants.

who takes *Shonſha*.

Deſtruction of the inhabitants.

Peyen had now no obſtruction to his march againſt the capital of the *Song*, where every thing was in confuſion and all were divided. The braveſt of the *Song* generals were for puting the emperor, the empreſſes, and all the royal family, on board of ſhips, that they might eſcape by water to a place of ſafety. *Chini* was for their flying by land; and the empreſs-regent, reſolving upon ſubmiſſion, flung her diadem down to the ground, and ſent the great ſeal of the empire to *Peyen*, as a token that *Kublay* was its maſter. Notwithſtanding this, ſome of the moſt intrepid of the *Song* lords, thinking the empreſs not authorized to make ſo ſhameful a ſubmiſſion, *Shi* in particular, refuſed to lay down their arms. *Shi* even cut out the tongue of, and hewed in pieces, a nobleman whom *Peyen* ſent to adviſe him to ſurrender. Others of the chiefs died by drinking, a ſpecies of ſuicide then very common in *China*; while others of them went as ambaſſadors from the young emperor to make better terms. Amongſt thoſe were *Ventyen*, a man of ſuch diſtinguiſhed merit, that *Peyen* ſought, by every tender of reſpect and honour he could pay him, to retain him about his perſon. But *Ventyen* was inexorable, and even upbraided *Peyen* with violating the law of nations, in detaining forceably the ambaſſador of a ſovereign power. It is probable that *Peyen* thought, after what had happened, that ſovereignty no longer ſubſiſted in the perſon of the young emperor; for he not only detained *Ventyen*, but ſent him, though in an honourable manner, to *Kublay*.

The emperor of the *Song* ſubmits to *Kublay*.

Peyen takes poſſeſſion of the capital.

After this, *Peyen*'s generals entered *Linggan* without reſiſtance; and he gave orders for ſealing up all the archives of the empire, and every thing elſe of value; and for treating the empreſs and her ſon with the utmoſt regard and tenderneſs: but, at the ſame time, he deprived them of all the exerciſe of power, and committed the government of *Linggan* to two noblemen, one a *Tartar*, the other a *Chineſe*. He even ordered the young emperor to be deprived of the exterior forms of ſovereignty. Soon after, *Peyen* declared his reſolution of entering *Linggan* in triumph; for which great numbers of the *Chineſe* ladies, who were afraid of violation from

from the *Moguls*, drowned themſelves. But no conqueror in the eaſtern parts ever made a more moderate uſe of ſucceſs than *Peyen* did. He forbad, under the higheſt penalties, any violation, even of property; and contented himſelf with obſerving the natural, and other curioſities, of the place. He did not, however, neglect his maſter's intereſt. The empreſs of the *Song*, in her own name, and that of her grandſon, deſired to ſee him; but he artfully evaded the viſit, under a pretence that he was not fully inſtructed as to the ceremonial. Soon after, he ſent two general officers to notify to the empreſs, that ſhe, and her grandſon, the young emperor, were to hold themſelves in readineſs to ſet out for *Kublay*'s court, then held at *Tatu*, ſince called *Peking*, and now the metropolis of all *China*, on account of its neighbourhood to the great wall. "Son," ſaid the empreſs to the emperor, when this mortifying meſſage was delivered, "beat your head "to the Son of Heaven, who gives you life." This ceremony was performed by the emperor and his mother, turning towards the north, then the reſidence of the great khan, kneeling down and ſtriking their heads nine times againſt the ground. After this, they ſet out for *Peking*; but the empreſs-regent, being indiſpoſed, was excuſed from hurrying on the march. Upon their departure, *Peyen* ordered all the treaſures, jewels, and rich furniture of the palace, to be ſent to *Peking*.

Deſpair of the *Song*.

The downfall of the empire of the *Song* drove the loyal ſubjects of that imperial family into deſpair; eſpecially after ſeeing the young emperor and his mother carried priſoners to *Peking*. Some of them put themſelves to death; but others, of more conſtancy, vowed revenge; and, raiſing an army of forty thouſand men, they endeavoured to reſcue the emperor and his mother, who had been ordered to proceed from *Peking* to *Shangtu*, for ſo the new capital of *Tartary* was called. But all their efforts, and thoſe of the loyal cities through which they paſſed, proved in vain; and a great deal of blood was ſpilt to no purpoſe. The young emperor and his mother arriving at the court of *Kublay*, were received with great tenderneſs by that prince's firſt wife, who, pointing to the ſpoils of the *Song* palace, deſired her huſband to remember that dinaſtys were not eternal; and to learn, from the fate of the *Song* family, what might be that of their own.

Whoſe emperor is well received by *Kublay*'s wife.

Peyen envied.

In the mean while, the ſplendour of *Peyen*'s actions had created him enemies at court; and *Kublay*, who was perfectly ſenſible both of his merits and his innocence, either to do him greater honour, or apprehenſive of his danger from his enemies, ordered *Peyen* to attend him in perſon, and treated him with honours equal to his diſtinguiſhed ſucceſſes. After this, *Peyen* was employed in ſuppreſſing *Haytu*'s party in *Tartary*.

Commotions of the *Song*.

But a new ſcene now opened in *China*. The late emperor of the *Song* had left two ſons by another wife than the mother of the young emperor; and they were conveyed to a place of ſafety by ſome noblemen, and from thence to *Wenchew*, which ſoon became the place of rendezvous for all the brave and the loyal *Song*. In a general aſſembly, at which *Chini*, the late prime-miniſter, preſided, *Ivang*, the eldeſt of the brother princes was ſolemnly inſtalled emperor of the *Song*. He was near two years older than his brother the *Song* emperor in *Tartary*; and, ſoon after his inauguration, he went to *Fakyen*, and was proclaimed emperor in the capital of that province. The *Song* of thoſe days appear always to have acted in extremes, either of valour or cowardice, loyalty or treaſon. Nothing could be more daſtardly than the ſubmiſſions which many of them made; and nothing was ever more heroic than the behaviour of others. The noble *Ventyen*, of whom *Peyen* was ſo fond, eſcaped from the hands of the *Moguls*, and, being arrived at the court of *Twangtſong*, the name which the young *Ivang* aſſumed after his elevation to the empire, he was appointed commander in chief to the imperial forces. But all his virtues and abilities, though he was joined by many brave *Chineſe*, could not prevent the general degeneracy of his countrymen; by which the *Moguls* profited more than by their arms. In ſhort, almoſt the whole province of *Fokyen* ſubmitted to *Kublay*'s generals, as did vaſt numbers of other places mentioned in the hiſtories of thoſe times, though their ſituations are now unknown; and, at laſt, the emperor *Twangtſong* was obliged to go on board his navy, though the army that attended him is ſaid to have conſiſted of one hundred and eighty thouſand men.

A new emperor.

He flies,

After *Twangtſong* was made emperor, the *Moguls* abandoned all the moderate maxims of *Peyen*, and put the *Song* to the ſword wherever they could find them. *Twangtſong* himſelf, after roving about in his ſhips, and meeting with various diſaſters, offered to ſubmit to *Kublay*; but we know of no anſwer he received, and he was obliged to retreat ſtill farther ſouthward, to be out of the reach of the *Mogul* arms. *Kublay* was equally fortunate in *Tartary*, where his great general *Peyen* entirely ſuppreſſed the rebellion of *Haytu*. This happened in the year 1278; about which time, *Twangtſong*, after being harraſſed from place to place, was obliged to take refuge in a deſart iſland, where he died in the eleventh year of his age.

and dies.

Another emperor proclaimed.

Though the death of *Twangtſong* ſtruck the loyal *Song* with univerſal deſpondency, yet their affairs were far from being deſperate. They were ſtill in poſſeſſion of immenſe territories, inexhauſtibly peopled, and great numbers of ſtrong towns. *Lufyew* propoſed to proclaim *Quanvang*, brother to *Twangtſong*, emperor. This being agreed to, the young prince was recognized in form, and he took the name of *Tiping*.

Tiping. He was well ſerved by *Lufyew*, and *Shi*, who were declared his miniſters, or rather regents under him. They conveyed their maſter to an iſland, or a promontory, which was inacceſſible to the *Mogul* arms, and ſo commodiouſly ſituated, that they were plentifully ſupplied with every thing that was neceſſary for a court, and a camp. *Ali*, the *Mogul* general, being well informed of all that had happened in *Quangtong*, where the new emperor reſided, made himſelf maſter of all the paſſes through that province; by which he prevented great numbers from joining the young emperor, though the reſort to him was ſo great, that he was ſoon at the head of one hundred thouſand men. This news reaching *Kublay*, he ordered *Hongfan*, an active general, to attack *Tiping*'s adherents, by ſea and land; which he did, with ſuch ſucceſs, that the *Song*, who were all raw, undiſciplined troops, were routed. The loyal noblemen, who had been ſo active to ſave their country, were all taken, and either put to cruel deaths, or ſent into captivity; and the young emperor went on board his fleet, thinking to eſcape. But he was prevented by the activity of *Hongfan*, who came up with his fleet; while the *Song* knowing nothing of maritime affairs, were unable to work their ſhips; and the largeſt among them ſtruck to their enemy without fighting. *Tiping* was at this time attended by *Lufyew*. That nobleman ſeeing every thing loſt, and that his maſter muſt inevitably be a priſoner if he ſurvived the defeat, firſt threw his own wife and children into the ſea, and, after tenderly embracing *Tiping*, and exhorting him not to live a ſlave, he placed him upon his ſhoulders, and, jumping into the ſea, both of them periſhed in the waves. None of the great *Song* patriots now were alive, but the undaunted *Shi*. One hundred thouſand men are ſaid to have periſhed in the ſea fight. But ſtill great numbers of the *Song* remained; and *Shi*, collecting all the *Song* veſſels that were not burnt or diſabled, put to ſea, after decently interring the young emperor's body, which he had diſcovered floating on the water. The mother of *Tiping* was on board a veſſel during this engagement; and when *Shi* communicated to her the doleful news of her ſon's death, ſhe threw herſelf into the ſea, without venting a ſigh, or dropping a tear; and her example was followed by all her female attendants. Soon after, *Shi*'s ſhips being overtaken by a ſtorm, and he finding he could no longer be of ſervice to his country, and fearing to fall into the hands of his enemies, he performed a ſolemn act of devotion, and burnt perfumes in honour to the God of Heaven, and then threw himſelf into the ſea. *Shi* appears to have been the laſt of the *Song* patriots, for we know of no ſtruggle afterwards made for that dynaſty; which now ended, after having reigned in *China* about 320 years.

His fleet defeated, and he is drowned.

End of the *Song* dynaſty.

We have already obſerved, that *Kublay* was much addicted to ſuperſtition. Though extremely fond of *Chineſe* learn-

ing, he could not brooke the religion of the learned of that nation, but put himſelf entirely into the hands of bonzas and lamas, the prieſts of idolatry; who were reſpected at his court, in proportion as they affected a dark, myſterious air, in all they delivered; though it was no other than a cloak for their extreme ignorance. By one of thoſe impoſtors, *Kublay* was, about this time, perſuaded to aſſign to the *Mogul* empire the name of *Ywen*. In like manner, the great lama *Paſupah* was in the higheſt degree of favour with him: he was a nobleman of *Tibet*, and, as we have already mentioned, the inventor of the *Mogul* characters. *Kublay* had taken an early liking to him, and, having placed him at the head of his religion, he was, even in his life time, idolized by the other lamas and bonzas; and, after his death, which happened about this time, temples were built to his memory. The emperor's partiality for this lama rendered him very contemptible in the eyes of the *Chineſe* literati; the chief, and moſt ſenſible, of whom, were *Deiſts*, or, rather, *Materialiſts*, as worſhiping univerſal nature alone: and his memory has been ſeverely treated by them, for his ſuperſtition and idolatry. Notwithſtanding this, *Kublay* was indefatigable in promoting the *Chineſe* learning. He gave the literati, who could be ſerviceable to him in poliſhing his *Ywen*, great encouragement. He ordered them all, that were taken in war, to be ſet at liberty: he endowed colleges for their uſe, and paid great regard to all the memorials, and remonſtrances, they preſented to him. Amongſt other works of learning, encouraged by *Kublay*, the ſtudy of aſtronomy ſeems to have had the firſt rank; and, under him, the *Chineſe* aſtronomy was completely new modelled: though we are told by ſucceeding authors, that their aſtronomers were miſerably ignorant of that ſcience, and their inſtruments both clumſy and faulty. Mention is likewiſe made of a curious map, which, about this time, he cauſed to be made of the *Whango*, or *Yellow River*, to its very ſource; which, at that time, was unknown to the *Chineſe*.

Superſtition of *Kublay*.

He encourages the *Chineſe* literati.

Avarice, as well as ſuperſtition, is a charge againſt *Kublay*'s memory. He continued, ſtill, to protect his *Mahometan* financer *Ahama*, and to follow his advice more than he did that of all his other miniſters. It was in vain for the apparent heir of the empire publicly to declare himſelf againſt that peſt of government, in which he was ſeconded by all the other tribunals and miniſters, for *Kublay* ſupported him againſt them all. At laſt, *Tſu*, a mandarin of great power and popularity, on account of his virtue, and courage, undertook to open the eyes of *Kublay*, with regard to *Ahama*. But the artful *Arab* turned the charge againſt *Tſu*, and accuſed him, and his friends, of the moſt corrupt and arbitrary practices in the province he governed, even to the defrauding the revenue of two millions. Upon this, *Kublay* appointed commiſſioners to try *Tſu*; and they acquitted him of

His avarice.

of the charge. But *Ahama* procured another commiſſion, which found him, and two of his friends, guilty; and they were beheaded (which, in *China*, is the moſt ignominious death) before the imperial prince could interpoſe in their favour. This execution raiſed a diſcontent, which fell little ſhort of a rebellion, throughout all the *Mogul* empire. But *Kublay* not only ſtill protected *Ahama*, but made him governor of *Peking*. While he was in this poſt, during the emperor's abſence from that city, he was publickly killed at the gate of his own palace, by a mandarin: and, after his death, *Kublay* became ſenſible of his villainies, dragged his body from the grave, and ordered it to be treated in the moſt ignominious manner.

He protects an oppreſſive miniſter; who is put to death.

Kublay being now maſter of *China*, made preparations for conquering *Gannan*, or the kingdoms of *Thanchin*, *China* and *Tongking*, and even the great iſland of *Japan*. He was, however, unſucceſsful in both expeditions. In the former, the king of *Gannan*'s ſon ſuffered the *Ywen* to advance ſo far into their country, that he cut off their retreat, and more than half their army was deſtroyed. This misfortune did not diſcourage *Kublay* from purſuing his deſigns upon *Japan*. At firſt, he ſent that emperor a kind of an order to acknowledge his ſovereignty, and pay him tribute. No regard being had to this ſummons, *Kublay* ſent an ambaſſador to make the like demand; but the *Japaneſe* emperor put him to death. *Kublay* then ordered a vaſt fleet to be equipped againſt that iſland; but meeting with ſtorms, ſeventy thouſand of *Kublay*'s *Chineſe* ſubjects were forced aſhore, and made ſlaves; and thirty thouſand moguls were cut in pieces. This loſs was followed by the death of the emperor's beloved wife; a woman who had great ſentiments of humanity, and always employed her intereſt for that purpoſe, particularly in rendering the captivity of the young *Song* emperor, and his mother, as eaſy as poſſible Notwithſtanding thoſe misfortunes, the fame of *Kublay*'s power reached the moſt diſtant princes of the eaſt, who ſent ambaſſadors to pay him tribute, and to acknowledge his ſovereignty. We are likewiſe told, that he drew a vaſt deal of gold from the river *Yunnan*, and built great numbers of veſſels for the water carriage of proviſions from one part of his dominions to the other; which was a vaſt relief, and conveniency, to his ſubjects. We are alſo informed, by the hiſtorians of his reign, that he ordered a meeting to be held of all the learned men of his vaſt empire, to enquire into the ſtate of literature in his dominions, and to lay the reſult of their enquiries before him, that he might give orders accordingly. But his ſuperſtition, in a great meaſure, blaſted the fruits of his other virtues.

Expedition againſt *Japan*.

Death of the empreſs.

An impoſtor had preſented him with ſome ridiculous calculations in aſtronomy, or, rather, aſtrology; and another impoſtor, pretending to be the emperor of the *Song*, diſquieted

An impoſtor.

quieted his empire, and, getting together upwards of one hundred thouſand men, ſpread written notices about, as if he had a great party within the capital. *Ventyen* happening to be made priſoner, *Kublay*, in conſideration of his great abilities, offered him the firſt poſts of his empire; but he refuſed them, with a philoſophic diſdain, and, likewiſe, to acknowledge any other than the emperor of the *Song* for his maſter. *Kublay* admired his virtues; but his lamas, and other ſycophants, applying the aſtrological calculations of the one uſurper, and the inſidious inſinuations of the other, to *Ventyen*, *Kublay* was ſo much eat up by ſuperſtition, that he gave way to the execution of that great man; who met his fate as became a philoſopher and a loyal ſubject, in the forty-ſeventh year of his age. After this, *Kublay* ordered all the princes of the blood royal of the *Song* to be removed into *Tartary*. Not contented with this precaution, he ſent orders to his governors of all the conquered provinces, to ſend to him in cuſtody all perſons who were related in any degree to that imperial race.

Kublay's ſeverity to the *Song* dynaſty.

His avarice encreaſes.

He employs another rapacious miniſter.

The older *Kublay* grew, the ſtronger were the returns of his avarice; for, about this time, while he was meditating a freſh attempt upon *Japan*, he took into his ſervice and favour one *Shijong*, who had been bred up under the infamous *Ahama*, in all the arts of public oppreſſion. The advancing this man to *Ahama*'s poſts, renewed the diſcontents both of the *Chineſe* and *Tartars*. The wiſer and the moſt honeſt part of the miniſtry, laid down their employments, and accuſed *Shijong*, to his face, with treading in *Ahama*'s ſteps; and the imperial prince headed the oppoſition, as he had done that againſt *Ahama*. But *Kublay*'s avarice ſupported the financer, who, as all wicked, ſhort-ſighted miniſters, under an abſolute prince, do, adviſed his maſter to coin a great number of baſe copper farthings, and to order them to be current at rates fixed by the court; by which the emperor might be enabled to buy, and afterwards to ſell, all the richeſt commodities of the empire at his own prices. By thoſe means he demonſtrated, that the emperor muſt, in time, become the ſole proprietor of all the riches of his dominions; that he then would have it in his power to eaſe his ſubjects, by impoſing duties, which, however moderate, muſt bring him in immenſe revenues, without burthening his people. By theſe, and many other the like ſchemes, equally plauſible and pernicious, and by being favoured by *Kublay*'s ruling paſſion for money, *Shijong* obtained the ſole direction of the finances of the empire; and *Kublay* not only permitted him to employ whom he pleaſed under him; but, at his requeſt, replaced many of the creatures that had ſerved under *Ahama*. The financer had even the inſolence to bid defiance to the imperial prince, and all the great noblemen who complained of his ill conduct.

Though

Though there was not, at this time, a more abſolute prince in the world than *Kublay* was in *China*, which he held by right of conqueſt alone, yet, as he had adopted the government, as well as learning of the *Chineſe*, he found himſelf unable to protect the oppreſſor. The fundamental principle of that conſtitution is, that the emperor is the father of his people; and, that his ſubjects, like dutiful children, are bound to ſuffer death, and all kinds of miſery, rather than fail in their duties to him; the chief of which is, to inform him when his family, for ſo his empire is conſidered, ſuffers through the abuſe of his authority by his miniſters. This excellent conſtitution preſumed, that the father of the people loved them too well to oppreſs them; and all ſentences, with every thing relating to the executive part of the government, being prepared by proper tribunals, before they were laid before him, the blame, when any thing happened amiſs, was always thrown upon the tribunal who had miſled him. *Chineſe* government.

Such were the admirable fundamentals of the *Chineſe* government; which, notwithſtanding all the ravages of barbarous invaders, have rendered it next to coeval with time. The greateſt man in the empire bore the moſt cruel and ignominious puniſhment, when inflicted by the emperor, as the chaſtiſement of a father to a ſon. The fear of this did not hinder the *Chineſe* miniſters and mandarins from uniting, as one man, againſt *Shijong*; and the rather as he was ſupported by the *Tartar* lamas, who were greatly in *Kublay*'s favour, and by *Sangko*, brother to the head lama. A mandarin, having boldly carried, to the foot of the throne, his complaints againſt *Shijong*, was ordered to be baſtinadoed, and he expired under the blows. Another mandarin, named *Ching*, ſupplied his place; he threw himſelf at the emperor's feet, and not only repeated all that had been urged by the deceaſed, but ſwelled the charge, by accuſing *Shijong* of his murder. This intrepidity ſtartled the emperor. The cries and commotions of the people ſeconded *Ching*'s impeachment; and *Kublay* found himſelf beſieged, by all the great men of his court, with his ſon, the imperial prince, at their head, imploring juſtice, and the protection of a father, againſt the ravenous wolf of his childrens properties. *Kublay* could no longer ſtand the ſhock; all his paſſion was converted into tenderneſs for his people, and compaſſion for their ſufferings. He ordered *Ching* and *Shijong* to appear before the proper tribunal, where, *Ching* having made good his charge, *Shijong* was adjudged to die. This ſentence, in courſe, was laid before the emperor, who approved of it, and it was executed immediately. Puts the miniſter to death.

It was not ſo eaſy for the *Chineſe* to withſtand the emperor's paſſion for foreign conqueſts. He thought his reputation was concerned in renewing his attempts againſt *Japan*, and he committed the command of the expedition to *Atahay*, who *Kublay* purſues foreign conqueſts.

who was one of his favourite generals. Had *Kublay* reigned over the *Chineſe* alone, they might, perhaps, have prevailed upon him to have laid aſide this pernicious enterprize: but he had a vaſt empire independent of *China*, and great part of *China* had been peopled by *Tartars*, who were yet ignorant of the *Chineſe* maxims and manners. *Kublay* ordered *Atabay* to prepare no fewer than five hundred ſhips for the embarkation, and to provide ſailors to man them. Thoſe vaſt preparations put a ſtop to the internal trade of the empire, which is chiefly carried on by canals and rivers; and the expedition itſelf was highly diſapproved of by the public, as being not only impracticable, but unjuſt. The great *Chineſe* mandarins, as uſual, laid before the emperor the difficulties and confuſions that muſt attend the undertaking; and the general diſſatisfaction was ſo great, that ſeveral inſurrections happened in the empire: for, notwithſtanding all we have ſaid concerning the ſubmiſſion of the *Chineſe* to their emperors, we are, by no means, to imagine that the greateſt part of them conſidered *Kublay* in any other light than that of an uſurper. Thoſe commotions, however, were quickly ſuppreſſed by the *ywan*; and the preparations for the expedition went on. But, though the mandarins could not prevail with the emperor to alter his reſolution, yet they threw ſo many difficulties in *Atakay*'s way, that he could not compleat his armament, and the expedition was laid aſide. We are told, upon this occaſion, that the religion of *Fo*, a *Chineſe* ſect of idolaters, of whom *Kublay* was very fond, was ſaid to prevail in *Jupan*; upon which he ordered a number of bonzas, being the *Chineſe* prieſts of idolatry, to be put on board the armament deſtined againſt that iſland. But, tho' this was conducted with great ſecrecy, the *Chineſe* ſailors in thoſe days held that ſect in ſuch abomination, that they threw all the bonzas into the ſea. About this time, *Kublay* ordered his ſon *Towhan* to enter the kingdom of *Gannan*, to be revenged of the loſſes he had ſuſtained in that country. But this expedition likewiſe proved unfortunate; for the prince, who behaved with great perſonal valour, after loſing two of his beſt generals, and great part of his army, was obliged to return home without making any conqueſts. Soon after died the imperial prince *Chengkin*. *Kublay* had ſpared no coſt or pains in cultivating the mind of this heir to his empire; and, according to the *Chineſe* hiſtorians, he was a model of perfection for princes, and without a ſingle blemiſh. He left behind him three children; the youngeſt of whom, *Timur*, ſucceeded *Kublay*. *Chengkin* died in the forty-third year of his age.

A new expedition againſt *Japan*

and *Gannan*.

Kublay loſes his ſon.

Thoſe loſſes, afflicting as they were, did not divert *Kublay* from his attention to the public. He made a merit with the *Chineſe* miniſters of having, according to their remonſtrances, dropped his expedition againſt *Japan*; and even had it publiſhed, that he would always govern by the advice

His great cares in government

of

of his great men. He ſent commiſſaries through all parts of his empire to look out for men of learning, whom he ordered to come to his court; and he himſelf examined them in public upon the *Chineſe* doctrines and principles of government. This created admiration and affection for him in the breaſts of the *Chineſe*, who were aſtoniſhed to ſee a foreigner inſtructed in their ſciences. But *Kublay*'s knowledge was not confined to ſpeculation; for he carried it farther than any prince, not even excepting the khalifs of *Baghdad*, for the good of his ſubjects; which renders the civil part of his reign one of thoſe few delightful ſpots upon which hiſtory delights to dwell. The learned men he collected, were not confined to colleges, but nominated to preſide, as magiſtrates and governors, over the people. *Kublay* appointed colleges and ſeminaries, nobly endowed, to be erected at *Peking*, for the ſtudy of the mathematics, and the abſtruſer ſciences that might be of uſe to ſociety. He gave particular attention to the cultivation of ſilk, the moſt material article of the *Chineſe* manufactures. He filled his empire with canals, and communications, both by land and water, of ſo bold a conſtruction, for the convenience of commerce, that they ſtrike travellers with amazement; and, compared to them, every thing of that kind in *Europe* appears little. and manufactures.

But the circumſtance that, perhaps, will intereſt the curious reader, is the attention he gave to printing; an art which took its riſe in *Europe* about one hundred and fifty years after the times we now treat of; and of which ſeveral, not only men but nations, have claimed the honour of the invention. There cannot be the ſmalleſt degree of doubt that the *Chineſe*, for above one thouſand years before, had this art; and it is more than probable, that the *Europeans*, about the year 1440, received from travellers the firſt hints of it; and, as ſeveral travellers might have received theſe hints at ſeveral times, each had a plauſible pretext for claiming the honour of the invention. It cannot, however, be denied, that the *Europeans* rendered this art of general uſe to literature; whereas, amongſt the *Chineſe*, it was confined to their claſſical books, which were but a few in number, and treated in a cold manner of the moral and political duties, and their almanacks. For the *Chineſe* cut their characters; and thoſe being infinite, cannot be executed by fuſil, or ſingle types, but upon blocks of hard wood; which, being done over with ink, they impreſſed upon the paper with their hands, without uſing a preſs as in *Europe*. Thus every book has a ſet of immovable types, which can ſerve for no other. We ſhall juſt obſerve, in confirmation of our former conjecture, that the *Chineſe* manner of printing was, at firſt, the only one practiſed in *Europe*; the printing by ſeparate and fuſil types being a gradual invention. State of printing in *China*,

Kublay

and learning,

Kublay obſerved that the *Chineſe*, as well as other people, had their imperfections; and one of them was, that of their having a contempt for all the world beſides themſelves; and for all learning, excepting their own. *Kublay* ſought to correct this pride. He employed miſſionaries into all the acceſſible parts of the eaſt, for engaging able men, of all profeſſions, to reſort to his dominions, be the expence ever ſo great. He gave the ſame orders with regard to mechanics of all kinds; officers who knew ſea or land ſervice; and even for perſons who were ſkilled in languages. He employed ſkilful geographers and aſtronomers to ſettle the latitudes of the chief cities in his own and the neighbouring kingdoms.

mathematics,

His obſervatories were filled with mathematical inſtruments, made at his own expence. He even drew learning from the ruins of antiquity, and cauſed all uſeful old books to be bought up, and tranſlations into the *Mogul* language to be made of whatever was found uſeful either in ancient or modern learning. He conſidered hiſtory as the mirror of paſt times, and as containing, not only examples of virtue, but incentives to it; and he therefore employed hiſtorians to compoſe the lives of his own predeceſſors in the *Mogul* empire.

ſhip-building, and other arts.

He gave particular attention to the art of ſhip-building; and even natural curioſities were bought up, by his order, and imported into his empire; which, beſides all the benefits we have mentioned, was embelliſhed by him with noble libraries and magnificent ſtructures. In ſhort, the reign of *Kublay* may be termed the *Auguſtan* age of the *Moguls*; and the arts and ſciences, under him, were carried to ſuch a heighth, as would not be credible to any one who conſiders the preſent barbarous ſtate of *Tartary*; had it not been that modern travellers have diſcovered many occular proofs, that the *Moguls* were once a learned and ingenious people.

Great trade of his empire.

Kublay was not without his reward for thoſe noble cares. The fame of his wiſdom, and the excellency of his inſtitutions, with his works for the benefit of commerce, drew a profitable trade into his dominions, and ſtruck foreigners with awe and admiration. The countries of *Malaka*, *Samatra*, and all thoſe vaſt tracts, from *Cape Kamori* to the *Perſian Gulph*, ſent ſhips to trade in his empire; and hiſtory mentions no fewer than ninety foreign nations who ſent their veſſels thither. This was infinitely pleaſing to the pride of the *Chineſe*, as they conſidered the arrival of thoſe veſſels to trade with them, to be ſo many evidences, that they were tributary to their empire: a notion which was, by no means, diſcouraged by *Kublay*. Many of the *Indian* nations, however, are ſaid to have thrown themſelves under the protection of *Kublay*, and to have paid him tribute and homages.

Our admiration of thoſe prodigious things done by *Kublay* for the benefit of his empire, is enhanced, when we conſider

ſider that they were done amidſt the tumults of many dreadful, and ſome of them unſucceſsful, wars; which barbarous and unpleaſing ſubject we are now obliged to reſume.

Confederacy againſt *Kublay*.

Amongſt the princes of the blood of *Jenghiz Khan*, one of the moſt powerful among the *Tartars* was *Nayen*; and he, about this time, joined *Haytu*. The great general *Peyen* then commanded for *Kublay* in *Tartary*; but found his force inſufficient to cope with ſo powerful a confederacy. The danger appears to have been the greater, as *Haytu* was thought to have had a great number of *Tartar* lords in his intereſt, who would declare for him upon his firſt ſucceſs. *Kublay*, therefore, not only ordered *Peyen*, and the poſterity of *Jenghiz Khan*'s intrepids, all of them inheriting the valour of their fore-fathers, into the field, but took it himſelf at the head of his army. It appears that *Peyen* had hitherto been able to hinder the junction of *Haytu*'s troops with thoſe of *Neyen*'s, which *Kublay* reſolved to attack in perſon. On this occaſion a memorable circumſtance is recorded; for it is ſaid that *Lyting*, *Kublay*'s *Chineſe* general, with ten of his moſt reſolute followers, ſhot an hopau, or fire-pan, into *Nayen*'s camp; and, that tha exploſion frightened *Nayen*'s general ſo much, that he took to his heels, and his whole army was thrown into confuſion. After this remarkable incident, there can ſcarcely be any doubt, but that the *Chineſe* knew the uſe either of cannon or a kind of bombs: but, be this as it will, *Kublay* availed himſelf ſo well of their conſternation, that he cut in pieces *Nayen*'s army, and, after taking him priſoner, put him to death.

is defeated.

His arms were not ſo fortunate under his ſon *Towhan*, who made another irruption into the kingdom of *Gannan*, at firſt with vaſt ſucceſs; but imprudently advancing into the country, the peſtilence firſt, and then the enemy, deſtroyed ſuch numbers of the *Mogul* troops, that *Towhan*, upon his return, was degraded by his father from his government, and placed at the head of a leſs one, and forbidden to come to court. The king of *Gannan*, notwithſtanding this, was ſo much afraid of *Kublay*, that he ſent him a moſt reſpectful letter, apologizing for his conduct, together with a ſtatue of gold, by way of tribute.

His ſon *Towhan* overcome and diſgraced.

But, to counter-ballance this bad ſucceſs in *Gannan*, prince *Timur*, whom *Kublay* conſidered as the heir-apparent to his empire, with the generals under him, after ſeveral bloody engagements, by the help of his fire-artillery, which were managed by *Liting*, entirely defeated *Haytu* and his confederates in *Tartary*, to the great joy of his grandfather, and received the ſubmiſſion of all the tribes there.

Haytu defeated.

The unfortunate *Kongtſong*, whom we have ſeen the emperor of the *Song*, was ſtill priſoner at *Peking*: and, at this time, was ſent to ſtudy the doctrine of *Fo* under the great lama in *Tibet*. It is hard to ſay with what view *Kublay* could thus degrade ſo great an emperor, if it was not to diſqualify him

The *Song* emperor made a lama.

him from ever aſcending again the throne of the *Song*, who had a mortal averſion to all lamas.

Haytu again rebels.

Kublay's hiſtorians ſeem induſtriouſly to have ſunk upon the public the motives of *Haytu*'s taking arms. One, however, cannot help ſuſpecting them to have been very intereſted; as, notwithſtanding the many defeats he had received, he was ſtill able to make head againſt the vaſt power of *Kublay*; and even ſometimes to be victorious: for we are told, that he once ſurprized and ſurrounded a great body of the *Mogul* army, commanded by prince *Kanmala*, *Kublay*'s eldeſt grandſon, who narrowly eſcaped being made priſoner. Every day added new tribes of *Tartars* to *Haytu*'s party, notwithſtanding all the valour and vigilence of *Peyen*, who ſtill commanded againſt him, and who was generally victorious. In ſhort, *Kublay*, aged as he now was, found himſelf obliged again to take the field againſt that rebel, as he is called; but *Haytu* declined a general engagement, though *Hatan*, one of his chief confederates, was defeated.

Learning farther encouraged.

No prince that ever reigned had, perhaps, better excuſes than *Kublay* had for burthening his ſubjects with taxes. He filled his colleges at *Peking*, which were diſtinguiſhed by the title of imperial, not only with the ſons of his greateſt princes and mandarins, but with the princes of his own blood, to all whom he gave moſt magnificent appointments; and he iſſued orders for new fleets to be equipped for making foreign diſcoveries and conqueſts. This was, by no means, agreeable to the genius of the *Chineſe*, and their obſtinacy got the better of his reſolution. They even prevailed with him to lay aſide a new expedition he intended againſt the king of *Gannan*.

Kublay employs another oppreſſive miniſter.

As one failing in great monarchs is often linked with others, ſo *Kublay*'s ſuperſtition miniſtered to his avarice. *Shijong* was ſucceeded, as ſuperintendant of his finances, by *Songko*, who had no other merit to recommend him than that he was brother to the head of the lamas, who were all powerful with *Kublay*. *Songko* united in his diſpoſition all the bad qualities of his two predeceſſors. *Ahama* and *Shijong*; and he was deſtroyed by the ſame means as the latter; that is, by the ſteady adherence of the mandarins to the principles of their conſtitution. *Chaumeng*, a prince of the blood, opened himſelf to *Cheli*, a nobleman of great worth and quality, and in high favour with the emperor; and made it a point of conſcience, that *Kublay* ſhould be made acquainted with *Sangko*'s oppreſſions and true character. *Cheli* frankly undertook to do this the firſt proper opportunity that preſented. He was as good as his word; but *Kublay* was ſo very much enraged at his freedom, that he ordered him to be baſtinadoed in his preſence. The puniſhment was inflicted with ſuch ſeverity, that *Cheli* fell motionleſs to the ground all covered with blood. Being brought to himſelf, *Kublay* ordered him

Remonſtrances by the *Chineſe*,

him to be aſked, if he perſiſted in his accuſation; *Cheli* anſwered, undauntedly, he did, and that he was ready to lay down his life in ſupporting it: that he had only urged it from the regard he had for the honour of his prince and the good of his country. His firmneſs amazed *Kublay*, who was really ignorant of his financer's oppreſſions. He knew, from what had happened in preceding caſes, that *Cheli* only ſpoke the ſenſe of the other grandees and mandarins; and that every thing was to be apprehended, if he continued, arbitrarily, to protect *Sangko*. He therefore applied to *Pahu*, a nobleman of the higheſt rank and reputation for diſintereſtedneſs and virtue, to know his ſenſe of the charge againſt his financer. *Pahu* informed his majeſty, that *Cheli* was only the eccho of the public voice; and, that, if he continued to protect ſuch a monſter of oppreſſion, he had reaſon to be apprehenſive of ſome fatal event. Many other mandarins and great men ſeconded *Pahu*; and the emperor, reproaching them for keeping him ſo long in the dark, as to *Sangko*'s practices, the tribunal told him boldly, that it was too dangerous a taſk for any body of men, till then, to attempt. *Cheli*, having recovered his baſtinading, became now a greater favourite with the emperor than ever; and a commiſſion was iſſued to take an inventory of all *Sangko*'s money, effects, and jewels; which, amounting to a prodigious ſum in value, were confiſcated, as was the eſtate of his chief confederate in iniquity. It does not, however appear, that he himſelf was put to death; probably the intereſt of his brother, the grand lama, with *Kublay* ſaved him. ſucceſsful.

In *Kublay*'s old age his ſuperſtition increaſed, and there was nothing ſo impious or oppreſſive that his partiality for the lamas did not excite him to attempt. One of them, more bold and wicked than the reſt in the ſouthern provinces of *China*, by his arts and hypocriſy, obtained a following exceeding all belief, in his inſolent, oppreſſive practices. He counterfeited the imperial mandates and licences; he took money for great places at court; and, at laſt, he even ventured to rifle the monuments where the bodies of the *Song* emperors lay, of the jewels and treaſures that had been buried along with them; and erected a kind of a pyramid with their bones. The mandarins of the province impriſoned and condemned to death this wicked lama; but the intereſt of his brethren with the emperor, and the ladies at court, was ſo great, that he was pardoned, and great part of his effects was reſtored to him. The *Chineſe*, though they paſſionately loved *Kublay*, were grieved at his infatuation for the lamas, as they were at his predominant paſſion for foreign conqueſts, particularly certain iſlands in the *Indian* ſeas, and *Gannan*. The remonſtrances of the mandarins, however, were ſo ſtrong againſt all ſuch expeditions, that he laid them aſide. But the war ſtill went on in *Tartary* againſt *Haytu*, whom *Peyen* often defeated, but never could ſubdue; Great ſuperſtition of *Kublay*. Rapaciouſneſs of a lama.

ſubdue; and the emperor kept both the *Moguls* and *Chineſe* firm in their duty, by puniſhing with death ſeveral mandarins who had been the abettors of *Sangko*'s oppreſſions.

Kublay's paſſion for curioſities.

One of the paſſions of the ſucceſſors of *Jenghiz Khan* in *China* and *Tartary*, was a great curioſity for rarities of all kinds; and *Kublay* poſſeſſed it ſtrongly. He employed agents in the moſt remote part of the *Indies* to buy up every thing that was curious. Some of the *Indian* princes, who found this trade extremely gainful, careſſed *Kublay*'s agents; but the king of a country called *Queva*, by which the iſland of *Borneo* is ſuppoſed to be meant, ordered a mandarin, whom *Kublay* had ſent to his court, to be ignominiouſly branded, and ſent back to *China*. This inſult upon the perſon of a mandarin, got the better of the averſion of the *Chineſe* to a foreign war, and they unanimouſly petitioned the emperor to revenge the indignity that had been inflicted on their countryman. The emperor giving way to their requeſt, none of the delays happened that always had diſappointed the expeditions of his own projecting. A noble fleet was inſtantly equipped, and thirty thouſand troops put on board under the command of *Kanghing*; but the acting generals were *Shepa* and *Yehemiſh*, who were acquainted with the *Indies*. This fleet arrived and diſembarked in *Queva*; but the emperor who inflicted the indignity being dead, his ſucceſſor had the addreſs to divert the ſtorm from himſelf upon *Kolang*, a neighbouring kingdom, and very rich; and he offered to attend the *Moguls* in the expedition. The kingdom of *Kolang* was accordingly attacked; an army of one hundred thouſand men was defeated; the capital reduced; and the king, with his wife and children, after ſurrendering themſelves, were put to death.

Expedition againſt *Queva*,

unſucceſsful.

After this ſucceſs, which enriched the *Moguls*, the *Queva* emperor was, by *Shepa* and *Yehemiſh*, ſuffered to return to his own dominions, where he raiſed an army againſt the *Moguls*, and it was with difficulty that they preſerved a communication with their ſhips, in which they returned home. *Kublay*, underſtanding how his two generals had been deceived, puniſhed them with the loſs of ſome part of their eſtates; but ſoon after pardoned them. This expedition encreaſed the high idea which the *Chineſe* had always entertained of their own importance; becauſe it proved that it was in their power to be revenged upon the moſt diſtant prince who ſhould inſult them: for we are told, that the diſtance between *Yweve* and the *Chineſe* port, where the army landed on their return, took up ſixty-eight days ſail. About this time, cabals began to be formed againſt *Peyen*, as if he might render himſelf independent in *Tartary*, where he ſtill continued to defeat *Haytu*'s troops. The emperor ſeeming to give way to ſome complaints upon that head, ordered his heir-apparent *Timur*, to take the command from *Peyen* and *Yuſi* to ſerve under him, and *Peyen* to return to his court. *Timur* and *Yuſi*, ſenſible of the

the great disadvantages they were under in succeeding so great a man as *Peyen*, were somewhat backward in delivering the emperor's orders; and, after they had done it, they behaved with the utmost submission and respect towards that great general. When he took leave of them, *Timur*, with tears in his eyes, embracing him, begged for some directions from him as to his future conduct; upon which *Peyen* made him this memorable reply: "Prince," said he, "abstain "from wine and women, and you will always be success- "ful." When *Peyen*, after this, arrived at court, the emperor, instead of disgracing him, as his enemies hoped he would, gave him, in public, the highest testimonies of his esteem; and declared him, not only generalissimo of his troops in *China*, and captain of his guards, but likewise his first minister of state.

Peyen's remarkable saying.

Kublay honours *Peyen*.

This was amongst the last acts of *Kublay*'s glorious reign. Though the *Chinese* are deists, or materialists, in their religion, yet, in their worship they pretend to pray to Heaven; their antient philosopher, *Confucius* particularly, admitting into their doctrine as much of the belief of the influence of the heavenly bodies, as might prove an awe upon their emperors. Eclipses and comets, they pretended, were interpositions of divinity, to warn princes and keep them in their duty. This doctrine was extremely suitable to the superstitious notions of *Kublay*, who carried this kind of belief to extravagance. A comet happening to appear some time before his death, threw him into a fit of devotion, and he made his ministers discant upon it. Soon after, in *January*, 1294, he died, in the eightieth year of his age, leaving behind him ten sons.

Religion of the *Chinese*.

Death of *Kublay*.

Though the conquests of *Kublay* were not so extensive or dazzling as those of *Jenghiz Khan*, yet he was the father of his people. The proofs of this, which we have produced in his history, need not to be repeated; but it must be owned he had his failings as a man. The *Mogul* emperors went from one extreme to another; they started, all at once, from the disbelief of a revealed religion into every weakness of superstition and idolatry: and the reader will see, in the course of this history, that the ruin of their dinasty was owing to the detestable lamas. Though *Kublay* could not conform himself to the failings of the *Chinese*, yet it is wonderful to see with what patience he suffered his most favourite appetites to be controuled by their remonstrances. His discernment of mankind, his gratitude, and his generosity, are evident from the choice he made of *Peyen* and his other ministers and generals, whom he protected against their enemies. The perpetual wars he was engaged in, were disagreeable to the milder manners of the *Chinese*, mandarins, and literati, who were fond of the arts of peace; but, after *Peyen* came to command his armies, we meet with few, or none, of those horrid instances of causeless butcheries, and

His character.

devaſtations, that ſtained the reigns of the beſt of his predeceſſors. The blood, however, that was ſhed in his wars, has rendered ſome of the *Chineſe* hiſtorians not quite ſo favourable to his memory as the glory of his actions ſeem to require. In this, perhaps, they may have been influenced by their hatred for his lamas. They likewiſe blame him for being too much attached to women, and through them to ſuperſtition.

Kublay wiſely divided his time between *Tartary* and *China*. His capitals in both were near their frontiers; and he reſided one part of the year in the one, and another in the other. But, ſuch was the excellency of the *Chineſe* government and manners, that the *Mogul* emperors there became, in a manner, *Chineſe*; and, after *Kublay*'s death, they are, in fact, reckoned as ſuch by the hiſtorians of that empire. *Kublay* left behind him ten ſons,

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Hiſtory of Jenghiz Khan's *ſucceſſors in* Tartary *and* China, *from* 1294 *to* 1368.

He is ſucceeded by *Timur*.

AFTER the death of *Kublay*, a general diet of the *Moguls* was held; but *Peyen*, who was firſt miniſter, drawing his ſword, declared that he was determined to maintain the late nomination of the emperor that called *Timur* to the throne. This being agreeable to many other great *Moguls*, though not to the whole of the aſſembly, *Timur* was acknowledged emperor, and his ſon *Tamuz* was the firſt who did him homage. In the *December* following died *Peyen*, the greateſt, the wiſeſt, the moſt virtuous, and the moſt amiable character of that age.

Death of *Peyen*.

The reign of *Timur* tended to make his ſubjects rather happy than great. His great care of them was ſeen in his choice of magiſtrates to govern under him; and he manifeſted his charity by diſtributing corn, at his own expence, to the people in a time of general famine. He is likewiſe celebrated for having been the firſt *Iwen* emperor who forbad the ſale of civil employments, and for taking from the princeſſes of his blood the power of inflicting death upon their dependents, by publiſhing a general law, forbidding all ſubjects from putting any one to death without the emperor's warrant or conſent. He had the ſame deference as *Kublay* had for the *Chineſe* mandarins; and, upon their remonſtrances, his mother deſiſted from a progreſs ſhe intended to have made to a temple ſhe had erected to *Fo*; ſhe ſeeing that it would likewiſe be diſagreeable to the emperor, tho' he had too much regard for her openly to contradict her will.

Timur,

Timur, though pacifically diſpoſed, effected what his grandfather, the great *Kublay*, could not; for, after his generals had, with various ſucceſs, engaged *Haytu*, his nephew *Hayſhan*, under whom ſerved *Choangur*, a prince of his blood, and one of the greateſt captains in the empire, entirely defeated and killed *Haytu*, who had, for thirty years, made uninterrupted war upon the *Mogul* emperors, whom he looked upon as the uſurpers of his birth-right. *Haytu*'s brother, *Fowa*, for ſome time, endeavoured to continue the war; but, finding that his friends were tired of it, and inclined to ſubmit to *Timur*'s mild government, he led them the way, and obtained his own, his family's, and his party's pardon from that emperor, under whom all *Tartary*, and the bordering countries, were now united. *Haytu* ſubdued.

Timur even outdid his grandfather in the virtues of peace. He ſent commiſſioners all over his vaſt empire, with powers, not only to inſpect, but to relieve, the wants of his ſubjects of all denominations, particularly the officers and ſoldiers, who were worn out in the public ſervice, and their families. He likewiſe furniſhed the peaſants of his dominions with the means of cultivating their lands; and publicly declared his averſion to foreign wars, eſpecially againſt *Japan*. But, in two inſtances, he was over-perſuaded to break that reſolution. The firſt was in favour of the prince of *Pegu*, who implored *Timur*'s aſſiſtance againſt the rebels who had dethroned, impriſoned, and murdered his father. *Timur* granted the aſſiſtance; but his generals were corrupted by the leaders of the rebels, and were beaten; for which one of them was put to death at his return, and the eſtate of the other was confiſcated. The other inſtance proceeded from the ambition of one of his generals, called *Lieu*, who complained of the barbarous people of the kingdom of *Papeſifu*, a country lying near *Bengal* in *India*, who refuſed to receive the *Chineſe* calendar, which he repreſented as an indignity done to his majeſty's authority; and certain haughty *Chineſe* miniſters counſelled him to ſuffer *Lieu* to ſubdue the country. *Alaſan*, one of the wiſeſt of *Timur*'s miniſters, oppoſed this unjuſt propoſal; but *Lieu* prevailed, and obtained the command of twenty thouſand men againſt *Papeſifu*. This country was indeed reduced, but not till after an expence of blood and treaſure that was of far greater value than the conqueſt; and *Timur* gave way to *Lieu* being put to death for having given him a pernicious advice. Virtues of *Timur*. His conqueſts and juſtice.

Such are all the material paſſages that happened in the reign of this emperor, who does not ſeem to have been ſo devoted, as his predeceſſor was, to the idolatry of the lamas and the bonzas. The *Chineſe*, however, knew that he had received ſuch prepoſſeſſions from his education, that ſomewhat ſimilar in their own worſhip muſt ſupply the place in his. They therefore gave way to his fixing the ſtated times

for the worſhip of Heaven, according to the practice of the antient *Moguls*; which, before the introduction of lamas, did not materially differ from the *Chineſe*. He, on his part, to oblige the *Chineſe*, ordered a moſt magnificent temple to be erected in *Peking*, to the memory of their philoſopher *Confucius*; and inflicted gentle puniſhments upon the members of the tribunal of mathematics, for having neglected to calculate an eclipſe of the ſun that had happened. But this was not the only inſtance in which this tribunal diſcovered its ignorance during *Timur*'s reign; for they once calculated an eclipſe that did not happen at all; and apologized for their miſtake, by telling the emperor, that the courſe of the heavens were altered in favour of his majeſty. *Timur*, without puniſhing either their ignorance or their flattery, in a facetious manner deſired them to take care that they brought the ſtars into regularity again.

Erects a temple to *Confucius*.

Flattery paid him.

Timur died without leaving any children who could ſucceed him, his ſon, whom he had deſigned for his heir, having died before himſelf; and the great men, both of *China* and *Tartary*, threw their eyes upon prince *Hayſhan*, the eldeſt grandſon to *Chengkin*, the excellent ſon of *Kublay*; though *Kanmala*, the eldeſt ſon of that prince, had left ſons. *Hayſhan* was then abſent from the court, but his ſucceſſion was oppoſed by *Timur*'s widow, who pretended to the right of acting as regent during the interregnum; and ſent into baniſhment the mother and brother of *Hayſhan*; which laſt is called *Ayuli*, or *Ayuli Palipata*. *Autay* was firſt miniſter to this empreſs-regent; and they declared *Hoanta*, another grandſon of *Kublay*, but thought to lie under the bar of illegitimacy, emperor, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of ſome grandees. *Alaſum*, who acted for *Hayſhan* on this occaſion, and had been firſt miniſter to *Timur*, remained firm in his maſter's ſervice, and diſpatched expreſſes to *Hayſhan*, who was at a great diſtance from the capital, and to his brother *Ayuli*, who was at the place of his exile, but, with his mother, inſtantly ſet out for *Peking*; and, in concert with *Alaaſum*, and the general of the army, ſeized and put in chains *Autay* and the heads of *Hoanta*'s party. But, as the vacancy of the throne was dangerous to the public peace, *Ayuli* was deſired to mount it. He remained faithful to his elder brother, and, at laſt, *Hayſhan*, at the head of his army, was proclaimed emperor, and entered *Peking* in triumph. After giving due honour to his mother and his brother, he ordered the heads of *Hoanta*'s party to be put to death, as were the late empreſs-regent and *Hoanta* himſelf.

Hayſhan ſucceeds him.

Though *Hayſhan* had ſuch a veneration for *Confucius*, that he ordered his works to be tranſlated for the uſe of his *Mogul* lords, yet, like his predeceſſors, he was ſuch a ſlave to the lamas, that he publiſhed an edict, ordering the hand to be cut off, and the tongue to be pulled out, that ſhould ſtrike

His ſuperſtition.

or

or ſlander a lama. This rendered that order ſo inſolent, that they beat with ſticks a judge upon the tribunal, and a princeſs on the road becauſe her ſervants did not give them the way. Thoſe abuſes, perhaps, were forwarded by the removal of *Alaſum*, who was one of the wiſeſt men of the empire, from court to the government of *Karakoram*, upon a charge produced againſt him by *Tula*, a prince of the blood, that he had conſented to the inauguration of *Hoanta*. *Alaſum* introduced new manners amongſt the *Moguls* of his government, by puniſhing with death theft and rapin, even in the perſons of the greateſt lords, and by introducing among the people the *Chineſe* arts, manufactures, and agriculture. In ſhort; from being barbarians, this great miniſter, who was an *Alan* and a *Chriſtian*, civilized the *Tartars*, ſo that plenty, conveniency, and hoſpitality, appeared even on their public roads; and the diſtrict of *Karakoram* was ſoon in a condition to furniſh proviſions for all the emperor's army. This agreeably ſurprized the emperor, who ſoon diſcovered the malice of *Tula*. He was a barbarous prince, who chiefly valued himſelf upon his bodily ſtrength; and the emperor, on pretence that he had been wanting in reſpect to him, ordered him, at laſt, to be put to death. Abuſes of his government.

Hayſhan, towards the end of his reign, ſeems to have been ſomewhat cooled in his affection for the lamas and the bonzas, by diſcovering ſome plots, in which they had the chief hand, in favour of two other princes of the blood. Upon diſcovery of this plot, the two princes were baniſhed, and four and twenty lamas put to death. The lands of the bonzas were likewiſe rendered liable to be taxed. He puts the lamas to death.

Hayſhan, who died in the thirty-firſt year of his age, left two ſons by two of his queens; but, in gratitude to his brother, *Ayuli Palipata*, he declared him his heir and ſucceſſor. *Hayſhan*'s death ſeems to have been haſtened by his exceſſive love of wine and women. On this occaſion, we have another remarkable inſtance of the intrepidity of the *Chineſe* government in the diſcharge of their duty. One of their great mandarins, *Aſhapuwha*, ſeeing the exceſſes into which the emperor ran, upon his knees begged him to remember how precious his life was to his faithful ſubjects. *Hayſhan*, inſtead of minding this advice, obliged the mandarin, who gave it, to partake of the bottle he was drinking; but, a few days after, the whole body of the mandarins threw themſelves before the emperor's throne, to congratulate him upon having ſo faithful a ſubject as *Aſhapuwha*. *Hayſhan* anſwered this noble and polite mark of their regard for him, by giving *Aſhapuwha*, who was of the royal blood, the title of the count of the khan. *Ayuli* ſucceeds him.

Ayuli Palipata, the next emperor, amongſt his other good qualities, had that of the love of hiſtory and antiquity; and he applied both towards relieving the diſtreſſes of his people, and ſtrengthning the conſtitution of his empire. The intem- His virtues and love of learning.

perance of the late emperor had ſuffered many abuſes in his empire to take place, and vaſt exceſſes had been committed in the government. *Ayuli*, when he came to the throne, ſeverely puniſhed the authors of all thoſe abuſes, and even the princes of the blood felt his juſtice. But this emperor's equity and learning did not exempt him from his family failings, that of too great an attachment to lamas and bonzas.

Public calamities in his time.

During his reign, eclipſes and comets appeared; peſtilence, famine, and inundations, with other calamities, had afflicted his ſubjects. He beheld all with ſorrow, and aſſembled the diet of his great men to conſult upon the means of relieving his people. The ſevere *Chineſe* declared that the public calamities were judgments ſent for the encouragement given to the worſhip of *Fo* in the empire. But the emperor could not be prevailed upon to condemn that worſhip, though he publiſhed a manifeſto, declaring that thoſe judgments had fallen upon his people for the errors he had been guilty of.

He redreſſes the grievances of his people.

Ayuli had all the excellent political virtues of his predeceſſors. He was indefatigable in finding out, and employing, however obſcure their ſituation was, men of learning and merit; and was equally ſevere upon the ignorant and inſolent. He even invented new honours and dignities for the former, and preſided in perſon at their examinations and exerciſes. But the *Chineſe* now forgot they were a conquered people. The mandarins, and governors of the provinces, were guilty of vaſt oppreſſions; and, in many places, rebellions broke out, and cabals were formed againſt the government. The great prudence of *Ayuli* went far in remedying thoſe evils. He was at vaſt pains in enquiring into the grievances of his ſubjects; and, when he was informed of them, he never failed to relieve them: by which means he prevented a civil-war from breaking out in his dominions. Though he had, like his brother, a ſtrong inclination to drink, yet he ſubdued it by the force of his philoſophy, and upon the remonſtrances of his miniſters. His eldeſt ſon, *Shotepala*, was ſo much his favourite, that he wanted, in his own lifetime, to reſign the empire to him; but, though he was paſſionately bent upon that meaſure, he laid it aſide when he found it was diſagreeable to his grandees.

His death.

Ayuli died in the beginning of the year 1320. He had ſome wars which are very confuſedly related; and he was ſucceſful in them. They ſeem chiefly to have been occaſioned through the pretenſions formed upon the ſucceſſion by the other princes of the blood.

He is ſucceeded by *Shotepala*.

The beginning of the reign of *Shotepala*, who ſucceeded his father *Ayuli*, was unfortunate, through the partiality which his mother and he had for his miniſter *Tymeutyel*, a worthleſs inſolent man, and guilty of great extortions and oppreſſions. The emperor's eyes were opened, however, by the indifference and patience with which a philoſopher, *Lymeng*, to whom the reigning family lay under vaſt obligations, bore the

the wrongs and indignities he offered him. The emperor, being convinced that none but a bad man could be an enemy to ſuch virtue, transferred his authority to *Pacha*, the ſon of *Gantong*, a young nobleman of great worth. By his advice, the emperor ſhowed himſelf on public days to his people, which ſtrongly engaged their affection; and a general pardon was publiſhed, extending to all the empire. His popular conduct.

Tyemutyel, though removed from being firſt miniſter, had, by the favour of the empreſs-mother, ſtill a conſiderable influence at court: but *Shotepala* gave orders, that he ſhould not be admitted as formerly; which being ſignified to him by the centinels at the gates, gave him ſo much vexation, that he fell ſick and died. Some conſpiracies were formed againſt this emperor, but they were diſcovered, and the authors of them, by *Pacha*'s advice, were puniſhed with death. Great abuſes had likewiſe crept into the empire from the vaſt numbers of *Mahometans* who were ſettled in *Tartary*. They had even erected a moſque, and were poſſeſſed of ſome of the chief dignities, both of the ſtate and the army. But *Shotepala*, who was as much addicted as any of his predeceſſors to the idolatry of *Fo*, ordered their moſques to be demoliſhed, and that they ſhould be prohibited from trading with the *Chineſe*, in *Tartar* youths of both ſexes, whom they bought and ſold for ſlaves. Conſpiracies againſt him. His idolatry,

Shotepala, who was not twenty years of age when he came to the empire, was extremely fond of hunting, and wanted to erect hunting-ſeats and conveniencies through different parts of his dominions: but *Pacha* had influence enough with him to divert him from that deſign, by repreſenting to him that the ſeverity of the *Chineſe* would conſider ſuch buildings as ſo many monuments of expenſive luxury. All the aſcendancy, however, which this miniſter had over his maſter, could not get the better of his ſuperſtition, which drove him into cruelty. He had given orders for a moſt magnificent temple to be erected, at a little diſtance from *Peking*, in honour of *Fo*. The cenſors of the empire had the courage to appear before him in a body, with remonſtrances againſt his proceeding in the building; but the emperor, wedded to his favourite worſhip, ordered the moſt illuſtrious of the body to be puniſhed, ſome of them with baniſhment, and others with death; and they have ever ſince been conſidered by the *Chineſe* as ſo many martyrs for the religion of their country: the emperor, however, we are told, afterwards repented of his imprudence and cruelty, and reſtored the memory of the cenſors to their due honours. and paſſion for hunting, checked.

Upon the death of *Tyemutyel* a great reformation ſucceeded through all the empire. The memory of that miniſter was degraded; his monuments were defaced, and his eſtate confiſcated; all kinds of luxury and vice were aboliſhed at court, and vaſt charities were every where beſtowed upon the poor: all which is attributed to *Pacha*'s councils. Notwithſtanding the He is murdered,

the disgrace *Tymutyel*'s memory had suffered, his son *Tyshe* held a considerable post in the emperor's guards, and was one of the chief patrons of the lamas, to whom *Pacha* was a declared enemy. Resenting his father's disgrace, he formed a conspiracy with some discontented lords, while the emperor was at *Shengtu*; and, entering the palace with a party, he first murdered *Pacha* and then the emperor, who was but twenty-one years of age, and left no sons.

and succeeded by *Yesun*.

Upon the death of *Shotepala*, the conspirators acknowledged *Yesun Timur* for emperor. This prince was the son of *Kanmula*, the eldest brother of the emperor *Timur*, and had been in some disgrace during the late reigns. This occasioned his having an information given him of *Tyshe*'s conspiracy, which he would have prevented, but was too late; his messengers not arriving at court till after *Shotepala*'s murder. Notwithstanding this, finding that all the conspirators were in his interest, he ordered himself to be proclaimed emperor, and took *Tyshe*, and his accomplices, into high favour. From the course of the history, however, it is probable that all this favour proceeded meerly from compulsion. *Shotepala* had been the darling of the *Chinese*, as *Pacha* was of the *Moguls*. His family, that of the great *Mahuli*, was one of the most powerful in *Tartary*; and *Maynu*, a prince of *Jenghiz Khan*'s blood, had the honesty to lay before *Yesun* the disgrace and danger he incurred by protecting the murderers of his predecessor, and of so great and worthy a minister. *Yesun*, finding that no objection was raised to his title, and that he would be supported both by the *Chinese* and the *Moguls*, immediately put to death all the conspirators, and, amongst others, *Tyshe*; except *Gantipwha*, and some other princes, who, probably, were of the imperial blood, whom he condemned to banishment: and he likewise punished with death or banishment several accomplices in the oppressions of *Tyemutyel*.

Puts to death his predecessors murderers.

Applies to government.

Those examples of justice being performed, the emperor applied to civil affairs of government; and, by the advice of *Changquey*, a minister of vast experience and abilities, as well as birth, he instituted political lectures, which were to be given by several doctors, appointed for that purpose, upon the subject of government; for the instruction of the great mens sons, who might one day arrive at being governors of provinces. This institution is highly commended by the *Chinese*, as one of the noblest that ever was formed: and the emperor, to give it the greater dignity, ordered his own son to attend the lectures. *Yesun* was likewise the author of another grand institution; which was that of forming his empire into eighteen great governments instead of twelve; and those governments were accountable to a chief council called the lords of the provinces.

Severity of the mandarins.

But all those acts of justice and policy did not satisfy the rigorous justice demanded by the *Chinese* mandarins. A storm,

ſtorm, an earthquake, and an eclipſe, happening almoſt at the ſame time, they publicly declared, that they were the evidences of Heaven's anger for the murders of *Shotepala* and *Pacha*, and for other abuſes of government. *Yeſun* appeared, or affected to appear, deeply touched at this, and ordered all his mandarins to meet in a body, and to draw up a memorial for his uſe upon the affairs of government. *Chanquay* was the penman of this memorial, which was couched in terms more bold and free than, perhaps, any *European* ſenate, or parliament, would, at this time, venture to preſent to their ſovereign. It began, with demanding the rigour of juſtice againſt the murderers of the late emperor and his miniſter; and that all the conſpirators, who had been baniſhed, ſhould be put to death. They likewiſe demanded juſtice upon all, be their rank ever ſo high, who had abuſed their power by murders or rapines; and demanded, that proper commiſſioners ſhould be appointed to enquire into, and relieve, the grievances of the people, even in their very jails. They required that the pearl fiſhing near *Canton* ſhould be aboliſhed, becauſe of the many lives it coſt. They condemned the expenſive fondneſs of the court for jewels; as they did the doctrine of *Fo*, and the idle train of aſtrologers, and other attendants, who haunted the imperial palaces; and concluded with the great principle of their government, by reminding the emperor, that he ought to govern his people in no other way but what a good father does his children. Their remarkable memorial.

Though the emperor received this memorial very graciouſly, and though he was not ſo devoted as his predeceſſors had been to the idolatry of *Fo*, yet it was ſo deeply rooted in *Tartary*, that he dared not to aboliſh it, neither would he conſent to the death of the prince *Gantipuwha*. He gave orders, however, for ſuppreſſing the inſolence of the lamas; the edict in their favour we have taken notice of was recalled; and they were deprived of the liberty they enjoyed, of obliging the ſubjects to furniſh them horſes and proviſions for their equipages, and for riding poſt, they being the only couriers in the empire. In ſhort, he ordered that they ſhould live conformable to their profeſſion. In conſequence of the memorial, *Yeſun* likewiſe ordered, that the trade of the *Mahometan* merchants, who were the importers of precious ſtones and jewels into his kingdom, ſhould be inſpected; and a conſiderable ſum was exacted of them, as having been extorted from people more than the worth of their commodities. But *Upetula* and *Taulaſha*, the favourite miniſters of the emperor, were their friends, ſo that this reſumption came to nothing. As to all the other parts of the memorial, the emperor did not at all appear averſe to their being carried into execution. *Yeſun* ſuppreſſes the inſolence of the lamas. His juſtice.

Notwithſtanding all this, the *Chineſe* hiſtorians have accuſed *Yeſun* with inſincerity, and of having been defective in the duties of his ſtation; and they attribute all the natural calamities

calamities of his reign, as well as the ſhortneſs of it, to the anger of Heaven on account of his conduct. But, perhaps, this proceeded from their own pride and bigotry; for *Yeſun* appears to have been an excellent prince. He encouraged, particularly, the ſtudy of hiſtory; and ordered prints to be ſtamped, and diſtributed through his empire, repreſenting the methods of rearing of ſilk-worms, and the management of that manufactory. He died in the thirty-ſixth year of his age, in 1328, after declaring his eldeſt ſon, *Aſukipa*, for his ſucceſſor.

His death and character.

The reader may remember that *Ayuli* ſucceeded *Heſham*, though the latter left two ſons. This happened in virtue of a family contract made between the two brothers, who tenderly loved one another, and agreed that the heirs of their families ſhould alternately mount the *Mogul* throne. *Ayuli*'s affection for his ſon *Shotepala* prevailed with him to break into this ſettlement; and *Shotepala*, notwithſtanding all his virtues, held the ſons of *Heſham* in a kind of exile; in which they continued during *Yeſun*'s ſhort reign. Notwithſtanding this, moſt of the grandees, both *Chineſe* and *Moguls*, conſidered the empire as legally belonging to *Hoſhila*, the eldeſt ſon of *Heſham*. *Yentemur*, a prince of the blood, deſcended from *Tuſhi*, was then governor of *Peking*. He had been raiſed by *Heſham*, and was in the higheſt eſteem as a general; and his gratitude obliged him to declare againſt the empreſs-regent and her ſon, in favour of his benefactor's ſons. Nothing but the vaſt abilities and reſolution of *Yentemur* could have made this undertaking ſucceed. The empreſs-regent, the miniſters, moſt of the princes of the blood, and governors and generals in diſtant provinces, were in the intereſt of *Aſukipa*; and, above all, he had been recognized, in his father's life-time, as heir to his empire. Notwithſtanding all this, *Yentemur*, having made himſelf maſter of *Peking*, which he filled with his troops, and having ſecured to his party ſome lords and officers whom he could depend upon, ordered a general diet to be held in the palace at *Peking*. The members being met, at the head of ſeventeen of his officers, he went into the aſſembly, and, without farther ceremony, denounced deſtruction to any man there, who ſhould give his voice againſt *Hoſhila*, and *Tutemur* his brother, being emperors. Though this daunted the diet, who knew they were ſurrounded by *Yentemur*'s troops, from oppoſing him openly, yet he cauſed *Upetula*, the firſt miniſter, and ſome other lords, who had expreſs ſigns of diſſatisfaction, to be immediately put under an arreſt; while the ſoldiers without doors, kneeling to the ſouth, and beating the ground with their heads, after the example of their officers, acknowledged *Tutemur*, who was then in baniſhment at *Huquange*, for their emperor. After this, the meaſures of *Yentemur* were ſo active and ſo prudent, that he greatly ſtrengthened the intereſt of his two maſters. It does not, however, clearly appear why

He is ſucceeded by *Hoſhila* and *Tutemur*.

why this preference was given to the younger ſon, unleſs it was occaſioned by the neceſſity there was, of putting, as ſoon as poſſible, a ſtop to the regent's government; and *Tutemur* arrived the firſt at *Peking*: *Hoſhila* being in the extremities of *Tartary*, and, perhaps, his acceſs to it was cut off by his enemies, who were very powerful in the weſtern parts of his empire. *Tutemur*, therefore, upon his arrival at *Peking*, acted as emperor, but oppoſed his being declared ſo on account of his brother. He found himſelf under a neceſſity of being inaugurated, and declared *Yentumer* his general, after making a great promotion of mandarins, putting to death *Upetula*, and baniſhing the mandarins in his party. In the mean time, *Taulaſha*, another great miniſter of the late reign, proclaimed *Aſupika* emperor; and he was joined by a great party both in *Tartary* and *China*.

Management of the latter.

After this, a civil-war broke out in the empire; but it ended in the defeat of *Aſukipa*'s party, by the valour of *Yentumer*, who conquered the numerous troops and princes that had joined *Aſukipa*; and, at laſt, defeated himſelf in a general engagement, in which *Aſukipa* loſt the greateſt part of his chief army. At laſt, he himſelf was killed, though it was not known in what manner; and then all the great princes and lords, who had taken arms for him, ſubmitted to *Tutemur*; who immediately ſent advice of his ſucceſs, and invited his brother to come and take poſſeſſion of the empire. But before *Hoſhila* could arrive, *Tutemur* ordered into baniſhment the late empreſs-regent, and put to death *Taulaſha*, and other great princes, who had joined *Aſukipa*. He was proceeding to other murders, for ſo they are conſidered by the *Chineſe* hiſtory, till he was ſtopped by a mandarin, who repreſented to him the bad conſequences of ſuch barbarity.

A civil-war.

In the mean while, *Hoſhila* arrived at *Karakoram*, where he ordered himſelf to be proclaimed emperor; and was waited upon, in the name of *Tutemur*, by *Yentumer*, with the imperial ſignet and robes; which *Hoſhila* accepted of, and, at the ſame time, declared *Yentumer* his general and firſt miniſter; and his brother *Tutemur* his ſucceſſor in the empire. In the mean time, a general, one *Nankayatay*, who, in the public diſtractions, had declared himſelf emperor, laid down his arms, upon promiſe of pardon from *Yentumer*; but was put to death, poſſibly by *Hoſhila*'s orders. But the latter did not long enjoy his dignity; for, arriving at *Shangtu*, at which place *Tutemur* came to ſalute him, he was found dead in his bed, after giving a grand entertainment to the chief nobility.

Death of *Hoſhila*.

Though the ſuſpicion of having murdered his brother fell heavy upon *Tutemur*, yet he met with no oppoſition in reſuming the dignity of ſole emperor. The beginning of his reign was ſtained with the blood of *Papuſha*, the widow of *Hoſhila*, whom his empreſs, *Putaſili*, out of hatred to her, procured

Tutemur made ſole emperor.

procured to be put to death by an eunuch. A rebellion likewiſe broke out in *Yunnan*, where prince *Tukyen* aſſumed the title of king. But this rebellion, after many bloody battles, was ſuppreſſed by *Tutemur*'s generals; as was another conſpiracy formed by the lamas of *Igur*, in favour of a ſon of prince *Hoanta*. The reign of *Tutemur*, as ſole emperor, laſted but three years; and it is diſtinguiſhed by his ordering a general hiſtory of the *Moguls* to be compoſed, and by another regulation he introduced; that of giving the title of empreſs to only one of the emperor's wives. It does not appear that he was much addicted to the lamas, for, on the contrary, he was the firſt *Mogul* monarch who ever performed, in perſon, the *Chineſe* worſhip in the temple of Heaven. He was, at the time of his death, which happened in 1332, twenty-nine years of age; and, tho' he left a ſon, he nominated one of the two ſons of his brother *Hoſhila* to be proclaimed emperor.

His death.

Cruelty and inſolence of *Yentemur*.

Yentemur was conſidered as a bloody, impetuous man; and, at this time, maſter of the empire. Being deeply in love with one of the emperor *Yeſun*'s wives, he married her, to the great ſcandal of the public, who conſidered it as a piece of unparallelled inſolence. His friendſhip for *Tutemur* was ſo great, that it was thought *Hoſhila* died by his hand; and it deſcended to his poſterity: for, upon *Tutemur*'s death, he applied to his widow, the empreſs-regent, to ſet aſide his will; and to declare her own ſon, *Yentyekutſe*, emperor. But that princeſs, ſtung with remorſe, perhaps, declared that ſhe would ſtand by her huſband's will; and ordered *Hoſhila*'s ſecond ſon, whoſe mother ſhe had put to death, to be proclaimed emperor, though he was but ſeven years of age. That prince dying a few weeks after his inauguration, the empreſs, after again rejecting *Yentemur*'s propoſal in favour of her own ſon, declared *Towhan Timur*, the eldeſt ſon of *Hoſhila*, emperor; though it was ſtrongly ſuſpected that he was the real ſon of *Malyati*, *Hoſhila*'s wife, by her firſt huſband, the lama emperor of the *Song*, who lived in the ſame province to which *Hoſhila* had been baniſhed, by which a great intimacy was contracted between them.

Towhan declared emperor.

His averſion to *Yentemur*.

Upon *Towhan*'s approach to *Peking*, *Yentemur*, as general of the army, and the firſt ſubject in the empire, attended him at the head of the troops. His preſence daunted the young emperor, who had heard he was his father's murderer; nor could *Yentemur* bring him to enter into converſation with him during all the journey. *Yentemur* gueſſed the cauſe of this ſhyneſs, and, had he lived, he would have declared *Tutemur*'s ſon emperor; but he died ſoon after the marriage of his daughter *Peyaw*, whom *Towhan*, who was but about fourteen years of age, had eſpouſed, to keep her father upon his ſide. By his death, the throne of *Towhan Timur*

mur was eſtabliſhed; and to keep the great family of *Yentemur* in his intereſt, he declared *Peyaw* his empreſs. After this, *Towhan* gave himſelf entirely up to his pleaſures, and committed the affairs of government to *Satun* and *Peyen*, his chief miniſters and generals; the former of them brother to *Yentemur*, and the latter a man of very bad principles. He likewiſe gave a great ſhare of the government to *Tutemur*'s widow, though he is ſaid ſecretly to have hated her. Nothing remarkable ſeems to have happened during the firſt two or three years of *Towhan*'s reign, excepting earthquakes, ſtorms, and inundations; all which are ridiculouſly imputed, by the *Chineſe* hiſtorians, to *Towhan*'s bad government; In 1335, *Satun* died, and all his great poſts were given to his colleague *Peyen*.

This partiality exaſperated the princes of *Yentemur*'s houſe, and they formed a conſpiracy for placing upon the throne *Wangho*, the ſon of a rebel prince, who had been put to death by *Kublay*. But the conſpiracy was diſcovered and defeated by *Peyen*, who ſeized and executed the heads of the conſpirators, amongſt whom was *Tangiſhi* and *Targay*. The former was inſtantly put to death by *Peyen*, and the latter took refuge in the chamber of his ſiſter the empreſs; but he was purſued thither by *Peyen*, and, though the empreſs interpoſed to ſave him, he was killed in her preſence by *Peyen*'s own hand. After this, *Peyen* went to the emperor, and informed him of what had been done; and *Towhan*, who had married his empreſs from motives of fear and intereſt, not only approved of what he had done, but attended *Peyen* to the apartment of the empreſs; where, in hatred to her father and family, he gave her up to the ſword of that monſter. In vain did the unfortunate princeſs implore the protection of her huſband: he reproached her with the conſpiracy formed againſt him by her family, and told her ſhe muſt not live. Upon this *Peyen* carried her to a neighbouring village, and, with his own hands, was her executioner. After this, the remains of the conſpiracy were eaſily ſuppreſſed; *Talianti*, *Yentemur*'s brother, was ſlain, and *Whangho* killed himſelf.

Conſpiracy againſt him.

Cruelty of *Towhan*.

This conſpiracy, which took its riſe in *China*, proving unſucceſsful, was attended with very bad conſequences to the *Chineſe*, who were thereupon ordered not to make uſe of arms, and debarred from the honour of inſtructing the *Moguls*. But the inſolence of *Peyen* becoming now inſupportable, all the empire, and the emperor himſelf, began to ſuſpect that he had an eye upon the empire, either for himſelf or for ſome of his friends. *Toto*, ſon to *Machartay*, brother to *Peyen*, and a general officer in *Towhan*'s ſervice, was a man of great virtue and abilities, and was one of thoſe who ſuſpected his uncle *Peyen* of bad deſigns. He fell at *Towhan*'s feet, and told him that he renounced his family for his majeſty's ſervice. *Towhan* underſtood, but was unwilling to truſt, him. Upon enquiry he was ſatisfied of his fidelity by *Sikyay* and

The *Chineſe* puniſhed.

Alu

Alu, the only perſons about court whom he could truſt, the reſt being, all of them, creatures of *Peyen*. *Towhan* then imparted, with tears, his apprehenſions of *Peyen*, and committed his intereſts entirely into the hands of *Sikyay* and *Toto*. Thoſe two, ſupported by the emperor's authority, took their meaſures ſo well, that *Peyen* was firſt reduced to a private ſtation and then ſent into baniſhment, but he died on the road.

Death of *Peyen*.

Revolution of the government.

The death of *Peyen* made ſome alteration in the government. *Toto* and his father were too moderate to diſturb the peace of the empire, and enjoyed but a very ſmall degree of addition to their former honours. All the mandarins were continued in their employments; but the emperor thought proper to publiſh a manifeſto, ſetting forth the perſecutions he and his family had ſuffered from the emperor *Tutemur*, reciting the murder of his mother by the empreſs *Putaſheli*, whom he deprived of the title of empreſs and baniſhed; and the arts they had uſed to impoſe upon the public, by endeavouring to make him paſs for the emperor of the *Song*'s ſon. At the ſame time, prince *Yentyekotſe*, who had always behaved dutifully to *Towhan*, was put to death on his road to a place to which he was baniſhed (the greateſt reproach the government underwent in the whole tranſaction) and all the friends of *Tutemur* were degraded from their places, and the tablet of honour to his memory was removed out of the temple of his anceſtors. About the ſame time, *Towhan* re-eſtabliſhed the examination of the literati, which had of late been diſcontinued. But, in the year 1342, the famine in his dominions was ſo great, that the people lived upon human fleſh.

Toto turns projector.

Toto was, at this time, conſidered as the principal perſon under the emperor, and, had he confined himſelf to the talents in which he excelled, he would have been a valuable miniſter: but he turned projector, and perſuaded the emperor to open a canal near *Peking*, which had been ſhut up for fear of endangering that capital. But his advice proving pernicious, the canal was again ſhut up. *Toto*, however, ſhone in the province of learning, particularly in the ſtudy of hiſtory, and was one of the authors of the great hiſtory of the *Song*, which does honour to *Chineſe* literature. At laſt, his vaſt power made him ſomewhat forgetful of his father's moderate maxims; for, in the year 1344, he ſuffered himſelf to be, by the emperor, created a regulo. This raiſed up enemies to his family, and his father was baniſhed and died in exile. This puniſhment, inflicted on a nobleman who had deſerved ſo very much of *Towhan*, rendered that emperor, who was ingrateful and inconſtant, very deſpicable in the eyes of his ſubjects. He broke through all the *Chineſe* maxims of government, and raiſed a lady he loved, one *Ki*, to be his ſecond empreſs. An univerſal corruption and degeneracy prevailed at court; and very few were found bold enough to tell the emperor, that this alteration of morals and government prognoſticated ſome fatal revolution to be at hand.

Degeneracy of the court.

hand. When any of the mandarins preſented remonſtrances on thoſe heads, he rejected them; and *Toto*, involved in his father's fate, had attended him to the place of his exile, where he ſtill remained; but was, at laſt, recalled, at the preſſing inſtances of the firſt miniſter, *Tayping*, a perſon of ſuch great worth and diſintereſtedneſs, that *Toto*, ignorant of the obligations he was under to him, joined with his enemies and helped to ruin him.

Toto, upon his return from exile, was made governor to the imperial prince; but his pupil's advancement in the *Chineſe* learning did him no honour; while the emperor himſelf was in the hands of two brothers, *Ama* and *Sweſwe*, men of abandoned characters. They had intereſt enough to cruſh all their enemies, and, by adapting themſelves to the emperor's and the empreſs *Ki*'s love of pleaſure, they grew, *Ama* particularly, to the higheſt pitch of inſolence. Another project, was ſet on foot, or encouraged, by *Toto*, for turning the courſe of the great river *Wangho*. But this project, after putting the public to a prodigious expence, likewiſe miſcarried. The people's diſcontent at this was greatly augmented by famine, which raged, at this time, to ſuch a degree, that nine hundred thouſand people are ſaid to have periſhed by it in two provinces; while the emperor, and his court, lived in all kind of ſenſuality. and the emperor.

It was now plain, to all the thinking *Chineſe*, that a revolution was at hand. The *Mogul* emperors had been able to erect and maintain their government, amongſt them, only by the vaſt attention they paid to their conſtitution, laws, and learning. This attention, under *Towhan*, was entirely dropped; the order of ſucceſſion was neglected; and a ſyſtem of government, directly the reverſe of that of the *Chineſe*, had taken place. The mandarins had, in vain, oppoſed all thoſe abuſes; and, at laſt, an almoſt total diſſolution of government took place. Two rebels, *Hangſhongton* and *Lyewfutong*, filled the provinces of *Shangtong*, *Honan*, and *Kian*, with blood and confuſion; and a pirate, one *Fangquechen*, plundered all the ſea-coaſts, intercepted all the proviſions deſigned for the court and the capital, and defeated ſeveral of the imperial generals who were ſent againſt him. It was plain, from the ſucceſs this free-booter met with, that he was favoured by all the people upon the ſea-coaſts, and by the ſailors in general; while the mandarins either kept the court entirely in the dark, as to his progreſs, or amuſed it with falſe accounts. But the moſt dangerous rebel of all was *Tſuchewwhey*, who declared himſelf emperor. In 1352, he took *Hanyang* and *Vuchang*; and, equipping a fleet, laid ſiege to *Kyewkyangfu*, which he took, notwithſtanding an obſtinate defence made by a *Chineſe* mandarin. It is upon this occaſion remarkable, that the emperor had a *Mogul* army in thoſe parts who made no manner of head againſt the rebels, but fled every where at their approach; nay, in ſome places, The empire filled with rebellions,

which are they ſeem to have been confederate d with them. One *Li-*
ſucceſsful. *fu* was ſucceſsful in *Kyangnan*, where he defeated *Yeſyem*, the brother of *Toto*. *Yeſyem*, upon this occaſion, being accuſed of cowardice and miſmanagement, by the mandarins, the indolent emperor made his brother *Toto* his judge; who not only acquitted him with a bare-faced partiality, but procured the moſt forward of the proſecutors, amongſt whom were men of the higheſt quality and merit, to be diſgraced and baniſhed. Soon after this, the army of *Tſuchewwhy*, which had been corrupted by the luxuries of the places he had conquered, received ſeveral checks from the imperial forces; and *Toto* himſelf took *Tſuchew* from *Lyewfutong*, as a kind of an attonement for his brother's failure. In other places, however, the rebels were generally victorious, and pretenders to the empire ſtarted up in almoſt every province of *China*.

Ama, a wicked miniſter, ſeduces the emperor.

Thoſe calamities were far from uniting the imperial court: *Ama*, every day, invented new pleaſures to lull the emperor and empreſs; and he gained ſuch an aſcendancy, that *Toto*, whom he quarelled with, was baniſhed and put to death. At laſt, ſome *Tartar* generals gave *Lyewfutong* ſeveral defeats; but the *Chineſe*, in general, were ſo diſcontented with the imperial court, that he always found means to recruit his armies and to keep the field. The emperor *Towhan* was now prevailed upon to ſummon a great council of his generals and officers, to deliberate upon the ſtate of the war. But, after ſeveral propoſals had been made, and debated, a mandarin had the boldneſs to tell the emperor, that all thoſe precautions would be fruitleſs, unleſs he began a reformation in his own court and government. This diſcourſe was highly applauded, but the advice was neglected.

Riſe of the great *Chu*.

While matters were in this melancholy ſituation over all *China*, a man aroſe, whoſe hiſtory is as ſingular as that of any this work contains, or, perhaps, that of any man of antiquity. His name was *Chu*, born and bred in the meaneſt ſtation; for, before he commenced a ſoldier, he was a ſcullion under the cook of a convent of bonzas. His adventures after he entered into the army are immaterial, and, indeed, uncertain. All we know, is, that, beſides that great courage which men in the loweſt ſtate are often born with, he joined an elevation of thought, and a politeneſs of manners, that would have adorned the higheſt birth; and his qualifications, both as a general and a politician, were ſecond to none of the age.

His character,

and progreſs.

Chu ſet out with the character of the deliverer of his country. His courage, probity, and other virtues, had acquired him friends. He diſdained the ruffian means, by which other pretenders to empire aſpired. He refuſed to aſſociate with any but men who, like himſelf, had no other view but the deliverance of their country, from the uſurpation of the *Moguls* and the oppreſſions of a ſtupid, wicked, degenerate court.

court. His firſt appearance as a general was at *Hau*, a city in *Kyangnan*, where he formed his party, and named his officers. After this, he took *Tuchew* and *Hochew*; and, in all his proceedings, he gave the moſt convincing demonſtrations of his being ſincere in the profeſſions he ſet out with. The true *Chineſe*, who were attached to their antient conſtitution and religion, now thought that Heaven had ſent them the man whom they had ſo long deſired, and flocked to him with ſuch zeal, and in ſuch numbers, that he paſſed the great river *Kyang* with one thouſand veſſels, and reduced *Nyewchuki* and *Tayping*. At laſt, he made himſelf maſter of the great city *Nankin*, which he entered in triumph.

The ſucceſſes of *Chu* were greatly owing to the diſtractions that prevailed in the other part of the empire. *Wheygangfu* ſuffered a ſiege of five years, but was, at laſt, taken by the rebels; and *Tſuchewwhey* made himſelf maſter of almoſt all *Sechwen*, and took the important city of *Ganking*. But that rebel, in all his progreſs, behaved like a public robber, by plundering the places he reduced. *Chu*, on the other hand, appeared as the guardian, and the deliverer of the people wherever his arms prevailed. In *Kyangnan* he took the cities of *Changchefu* and *Yangchewfu*, and many others; and, in a general council of war, public orders were given out againſt all killing and plundering. About the ſame time, the *Song* took up arms, and made a formidable progreſs againſt the imperial party, penetrating even to the neighbourhood of *Peking*. It is true they received many checks from the *Tartar* generals; but ſtill the emperor's party was weakened in proportion; and the loſſes of all ſerved the ends of *Chu*, who ſtill continued to act as the deliverer of his country.

to what owing.

The nearer the danger approached to the imperial court, the diſtractions were increaſed. Since the death of *Toto*, *Ama* became more powerful than ever; but the progreſs of *Chu*, and the rebels, filled him with apprehenſions of the moſt melancholy kind. The imperial prince, whoſe name was *Ayyew Shilitata*, though he was uncorrupted by the vices of his father's companions, was, by his mother's intereſt, a friend to *Ama*. The latter, ſeeing himſelf in danger, every moment, of being torn to pieces by the people, who conſidered him as the author of all their calamities; and perceiving the emperor unfit for the government, either of the ſtate or the army, he formed a project for placing the prince upon the throne, and imparted it to his father; telling him, at the ſame time, that the emperor was quite a changling, and unfit to govern longer. A companion of the emperor in his debauches, by means of his wife, the ſiſter of *Ama*, who had overheard the converſation, informed the emperor of it; and he, chiefly in reſentment of the contemptible manner in which *Ama* had ſpoken of his parts, gave way to *Ama* and his brother, who was in the conſpiracy, being proſecuted and put to death.

Diſtractions encreaſe at *Towhan's* court,

and prove fatal to his government.

Nothing, however, could awaken *Towhan* to a ſenſe of his danger: he had millions to fight for him, but they were badly commanded; and he had many brave loyal officers, but they were divided; ſo that there was no unanimity, either in the cabinet or the field. But the diviſions amongſt the *Song* gave the imperial court ſome reſpite. They had approached ſo near to *Peking*, that they had plundered *Shantong*, and ſome of the emperor's miniſters had adviſed him to retire with the court into *Tartary*. This ſhameful meaſure was oppoſed by *Tayping*, who then acted as firſt miniſter; and, calling in the army for the defence of the capital, the *Song* received a ſevere repulſe. But *Tayping* could not purſue this advantage, becauſe the *Tartar* generals refuſed to obey him, for which one of them was put to death. After this defeat, the diviſions amongſt the *Song* increaſed ſo greatly, that their beſt general, *Manquey*, in the year 1339, was aſſaſſinated at *Shongquen*; and, there being amongſt the reſt no principle but plunder to unite them, their armies, by degrees, diſperſed and came to nothing. In other parts of *China*, the imperial arms were, for ſome time, ſucceſsful againſt all but *Chu*; and *Tſuchewwhey*, who had declared himſelf emperor of the *Song*, after one of his generals had taken *Nanchangfu*, the capital of *Shyanſi*, was, by that very general, made priſoner and ſtripped of his authority. All thoſe ſucceſſes, with the ſpirited conduct of *Tayping*, for ſome time, ſuſpended the fate of the *Mogul* empire in *China*; and ſome of *Towhan*'s generals gave wonderful proofs of their courage and fidelity in his defence.

Chu prevails.

The other rebels are ſuppreſſed

The truth is, that the proceedings of the *Song*, and all the other rebels, excepting *Chu*, were ſo rapacious and cruel, that the *Chineſe* rather choſe to attach themſelves to the court than to come under ſuch maſters; and *Tayping*'s virtues gave them hopes of a general reformation in the manners and conſtitution of the empire. All the *Chineſe* and *Moguls*, who were moſt reſpectable for their rank and virtues, ſupported that miniſter. But *Ayyew*, the hereditary prince, and his mother, could not bear that a ſubject ſhould have ſo much power; and, not being able to prevail with him to join them in perſuading the emperor to reſign his crown, they formed cabals for deſtroying him; and ſucceeded ſo far, that ſome of his beſt friends were proſcribed, and put to death, upon groundleſs accuſations. *Tayping*, however, ſtood his ground, and his character appeared with freſh luſtre every day, till the death of *Nyewtikay*, who deſcended from prince *Porchu*. He was the moſt powerful ſubject in all *Tartary*, and the firm friend of *Tayping*, who, upon his death, finding he could no longer maintain his authority, retired to a private life, and left the government in the hands of miſcreants. After this, *Towhan*'s affairs daily declined. His great officers, inſtead of fighting the rebels, fought one another; and, at laſt, a pretender to the empire, deſcended from *Oktay*, claimed the *Mogul*

Towhan's affairs decline daily.

gul crown; and advanced towards *Peking* at the head of an army. But this pretender, after having had ſome ſucceſs at firſt, was ſeized by his own ſoldiers, whom he had raiſed under pretence of ſerving *Towhan*, and put to death.

Progreſs and policy of *Chu*.

The prudent *Chu* did not ſlip the leaſt of the many advantages which thoſe diſtractions gave him. He declared equally againſt the rebels as againſt the *Moguls*. *Yew Lyang*, the general who had ſeized *Tſuchewwhey*, likewiſe put him to death; and other pretenders every day ſtarted up. This divided the force of the rebels, and *Chu* took, from *Yew Lyang*, *Kyewkyangfu* and *Nanchangfu*, two of the greateſt cities in all *China*; while the great general *Lyewfutong* was killed in *Kyangnan*; and the diviſions and bloodſhed, amongſt *Towhan*'s generals and troops, every day increaſed. Of all the pretenders to the empire, next to *Chu*, *Yew Lyang* was now the moſt formidable, on account of his valour, his riches, and his numerous armies; and *Chu*, before he proceeded farther, reſolved to deſtroy him. *Lyang* had laid ſiege to *Nanchangfu*; but, hearing that *Chu* was advancing in perſon, with a numerous fleet and two hundred thouſand ſoldiers on board, to relieve the place, he raiſed the ſiege, and prepared for a general engagement, which continued, for ſeveral days, very bloody both by ſea and land; but ended in the defeat and death of *Yew Lyang*; upon which his generals and troops ſubmitted to *Chu*.

who accepts of the title of king.

That general was now without a competitor in the field. The diviſions that were ſtill increaſing among *Towhan*'s troops, were daily paving his way to the empire. At laſt, in the beginning of the year 1364, *Chu*'s chief officers propoſed that he ſhould take upon him the dignity of an emperor. *Chu* did not think that his affairs were yet ripe enough for ſo high a title; but at laſt he conſented to accept of that of king of *U*. In this quality, being unanimouſly recognized by his followers, he appointed his grand officers of ſtate; and, in a general aſſembly of them, he confirmed all his former profeſſions for the good of his country; the only motive, he ſaid, which had prevailed upon him to accept of his dignity. Soon after this, *Chu* conquered the provinces of *Kyenſi* and *Huquang*, and his conduct ſhewed him to deſerve his ſucceſs. The *Chineſe*, without minding the meanneſs of his birth, ſubmitted to the greatneſs of his genius, and the pre-eminence of his virtues: while the court of *Towhan* were themſelves, in effect, promoting his future dignity.

Factions formed by the prince.

Ayyew Shilitata, the hereditary prince there, had formed ſuch factions amongſt the great men of his father's empire, that they ſtood upon their guard againſt one another, rather than their common enemy. *Towhan*, weak as he was, foreſaw the conſequences of thoſe diviſions, and endeavoured to prevent them, by making one *Polo Temur*, who was the de-

clared enemy of the prince, his firſt miniſter and general. The beginning of his adminiſtration promiſed fair; for he put to death, or baniſhed, the companions of the emperor's debauches, and the lamas of his religion. But *Polo* ſoon flagged in this courſe. He ſought to ſet aſide the prince from the ſucceſſion, and he uſed violence to his mother the empreſs; who was obliged to purchaſe her peace and freedom, by ſupplying him with the moſt exceſſive means of debauchery, to which *Polo* was extremely addicted. At laſt, the prince took the field, and *Polo Temur*, being looked upon as keeping his maſter and the empreſs in thraldom, was deſerted by the army and the great men, and, at laſt, killed by the emperor's orders; and the prince regained the poſſeſſion of the imperial palace.

Adminiſtration of *Koko Temur*.

Polo was ſucceeded in the prime adminiſtration, by another great lord, called *Koko Temur*. But this, far from healing the public diſſentions, increaſed them; while *Chu*, heaping victory upon victory, beſides other places, took the fineſt cities and provinces of the empire. The imperial prince, who was, at once, ambitious and factious to the greateſt degree, aſſiſted by his mother, inceſſantly preſſed *Towhan* to reſign the empire to him; and, at laſt, procured the diſgrace of *Koko*, though he could not get himſelf declared emperor. *Chu* improved all theſe diſorders and diſturbances to his own advantage. He ſaw the weakneſs of the *Iwen*, or *Mogul*, government, and wherein it conſiſted. He had immenſe armies devoted to his ſervice, and he publiſhed manifeſtoes over all *China*, promiſing to reſtore the morality, religion, and virtues of the *Chineſe*; all which, he ſaid, had been groſly violated by barbarians. To make thoſe profeſſions good, though he was without education, he applied himſelf ſo cloſely to the ſtudy of the *Chineſe* government and literature, that he ſoon re-eſtabliſhed them in all their former purity; and no arts were ſpared to remind the *Chineſe*, that the *Iwen* were no better than barbarians. At laſt, his progreſs was ſuch, that, bearing down all oppoſition, he was ſolemnly inaugurated emperor of *China*, in *Nankin*; and he ſettled the ſucceſſion upon his ſon: while the *Iwen* were buſied in cutting one another's throats.

Chu inaugurated emperor.

Towhan abandons *Peking* and *China*.

The year 1368 is accounted the firſt of *Chu*'s reign; and, from that time, he performed all the acts of imperial dignity, both civil and religious: but *Towhan* was ſtill in poſſeſſion of *Peking* and of all *Tartary*; and it was neceſſary for *Chu* to drive him out of *China*. With this view, he made himſelf maſter directly of all the important poſts and paſſes leading to the capital; and overthrew all the braveſt of *Towhan*'s generals and armies who oppoſed his progreſs. *Towhan*, on the other hand, thinking his fate inevitable, notwithſtanding all the tears and remonſtrances of his moſt faithful ſubjects, took the reſolution of retiring into *Tartary*; which

which he did, and thereby left *Chu* in poſſeſſion of the empire of *China*; where he reigned under the name of *Hongvu*, and became the founder of a new dinaſty; of which we have no materials to give any tolerable hiſtory.

The hiſtory of the empire of Tartary, *from the year* 1368 *to the lateſt accounts.*

THE ſucceſſors of *Jenghiz Khan* had eſtabliſhed their empire in *China* by their uncommon virtues, and the regard they had for the *Chineſe* arts; but they loſt it, in a great meaſure, by their attachment to ſuperſtition; through which *Towhan* became a prey, to prieſts, women, and favourites. The hiſtory of the *Mogul* emperors in *Tartary*, after this, conſiſts of little more than the names of ſome of them, and a few of the moſt remarkable events. *Towhan* was ſucceeded by his ſon *Ayyew Shilitata*, who removed his imperial reſidence to *Karakoram*; but we know of few, or no, particulars of his reign, or thoſe of his ſucceſſors, for many years; but that they were continually at war with *Hongvu* and the *Chineſe* emperors, though they never could re-eſtabliſh a footing in *China*. We learn, however, that, in the year 1449, *Tartary* was invaded by *Jugtſong*, the *Chineſe* emperor, who, paſſing the great wall, was entirely defeated by the *Moguls*, and himſelf taken priſoner. He lay long in captivity, but was, at laſt, relieved by a vaſt ranſom paid to the *Mogul* emperor. Lameneſs of hiſtory.

We know nothing farther, with certainty, of the *Tartar* court, till the year 1509; when a new war broke out between the two empires, which terminated to the advantage of the *Moguls*. But the latter, in the year 1550, were entirely defeated, in attempting to make themſelves maſters of *Peking*. After this a peace followed, and the *Tartars* obtained leave from *Shitſong*, the emperor of *China*, to carry on a traffic in horſes in his dominions: but that permiſſion was ſoon recalled through the inconveniencies it occaſioned. Soon after, the *Mogul* troops were again defeated, by the *Chineſe*, with great ſlaughter. After this, *Tartary* was ſplit into many ſeparate governments amongſt the deſcendants of *Jenghiz Khan*. All of them, however, ſeem to acknowledge a kind of a ſuperiority in the perſon of a khan, or emperor, of the houſe of *Kublay*. But the *Manchews*, or the *Eaſtern Tartars*, under a prince called *Tyenming*, after ſeveral fruitleſs attempts, made a vaſt progreſs in *China*. He is ſaid to have been a bloody prince, but was ſucceeded by his ſon *Tyentſong*, who ſubdued the *Mogul* princes, and, at the time of his death, had almoſt made himſelf maſter of all *China*. Under his ſon, the reigning dynaſty of the *Chineſe* emperors was finiſhed by a re- Revolutions in *Tartary*.

Catastrophe of an emperor.

a rebellion under one *Li*; who, making himſelf maſter of the imperial city and palace, obliged the unhappy emperor to murder himſelf and his family. Upon this, one of his generals, rather than ſubmit to a rebel, called in the *Manchew Tartars*, with their young prince, *Sunchi*, at their head, and diſpoſſeſſed *Li* of *Peking*, and all his conqueſts. The cruelty of that rebel made the *Chineſe* welcome the *Manchews* as their deliverers; and, in the year 1644, *Sunchi* was declared emperor of *China*, and became the founder of a new dynaſty there.

Account of the *Manchews*

Before this time, the chief of ths deſcendants of *Jenghiz Khan* in *Tartary*, was obliged, by the *Manchews*, to reſign his dignity, and to be contented with the title of vang, or king. This prince, or one of his deſcendants, afterwards attempted to throw off the *Manchew* yoke; yet he was defeated with great ſlaughter, and the *Manchew* dinaſty ſtill reigns in *China*. All their power, however, could not prevent a great many provinces in *Tartary* from recognizing, as their heads, the deſcendants of *Towhan*, the laſt *Mogul* emperor of *China*; and eſtabliſhing, amongſt themſelves, in the remoter provinces of *Tartary*, a kind of independency. Theſe people are ranked under three denominations; the *Moguls*, the *Kalkas* (who were compoſed of the *Tartars* driven out of *China*) and the *Eluths*, or whom we call the *Kalmuk Tartars*. Each of thoſe tribes had their reſpective khans; but they had very little power farther than their precedency in their general diets; the chief authority being uſurped by the taphis, or the great lords under them. In ſpiritual matters, all of them were implicitly ſubject to the great lama of *Tibet*. The power of this ontif is incredible, as is the ſtupidity of the people, were not the relations confirmed by many indiſputable evidences. He pretended to be God in perſon, and he ſat with all the ſolemn ſtate of a living divinity, and had the ſame adoration paid him. In proceſs of time, other lamas aſſumed the ſame character, and were treated with the ſame devotion; and were ſo implicitly followed by the people, that they acquired a temporal, as well as a ſpiritual, authority over the greateſt khans; and, to this day, the ſame idolatry exiſts in an incredible number of places in *Tartary*, where thoſe hoſos, or living gods, are to be ſeen. A taki, called *Lopzang*, attacked *Shaſſaktu*, the chief khan of the *Kalkas*, took him priſoner, and put him to death. The other khans, uniting in their turns, defeated and took *Lopzang*; but, not daring to put him to death, they ſent him to be puniſhed as the great lamas ſhould think proper.

The ſtupidity of the *Tartar* religion.

Hiſtory and adventures of a pretended god.

It happened that one of the hoſos had an elder brother, called *Tuſhetu*, who was a conſiderable khan, and at the head of the conſpiracy againſt *Lopzang*. After that rebel was defeated, *Shaſſaktu*'s ſon, who had the ſame name as his father, was re-inſtated in his dominions; but the lama we have

have mentioned perſuaded his brother to reſerve all his flocks, and a great part of his ſubjects, for his own uſe. *Shaſſaktu* complained of this treatment to the great lama, but receiving only evaſive anſwers, he carried his complaints to the *Manchew* emperor of *China*, to whom the *Kalkas* paid a ſmall tribute of a dromedary and nine white horſes, for the liberty of trade in that empire. The emperor, by virtue of his ſuperiority, interpoſed in the affair, and procured a meeting of the ſtates of the *Kalkas*; but a diſpute between the lama, who was *Shaſſaktu*'s brother, and the great lama's deputy, aroſe about precedency. The latter pretended to it in right of his maſter, the great lama; and the other in his own right, as being an original living god. This important queſtion was, at laſt, determined, by putting them both on an equality; and, by the mediation of the members preſent and the *Chineſe* ambaſſor, *Shaſſaktu* was promiſed reſtitution by the lama, or, as he was commonly called, the kutuktu. Upon the breaking up of the aſſembly, however, *Shaſſaktu*, meeting with nothing but delays, applied to his friend *Kaldan*, the khan of the *Kalmuks*; who ſent an ambaſſador, complaining of their trifling towards *Shaſſaktu*; and to complain of the affront offered to the great lama, by the kutuktu's diſputing the precedency with his deputy.

His cruelty.

The kutuktu, whom the khan, his brother, paid the ſame adoration to, as did the meaneſt of the people, reſented this letter ſo much, that he put the ambaſſador to death; and, raiſing a greater army, with his brother, they not only ſurprized *Shaſſaktu*, whom they took priſoner and drowned, but marched againſt the *Eluths*, whoſe troops they likewiſe defeated, and cut off the head of *Kaldan*'s brother. This happened in the year 1687.

Policy of *Kanghi*, the famous emperor of *China*.

Kanghi was then the *Manchew* emperor of *China*. He was the prince who is ſo much celebrated by the jeſuits, and other writers, for his attention to the affairs of government, his zeal for all polite and uſeful literature, and for every other virtue that can enter into the compoſition of a man or a monarch. But, on this occaſion, it appeared he was far from being void of ambition. Being apprehenſive of *Kalkan*'s power, and a general confederacy of the princes deſcended from *Kublay* againſt him, he had ſecretly encouraged the kutuktu, and his brother, to invade the *Eluth* territories. They, on the other hand, pretended that they had undoubted intelligence, that *Shaſſaktu* and *Kaldan* had formed a deſign for ſubjecting, to themſelves, all the *Kalkas*; and invited in all the princes of that nation to oppoſe *Kaldan*; who, in the year 1688, invaded *Tuſhetu*'s territories. But, the latter being joined by a great number of other princes, the army was vaſtly ſuperior to that of *Kaldan*, who wiſely took up a ſtrong camp, without advancing farther. This had the effect he had foreſeen; the *Kalkas* ſplit into factions, and, by degrees, aban-

abandoned *Tushitu* and the kutuktu: so that *Kaldan* defeated their army; drove them beyond the walls of *China*; made himself master of their camp, and all the rich spoil; and put to death all their friends and followers, wherever they were found. In short, he filled their whole country with desolation.

who protects the kutuktu.

The kutuktu, and his brother, upon this, applied to *Kanghi*; and not only became his vassals themselves, but brought over many of the *Kalka* princes to follow their example; which made *Kaldan* declare war against the *Kalkas* in general.

Kaldan massacres the *Kalkas*.

Kanghi, at first, affected great moderation. He sent an ambassador to demand of *Kaldan* the reasons of his cruel proceedings. His answer was, that he was resolved to revenge his brother's death; that the kutuktu was such a monster in every kind of wickedness, that it was scandalous in any prince to give him a retreat: and he referred the emperor to the breach of his oath, he had solemnly sworn, in the *Tartar* diet, before his ambassador, and had so perfidiously broken: adding, that he could not lay down his arms till the kutuktu was given up. *Kanghi* declined this, under pretence that he could not abandon a prince in distress and under his protection. Upon which, about the year 1690, *Kaldan* advanced to a province which *Kanghi* had assigned him, and put all the *Kalkas* to the sword that fell into his hands.

He forms a confederacy against *Kanghi*,

But the army of *Kaldan*, though very well disciplined, was not so formidable a consideration to *Kanghi* as was the power of the lama of *Tibet*, whose quarrel *Kaldan* was in a manner fighting, and who was then forming intrigues for uniting all the *Tartar* princes of his party, *Moguls* in particular, for recovering the empire of *China* from the *Manchew* usurpation, as they call it. The apprehensions of such a confederacy, with *Kaldan* at its head, was alarming; and, tho' the *Chinese* mandarins considered the *Eluths* as being no other than despicable barbarians, yet the emperor ordered a body of *Mogul* and *Manchew* troops, his own subjects, to march against *Kaldan*, who utterly defeated them, and obliged their remains, with their general, to fly to the mountains.

but is unsuccessful.

The news of this disgrace reaching *Peking*, a much greater army was raised; and, at first, *Kanghi* intended to have commanded it in person: but he was by his council advised to give that command to his brother, and he ordered his own eldest son to attend him to the field. By this time, the missionary jesuits had got footing in *China* and had taught *Kanghi*, and his subjects, the use of founderies for making cannon, and the *European* methods of managing artillery. *Kaldan* was then about two hundred and forty miles from *Peking*, and destitute of artillery; but he knew so well how to chuse his ground, that he gave the *Chinese* several defeats, and, at last, hazarded a general engagement, in which both parties

parties claimed the victory: but *Kaldan* was ſenſible that the match was unequal; and, that his ſmall army, if he continued to hold out, muſt, at laſt, be ſacrificed. A treaty, therefore, was ſet on foot the next day after the battle; by which *Kaldan* ſwore never to return again into the emperor's dominions, or thoſe of his allies, provided he was ſuffered to return to his own dominion., which he found in the utmoſt diſtreſs, though the cauſes are variouſly related.

Adventures of his nephew *Raptan.*

According to the beſt accounts, he had left a favourite nephew, whoſe name was *Raptan*, regent of his dominions. This prince had been contracted to a lady, whom *Kaldan* himſelf had fallen in love with; and *Kaldan* had likewiſe procured the death of *Raptan*'s elder brother, whom he hated. Upon thoſe, and ſome other, provocations, *Raptan* withdrew ſecretly from court, and was attended in his retreat by ſuch numbers of the *Eluth* families, that *Kaldan*, upon his return from the war, found his dominions greatly depopulated; nor could he ever perſuade *Raptan* to return. *Kaldan*, notwithſtanding all his diſtreſſes, ſtill perſevered in his animoſity againſt the *Kalkas*; and, after his return, omitted no means of renewing the war againſt them.

Cenſure of the *Chineſe* generals.

The court of *Peking*, on the other hand, was exaſperated againſt the generals who had conducted the expedition againſt *Kaldan*; even the emperor's brother was fined and cenſured, and the other generals degraded; and ſome would have been put to death, had not the emperor himſelf ſcreened them. Soon after *Kanghi* marched into *Tartary* and there received the homages of all the *Kalka* princes. This ſerved to haſten the preparations *Kaldan* was making for renewing the war. He was ſo ſucceſsful that he ſoon after took the field, and put to death all the *Kalkas* wherever he met with them. He was not ſo ſucceſsful in forming the *Mogul* confederacy, which he had ſo much at heart. About the year 1694, he publiſhed his propoſals for uniting them againſt the *Manchews*, and threatened to treat every *Mogul* as an enemy who did not join the confederacy. Having ſent thoſe propoſals to the king of *Korchin*, that prince tranſmitted them to *Kanghi*, who immediately reſolved to make his utmoſt efforts againſt the *Eluths*. The *Chineſe*, by this time, had been brought into excellent diſcipline by the indefatigable cares of *Kanghi*, whoſe army conſiſted of three hundred thouſand men, with three hundred pieces of cannon, which he divided into three bodies; and, at the ſame time, ſent them all, though by ſeparate quarters, into *Kaldan*'s dominions, which they filled with deſolation; the race of the *Eluths* being almoſt exterminated by them, and no more than ten or twelve thouſand of their families left alive.

Injuſtice done to *Kaldan*,

As to *Kaldan* himſelf, what we know of him is chiefly from the repreſentation of the Jeſuits and the *Chineſe*, who were his mortal enemies; but, even according to their relations, their idol, *Kanghi*, behaved very unſuitably to the character

character they gave him, in giving refuge to ſuch monſters of barbarity and perjury as the kutuktu and his brother, and taking up their quarrel, and purſuing it with ſuch barbarity as he did; for he put to death even the beloved wife of *Kaldan*, by ordering her head to be cut off to adorn his triumph. *Kaldan*, notwithſtanding all his diſtreſſes, retreated, ſome ſay, with his followers to the mountains, where hunger ſoon compelled them to kill all their horſes. After this, he ſent his own ſon to the great lama, to let him know his condition: but the young prince and his retinue were intercepted on the road by a treacherous governor, and ſent in chains to *Kanghi*, who meanly put him to death. When *Kaldan* received this melancholy news, he could ſupport his ſpirits no longer; but, deſiring his few followers to provide for their own ſafety in the beſt manner they could, he took poiſon.

who poiſons himſelf.

Succeeded by *Raptan*.

The fate of *Kaldan* did not diſcourage his nephew *Raptan* from diſcovering himſelf to the remaining *Kalmucks*, or to the people of *Little Bukharia*, which had been ſubject to *Kaldan*; but he demanded his uncle's ſucceſſion. He was accordingly recognized by them; and, having great humanity as well as abilities, he ſoon became ſo powerful a prince that he reduced *Tibet* and ſeveral other rich provinces: but he at laſt drew upon himſelf the arms of *Kanghi*, who took from him the provinces of *Kamil* and *Turfan*. Their quarrel is ſaid to have been occaſioned by a gold mine, which was claimed by both parties, as lying on the frontiers of both their dominions. The kontaiſh, or grand-monarch (for ſo *Raptan* was called by his ſubjects) for ſome time maintained his ground; but the *Chineſe*, by their artillery, and building ſtrong fortifications, at laſt gained their point. This obliged the kontaiſh, ſo late as the year 1720, to apply to the czar *Peter the Great* of *Muſcovy*, for protection and the aſſiſtance of ten thouſand men, with a train of artillery; offering, on that condition, to pay him tribute, and to clear his dominions of the *Chineſe*. But *Peter* was then engaged in ſo many projects of far greater conſequence, that he declined the offer. Notwithſtanding this, the kontaiſh certainly regained the poſſeſſions he had loſt, becauſe we find him, in the year 1726, in his dominions. Since that time, we have no materials from that country for hiſtory.

His negociation with the czar *Peter*.

The

The ſucceſſors of Jenghiz *Khan in* Perſia, *from the year* 1264 *to the year* 1335.

HULACU, the ſame deſcendant of *Jenghiz Khan* who, as we have ſeen, conquered *Baghdad*, and put a period to the khalifat, died poſſeſſed of immenſe dominions, comprehending *Koraſan*; the two *Perſias*, with their capitals, *Iſpahan* and *Shiraz*; all *Aſſyria*, *Media*, *Meſopotamia*, *Armenia*, *Georgia*, and *Aſia Minor*. Some of thoſe countries he had received, in truſt, from the *Mogul Chineſe* emperors; and, notwithſtanding the immenſity of his power, he ſtill acknowledegd them as his ſuperiors. Empire of *Hulaku*.

He was, in the year 1264, ſucceeded by his ſon *Abaka* in his dominions. *Abaka*'s firſt care was, to ſecure the paſſes into his territories from the incurſions of his neighbours, who, all of them, like himſelf, were the deſcendants of *Jenghiz Khan*. Notwithſtanding that, *Baka*, the khan, or kin, of *Great Bukharia*, invaded his dominions with three hundred thouſand men; but happened to die on the eve of a general engagement: upon which his troops returned to *Tartary*. *Abaka*, after this, in the year 1269, defeated an army of *Tartars* under *Borak*, a deſcendant from *Jagatay*, *Jenghiz Khan*'s ſon. By all accounts, *Abaka* was a wiſe and a virtuous prince; but it is extremely hard to aſcertain the nature of the ſovereignty he had over great part of his dominions: for, under him, *Bundoktar*, ſultan of *Egypt*, conquered *Armenia*, and took priſoner the king's ſon, whoſe name was *Hatem*. But, though *Hatem* was ſubſtitute to *Abaka*, we know of no concern the latter took in the war; only we are told that he gave to *Hatem* a favourite ſlave, for which *Bundoktar* exchanged *Hatem*'s ſon. We are likewiſe told, that *Abaka* had a governor in *Anatolia*, to whom *Hatem* applied for aſſiſtance, but in vain; and, that *Abaka*, upon *Hatem*'s earneſt requeſt, gave him leave to reſign his kingdom of *Armenia* to his ſon. He is ſucceeded by *Abaka*.

After this, *Bundoktar* invaded the country of *Anatolia*, where he defeated the *Mogul* forces; and, having over-run that province, he retired towards *Syria*; while *Abaka* put his governor of *Anatolia* to death for negligence. The reſt of *Abaka*'s life was ſpent in his wars with the *Egyptians*; in ſome of which he was ſucceſsful, in others not: but the accounts given of them by authors, are ſo uncertain and contradictory, and, at the ſame time, ſo unintereſting, that we ſhall not trouble our readers with the particulars. Amongſt the other glories of his reign, it was not the leaſt conſiderable, that he endeavoured to reſtore *Baghdad* to its antient luſtre; and that, if he was not a *Chriſtian*, though it is probable he was, he certainly attended the ſervice of the *Chriſtian* church; for, only three days before his death, he celebrated *Bundoktar* invades *Armenia*.

Abaka, a *Chriſtian*, his death. brated the feaſt of *Eaſter*, with the *Chriſtians*, at the church of *Hamadan*. His death, which happened in 1282, was thought to have been haſtened by poiſon adminiſtered to him by his prime-miniſter.

He was ſucceeded by *Ahmed*, whoſe *Mogul* name was *Nikudar*. The conduct of this prince make it evident, that the *Moguls*, in *Syria* and *Perſia*, had, at this time, no ſettled religion, but took up with that which was moſt according to their fancy or intereſt. This prince, in the beginning of his reign, was a friend to the *Chriſtians*; and, perhaps, would have continued ſo, had it not been for political reaſons; for he had mounted the throne in prejudice to *Argon*, ſon to *Abaka*. The latter, having a great party on his ſide among the *Moguls*, diſputed the ſucceſſion with his uncle, who declared himſelf a *Mahometan*; probably, to gain the *Mahometan* princes, particularly *Kelown*, to his intereſt. He could not, however, have done any thing more unpopular amongſt his ſubjects, who had an invincible averſion to that religion. But *Argun* having taken the field, was defeated and made priſoner, and condemned by *Ahmed* to die. This barbarous order ſhocked the *Moguls*; they ſet *Argun* free; and *Ahmed*, in his turn, was made priſoner, and put to death. We are told that *Argun* refuſed to ſhed his blood, but that he delivered him up into the hands of his mother-in-law, whoſe huſband and ſons he had put to death.

Revolutions in *Perſia*.

Argun made emperor. One *Bogar*, a nobleman, who had the chief hand in the late revolution, that had placed *Argun* upon the throne, was that prince's prime-miniſter; and the firſt thing he did was, to put to death *Shamſoddin*, the vizir, who was ſuſpected of having poiſoned his father. After this, *Bogar* rebelled, and loſt his life in the attempt; and the *Mahometans* became the deteſtation of the court and people after the death of *Shamſoddin*, who was of that religion. *Argun*'s hatred to them proceeded ſo far, that he made a *Jew* phyſician his firſt miniſter; but, at the ſame time, the *Chriſtians* were ſo much in his favour, that he gave orders for converting even the holy temple of *Mecca* into a moſque. This proved fatal to both the emperor and his miniſter; for, before it could be executed, the emperor fell ſick, it was thought by poiſon; the *Jew* was murdered; and his death was followed by a maſſacre of great numbers of his religion.

His death.

Succeeded by *Ganjatu*, The next ſultan, or khan, of *Perſia*, was *Ganjatu*. This prince was celebrated for juſtice and liberality; but, making too free with ſome ladies of quality, their fathers formed a conſpiracy againſt him; and, having put him to death, in 1294, he was ſucceeded by his uncle *Baydu*, governor of *Baghdad*.

A conſpiracy, headed by one *Gazan*, the ſon of *Argun* and governor of *Koraſan*, was formed againſt the ſultan; and, the conſpirators taking the field, demanded juſtice upon the murderers of *Ganjatu*. It appears that *Gazan* declared himſelf

ſelf a *Mahometan*, and was joined by all of that religion, which gained head every day in *Perſia*, by means of the vaſt number of *Turks* who poured into it. *Gazan* having taken the field, defeated the ſultan's troops, and obliged him to comply with all he demanded. *Baydu*, however, having no intention to perform his promiſes, *Gazan* employed *Newruz*, at once an artful miniſter and a great general, to form a party againſt *Baydu*, in his own court; which he did with ſo much ſucceſs, that he was defeated, and the ſultan put to death. who is put to death.

Gazan next mounted the throne of *Perſia*, and his general *Newruz*, to whoſe valour and conduct he entirely owed it, quelled all the rebellions that diſturbed the early part of his reign; but being ſent governor to *Koraſan*, he was there moſt ingratefully put to death, upon a ſlight ſuſpicion, by order of his maſter, who, after his acceſſion, aſſumed the *Mahometan* name of *Mamhud*. *Gazan*, however, is celebrated for his eminent juſtice; but we cannot ſay with what propriety: for, in 1299, he ordered his chief miniſter to be put to death, merely becauſe that he might ſieze the great riches he had amaſſed. After that, he invaded *Syria*, where he defeated the *Egyptians*; and his general *Kutluk* took *Damaſcus*, and reduced great part of *Syria*; but *Mahmud* repaſſing the *Euphrates*, the garriſons he left in that country were cut in pieces by the *Syrians*; who, being ſupported by the *Egyptians*, defeated *Mahmud*'s general in a bloody engagement: ſoon after which *Mahmud* himſelf died. He is ſucceeded by *Gazan*. His rapaciouſneſs.

Mahmud was ſucceeded by his brother *Aljaytu*; who, being likewiſe a *Mahometan*, took the name of *Gayathoddin*. He had been, during his brother's life-time, governor of *Koraſan*. This prince's reign was a ſeries of wars with the *Syrians* and *Turks*. *Gayathoddin* invaded the former, and the latter invaded him. At firſt he reſided at *Tauris*, but afterwards lived at *Sultania*, which he built. This reign is diſtinguiſhed by no remarkable events or conqueſts, and he likewiſe is celebrated for his juſtice; the name which the hiſtorians of that country ſeem to have given to cruelty. At the time of his death, which happened in 1316, he was thirty-ſix years of age; and he is remarked for having been the patron of the ſect of *Ali*, which ſtill prevails over all *Perſia*; and of having been the author of that barbarous inſtitution of forcing *Jews* and *Chriſtians* to part with their children, that they may be educated *Mahometans* and ſlaves. He is ſucceeded by his brother *Aljaytu*, a violent *Mahometan*.

Abuſaid ſucceeded his father the laſt ſultan. The general of his troops was *Juban*, a man of approved fidelity to his family, and eminent for his ſervices to it; but of too ſevere a diſpoſition: for, having repreſſed an invaſion of the *Tartars*, who threatened *Sultania* itſelf, he ordered ſome officers, who, he thought had failed in their duty, to receive the *Mogul* diſcipline of the whip; which is, perhaps, the ſame with the *Muſcovite* knout. The delinquents were powerful enough to form ſuch a party againſt him, that they defeated his ar- *Abuſaid* mounts the throne.

my;

my; and it was with the utmoſt difficulty he eſcaped to *Sultania*, where the ſultan gave him his ſiſter in marriage. The truth is, this *Juban* ſeems to have been a very extraordinary perſon. Having procured his ſon the government of *Anatolia*, the young man rebelled againſt his ſovereign, but was, by the father, brought priſoner to *Abuſaid*, who farther rewarded the father's ſervices, by not only pardoning the ſon, but replacing him in his government.

He falls in love with *Juban*'s daughter.

Love, however, ſoon put a ſtop to this harmony. The daughter of *Juban* was reported to be the fineſt woman in all *Aſia*; and ſhe had been married to the ſon of *Huſſgyu*, another great general. It had been, immemorially, the prerogative of the *Mogul* khans, to oblige any man to part with his wife, if his majeſty had a mind to make her his. *Abuſaid*, upon ſeeing the daughter of *Juban*, was ſo violently ſmitten with her charms, that he made uſe of this part of his prerogative, by demanding her of her father in marriage. Though, from what appeared afterwards, neither the lady nor her huſband had any objections to this propoſal, yet *Juban* had other notions; and not only flatly refuſed his conſent, but carried the unwilling prince to *Baghdad*, and ordered his daughter and ſon-in-law to reſide in a different part of the empire. This ſeparation ſerved only to inflame *Abuſaid*'s paſſion the more; but, as his love for the daughter increaſed, his regard for the father diminiſhed, till it was confirmed into hatred by the ſuggeſtions of *Sayn* the vizir. *Damaſk*, the ſon of *Juban*, having a great poſt about the ſultan's perſon, diſcovered that a formidable conſpiracy had been formed againſt his father, and put him upon his guard.

Juban's virtue.

Juban's conduct, upon this, is pretty unaccountable; for he retired to *Koraſan*, and took the vizir *Sayn* along with him, leaving his ſon in poſſeſſion of his power at court. The emperor, who was young, and whom *Juban* had always treated as his pupil, reſented this treatment; and *Damaſk*, having exceeded the bounds of his duty, both by his promotions and his amours, was put to death by *Abuſaid*'s orders.

This execution was no ſooner performed, than *Abuſaid*, thinking he had now regained his authority, ſent orders to impriſon *Juban*, and to put to death all his relations and followers. Thoſe orders, inſtead of being executed, were communicated to *Juban* himſelf, who immediately raiſed ſeventy thouſand horſe, and took the field againſt the ſultan, who was likewiſe at the head of an army. But, while *Juban* was upon his march, ſome ſcruples aroſe within him with regard to the legality of his enterprize. He therefore paid a viſit to a ſhyk, or nobleman, named *Roknoddin*, to conſult him; and it was agreed, that the ſheyk ſhould, in *Juban*'s name, repair to *Abuſaid*'s camp, and offer to treat of peace, provided the murderers of his ſon were given up. But *Abuſaid*, who received the ſheyk with great honours, had made an inveterate enemy of *Juban*, his firſt miniſter, and refuſed

refuſed either to treat or give up the parties. This anſwer exaſperated *Juban*; but it ſoon appeared, that it proceeded from a party he had formed in *Juban*'s army, thirty thouſand of whom went over to *Abuſaid*.

He is deſerted by his army.

This deſertion, which was owing, perhaps, to *Juban*'s too great ſeverity of diſcipline, entirely diſconcerted and daunted *Juban*, who immediately prepared to return, with the troops that ſtill continued with him, to *Khoraſan*. It is more than probable that this diſtreſs touched his daughter, who now was married to *Abuſaid*, and her huſband was advanced to one of the greateſt poſts in the empire. This revolution in *Juban*'s family was entirely unknown to him. After marching, for ſome time, thro' almoſt impaſſable deſerts, he found that the deſertion amongſt his troops had brought them almoſt to a handful; and formed a reſolution of retiring towards the *Turks* in *Turkeſtan*, the declared enemies of *Abuſaid*: but, bethinking himſelf of a general named *Malec Kurt*, who lay under the greateſt obligations to him, he repaired to his army, where he was murdered by *Malec Kurt*'s orders. Before his death, he requeſted, amongſt other things, that he ſhould be buried at *Medina*; and, that the ſon whom he had by the ſultan's ſiſter, ſhould be ſent to his court, together with his own little finger, which was crooked at the end, to be preſented to *Abuſaid*: all which requeſts were promiſed him.

His remarkable death.

Malec Kurt having received orders from *Abuſaid* for what he had done, with very great promiſes in caſe of performance, immediately ſet out for court to claim his reward; but, to his great diſappointment, upon the road he underſtood that the new empreſs governed the empire; and, that her huſband was in poſſeſſion of the very poſt which he himſelf had a mind to demand. This news exaſperated him ſo highly, that he ſent back orders to put *Juban*'s young ſon to death; his death having likewiſe been contained in the emperor's warrant. This inhuman action being performed, he went to the emperor's court, which was then at *Karabagh*; where he met with nothing but diſdain and contempt, and, at laſt, had permiſſion to return to his own country. The ſultan gave forty thouſand dinars to the *Mecca* pilgrims, to be laid out in burying the bodies of *Juban* and his ſon, according as the former had requeſted.

A traitor diſappointed of his reward.

We have been the more particular upon the above relation, as it contains a leſſon to princes, not to puſh the provocations of their ſubjects beyond the bounds of human ſufferance; and, becauſe it is full of events, that are as inſtructive as they are curious. As to *Baghdad*, for ſo the new ſultana was named, her character is very queſtionable. It is agreed, on all hands, that her huſband, who loved a ſtudious life, put the whole management of affairs into her hands; and, that her adminiſtration was wiſe and moderate. On the other hand, ſhe was accuſed of having ſtill a ſecret correſpondence

Hiſtory of the ſultana *Baghdad*.

ſpondence with her former huſband *Haſſan*; and ſome perſons, who were envious of *Haſſan*'s great power, filled the ſultan's head with thoſe ſuperſtitions; and they made ſuch an impreſſion upon him, that both *Baghdad* and *Haſſan* were ſent to priſon, but, having cleared their innocence, they were ſet free, and reſtored to greater favour than ever: for *Haſſan* was made governor of *Anatolia*. The ſultan *Abuſaid* did not ſurvive this event above four or five years; for, in 1335, as he was marching to oppoſe an irruption of the *Auſbeg Tartars*, whoſe monarch diſputed the crown with him, he fell ill and died. This prince, in his perſon, is ſaid to have been handſome; but it is plain that his paſſions, together with his love of ſtudy, hurted him greatly. He was, at the time of his death, no more than thirty-two years of age; and he was only twelve when his father made him governor of *Koraſan*. It was ſtrongly ſuſpected that he was poiſoned by his beloved *Baghdad*.

Death and character of *Abuſaid*.

The Hiſtory of Timur Bek, *commonly called* Tamerlan.

Preliminary hiſtory.

BEFORE we proceed to the direct hiſtory of this great monarch, it is proper to give the reader a general idea of the ſtate of *Aſia* when *Tamerlan* entered upon the ſtage of life, that he may thereby comprehend the various advantages he had from the diſſentions and diſpoſitions of the *Aſiatic* powers. This is the more neceſſary, as all other hiſtorians have repreſented him, as a monarch poſſeſſed of almoſt ſupernatural powers, and as owing the vaſt progreſs he made entirely to the force of his own valour and genius.

Revolutions in *Great* and *Little Bukharia*.

Our readers may eaſily underſtand, that the conqueſts made by a barbarous nation, at a vaſt diſtance from their original country, could not be permanent. Nothing but the veneration which the *Moguls* had for the memory of the great *Jenghiz Khan*, could have preſerved their *Aſiatic* conqueſts in his race. But after the death of *Abuſaid*, there was no object of allegiance; and the vaſt multiplication of *Jenghiz Khan*'s deſcendants, rendered it almoſt impoſſible to determine who had the right of ſucceſſion; a circumſtance which generally determined the *Moguls* in their allegiance. *Haſſan*, the huſband of the famous *Baghdad*, when *Abuſaid* died, was, as we have already ſeen, governor of *Anatolia*; and, being thereby poſſeſſed of great intereſt, he invented for himſelf a deſcent from *Jenghiz Khan*; from which he inſtituted a claim to the throne of *Perſia*. But the tribe of *Suldus*, the head of which was *Jupan*, declared *Arpa* the ſultan of *Perſia*, becauſe he was deſcended from *Tuli*, the ſon of *Jenghiz Khan*. It appears as if this *Arpa* had held the government

vernment for ſome time, becauſe we are told that he put to death the ſultana *Baghdad*, for having poiſoned *Abuſaid*, and for being in concert with his enemies. His dominion, however, was but ſhort lived; for he was defeated and killed by *Muſſa*, who was deſcended from *Hulaku*. *Muſſa*, upon this, was declared ſultan in *Baghdad*; and *Haſſan*, for political reaſons, proclaimed *Mohammed* ſultan of *Perſia*, becauſe he was deſcended from *Hulaku* by a prior branch. This *Mohammed* was defeated and killed by *Muſſa*. Other pretenders afterwards ſtarted up, but they were routed by *Haſſan*, and *Muſſa* was killed in one of the engagements. After this, another *Haſſan*, ſirnamed *Kujuk*, who was of *Jupan*'s family, defeated and killed *Mohammed*; and the other *Haſſan*, who was called *Buzruk*, was taken priſoner. *Buzruk*, however, who had been the huſband of the empreſs *Baghdad*, after various adventures, poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſupreme authority, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Avis*.

Buzruk emperor,

This prince made *Baghdad* the city of his reſidence, and is reckoned amongſt the wiſe and juſt princes, only, perhaps becauſe he was not a monſter of barbarity. His ſon *Huſſayu* ſucceeded him, and he was killed by his brother *Ahmed*, whoſe ſucceſsful rebellion placed him upon the throne of *Perſia*. *Ahmed*'s fratricide loſt him the affections of the army, but he regained the empire, and reigned till the time of *Tamerlan*.

Succeeded by *Avis*.

In this confuſed ſtate, when the hand of every barbarian was lifted up againſt his brother, or his neighbour, were the affairs of *Aſia*, when the great *Timur Bek* appeared in the world. He found, at his entrance upon action, the vaſt empire of *Jenghiz Khan* ſplit and ſhattered to pieces; and it would be equally uſeleſs, as it would be diſguſtful, to point out the actions, defeats, and ſucceſſes of the various pretenders in different parts.

Tamerlan appears.

Some hiſtorians, prejudiced againſt *Tamerlan* (for ſo, in compliance with *European* reading, we ſhall call that great conqueror, though his real name was *Timur Bek*) pretend that he was originally no better than the ſon of a ſhepherd: but this original of him is ſtrongly, and with great reaſon, contradicted by other authors, who are better informed. According to them, he was the deſcendant of one of thoſe governors who, after the death of *Jagatay*, the emperor of *Bukharia*, erected themſelves into a kind of independent ſovereigns; but were always obliged to ſubmit, for a time, to ſuperior power. Upon the invaſion of his principality by one *Togluk*, who, it ſeems, had the longeſt ſword, (for, at that time, and in that age, no other title was regarded) *Tamerlan* ſubmitted to him, as being the great khan of that country; and did it in ſo graceful a manner, that he was not only confirmed in his principality of *Kaſh*, but was made commander over ten thouſand men. As the whole of *Great Bukharia* was, at that time, carving out by the ſword, ſub-

His original.

jection or dependency was no more than accident. Two governors, *Huſſayu* and *Beyen*, being at war, *Timur* joined the former, together with another prince called *Yeuſyri*, who was his friend; and *Haſſayu* remained victorious. *Tamerlan*, however, happened to have an uncle, who was a kind of an aſſociate with him in the government; and, upon the irruption of *Togluk* and his generals into *Great Bukharia*, had retired to *Khoraſan*, where he embraced an intereſt different from that of *Tamerlan* and *Yeuſyri*. It is very poſſible, and indeed probable, that *Tamerlan* was no better than an intruder upon his uncle's right, if, in that country, there was any ſuch thing as right; for, when his uncle, *Haji Berlas*, returned to take poſſeſſion of his principality of *Berlaſh*, he and *Yeuſiri* met and defeated him in a bloody battle. As the quarrel, however, lay between *Yeuſyri* and *Haji Berlas*, *Tamerlan* did not think himſelf obliged farther to ſupport the other, or to join the purſuit of his uncle, who had taken refuge at *Samarkant*. His management, on this occaſion, is dark. All we learn is, that *Tamerlan*'s troops deſerted from him, and that *Yeuſyri* conſidered this as a ſecret contrivance of *Tamerlan*; upon which the latter made up matters with his uncle, and their troops in conjunction defeated *Yeuſyri*, and placed *Bayezid*, who had given refuge to *Haji Berlas*, upon the thrones of *Samarkant* and *Kojend*. After this, *Tamerlan* had ſome diſagreement with his uncle, but ſoon after joined him, and ſerved him with great ſucceſs in defeating his enemies.

Bukharia invaded by *Togluk*.

Togluk, the great khan, diſſatisfied with the ſtate of affairs, again invaded *Great Bukaria*, and put to death *Bayezid*, the patron of *Haji Berlas*, who ſoon after was murdered by robbers. It appears that *Tamerlan* found means, all this while, ſtill to have the ſtrongeſt party; for, on the death of his uncle, *Togluk* confirmed him in his principality, and gave him the command of his uncle's, *Toman*, ten thouſand men. Soon after, *Togluk*, in effect, became emperor of all *Great Bukharia*; and *Tamerlan* was one of his moſt favoured generals and miniſters. One *Bikijek*, who was firſt miniſter to *Togluk*, having, by his conduct, given umbrage to *Tamerlan*, the latter joined his old friend *Huſſayu*; and both of them, with no more than ſixty horſes in their retinue, applied themſelves to the neighbouring governor of *Kivak*, called *Tekil*. But that robber, for ſo all thoſe governors were, expecting a large reward, endeavoured to make them priſoners. They eſcaped, and he purſued them with ten thouſand horſe; and, according to hiſtory, they killed nine hundred and fifty of their purſuers, while they themſelves were reduced to no more than ſeven. The death of *Tekil*, who fell by *Tamerlan*'s hand, put an end to the diſpute. Though the particulars are not mentioned in hiſtory, yet it is certain that *Tamerlan*, after this, was reduced to a moſt abject condition; that he was ſeveral times priſoner in the hands of the *Turks*; and,

Great valour of *Tamerlan*.

and, that both he and his friend *Huſſayu*, whoſe ſiſter *Tamerlan* had married, were, at laſt, reduced ſo much, that all their property was a lean horſe, and an old camel.

But diſtreſs was no diſgrace in a country where every man might make his fortune by his ſword. *Timur*, *Tamerlan*'s father, procured him followers wherever he came; and he ſoon was at the head of about one thouſand horſe, by the friendſhip of the prince of *Sejeſtan*. His enemies, however, ſtill endeavoured to harraſs him; and, in a flying ſkirmiſh, he received a wound which rendered him lame, on one ſide, for ever after.

He receives a wound.

The *Getes*, who, in fact, were no other than the *Goths*, and a nation of *Tartars*, at that time, had poured into *Great Bukharia*, and ſought to cruſh both *Huſſayu* and *Tamerlan*: but, by the valour of the latter, though he had no more under him than two thouſand men, they were entirely defeated; and he once more received his principality of *Kaſh*. After this vaſt ſucceſs, *Tamerlan* found it neceſſary to have a touch of enthuſiaſm; and he reſolved to attack *Elias Koja*, the ſon of the great khan *Togluk*. As this reſolution might have been thought romantic, *Tamerlan* gave it the ſanction of revelation, and he declared to his followers, that, in his ſleep, he heard a voice aſſuring him of victory from God, and commanding him to fear nothing. Upon this, he marched againſt *Elias*, who, it ſeems, was emperor of *Getes* likewiſe; and, being ſeconded by his friend *Huſſayu*, he defeated them in a bloody engagement, and took *Elias* priſoner, but he afterwards eſcaped.

His ſucceſſes againſt the *Getes*.

His enthuſiaſm.

It was no uncommon effort of policy in *Tamerlan*, after this, to procure a kind of an union amongſt all the diſjointed ſtates of *Great Bukharia*, and its vaſt adjoining dominions. He and *Huſſayu* managed ſo well, that, in a general aſſembly of the ſtates, one *Kabul* was choſen great khan at *Samarkant*, and inaugurated accordingly: but it was not long before his authority was endangered by a freſh invaſion of *Getes* under *Elias*. They were oppoſed by an army under the command of *Tamerlan* and *Huſſayu*. A battle enſued, in which *Tamerlan* did wonders, and ſeveral times reſtored the fortune of the day; but *Huſſayu*, either through jealouſy or caprice, neglecting to improve it, the ſcale of victory, at laſt, turned againſt *Tamerlan*; and the *Getes* beſieged *Samarkant* itſelf: but, by a mortality among them and their horſes, they were obliged to abandon their enterprize.

He unites *Great Bukharia*;

is defeated,

but recovers himſelf.

Tamerlan, by his defeat, roſe in his reputation; while *Huſſayu*, his confederate, ſunk in his through his extreme avarice. *Tamerlan*, on the other hand, brave and generous, even to exceſs, endeared himſelf ſo much to the chiefs of the army, that they determined to make him their ſole commander: but, being afraid that *Tamerlan*'s ſentiments of friendſhip would not ſuffer him to accept of that honour,

barbarians like, they gave *Huſſayu* an intimation, that *Tamerlan* was determined to deſtroy him as well as the great khan. This device was ſo aukwardly managed by thoſe perfidious barbarians, that it had almoſt proved fatal to *Tamerlan*, who was again reduced to the greateſt ſtreights, and ſeveral times in danger of being put to death by *Huſſayu*'s ſtratagems and intrigues. His genius, however, proved ſuperior to all attempts againſt him; and, though at the head of no more than two hundred men, he made himſelf maſter of *Karlin*, a city of vaſt importance, and even defended himſelf againſt an army of ten thouſand men, whom he put to flight. In the purſuit, *Tamerlan* took priſoner a lady who was big with a daughter, whom he afterwards married. *Huſſayu*, however, who was both an able general and politician, renewed his attacks upon *Tamerlan*; but the latter, notwithſtanding all the diſadvantages againſt him, was ſtill victorious, or, at leaſt, kept his ground. It appears, by this time, that *Tamerlan*, in hatred, perhaps, to *Huſſayu*, had taken a body of *Getes* into his ſervice; whom he diſciplined ſo well, that he remained victorious over all *Huſſayu*'s great forces: and, after various encounters, a peace was made between *Huſſayu* and *Tamerlan* by the intervention of the mollaks, or clergy, who could not bear the introduction of the *Getes* into their country, becauſe they were idolaters. *Tamerlan* ſeems to have made this peace with a very good grace; for his enemies aſked him pardon for all that had happened, and he himſelf declared that he had a command from Heaven to reſtore tranquility to his country.

His diſtreſſes and dangers from *Huſſayu*.

His diſſimulation.

This peace put *Tamerlan* again in poſſeſſion of his principality of *Kaſh*; and he then joined *Huſſayu* in repelling a freſh invaſion of the *Getes*. Upon this occaſion, *Tamerlan*, with no more than thirteen ſoldiers, maintained a paſs againſt two hundred and fifty of the *Getes*; but he muſt, at laſt, have been deſtroyed, had not one of his friends informed them, that he was the great *Tamerlan*; upon which, the barbarians proſtrated themſelves on the ground, and aſked him pardon.

He again defeats the *Getes*.

'Tho' the eaſtern hiſtorians, and the tranſlators after them, have given the titles of emperors, kings, khans, princes, and governors, to *Tamerlan*, his aſſociates and enemies, yet it is extremely plain, that they were no better than a herd of lawleſs banditti; and that too, of the worſt kind; diſregardful of all gratitude, virtue, or honour; and of all connections, even amongſt themſelves. *Tamerlan*'s ſuperiority over his countrymen, conſiſted in his being leſs a barbarian in his ſentiments, and conſequently more of a rational being in his conduct, than the others. It was not long before he and *Huſſayu* again came to a rupture; and it was then that *Tamerlan* ſeriouſly entered upon the great ſchemes which he afterwards executed. Even the barbarians were ſenſible of the ſuperiority

Character of the *Bukharian* princes.

ſuperiority of his virtues and abilities; and *Tamerlan* diſſembled ſo exquiſitely well, that the ſeyd *Bereke*, a *Mahometan*, and a deſcendant from the prophet, put into his hands a drum and a ſtandard, with them, the emblems of imperial authority; and chanted a hymn predictive of his future grandeur: nor was *Tamerlan* backward in repaying theſe compliments to the holy man.

The reader, who has read the preceding part of this hiſtory, will eaſily conceive what vaſt influence this muſt have had upon a people equally ignorant and ſuperſtitious. *Tamerlan*, ſoon after, found himſelf at the head of a force with which he paſſed the *Jihun*, and he beſieged *Balk*, then in poſſeſſion of *Huſſayu*. The latter eaſily ſaw that it was in vain for him to reſiſt the torrent of *Tamerlan*'s ſucceſs; he came and threw himſelf at his feet, ſubmitting his life, and reſigning his dignity, to the conqueror, only requeſting that he might be permitted to make a pilgrimage to *Mecca*. *Tamerlan* complied with this requeſt; but *Huſſayu*, thinking others were as perfidious as himſelf, departed in the night time; and loſing his way, he returned to *Balk*, and took refuge in the ſteeple of a moſque. A ſoldier, who had loſt his horſe, happened to mount the ſame ſteeple, diſcovered, knew him, and carried him before *Tamerlan*; who generouſly gave him his life, and implored, even with tears, the general officers under him to ſpare him: but all was in vain; *Huſſayu* had been a tyrant over them and their relations, and his blood attoned for his cruelty. His death was followed by the deſtruction of his family, the taking of *Balk*, and the death of *Kabul*, the great khan, who had been made ſo by *Huſſayu*. His progreſs.

The throne of *Jagatay*, or the *Bukharias*, by the death of *Kabul*, was now vacant; and was, by the unanimous conſent of all the grandees of that country, mounted by *Tamerlan* in the year 1369. His inauguration was extremely ſolemn: he was decorated with a crown of gold, and he himſelf girded on his ſword, while his noblemen acknowledged his ſovereignty by ſhowers of pearls and diamonds which they pouered upon his head. After he had ſeverely chaſtiſed the inhabitants of *Balk*, he returned to his principality of *Kaſh*, and from thence to *Samarkant*, which he declared to be his capital. Here he had leiſure to prepare for the execution of his mighty enterprizes. He generouſly pardoned the numerous plots which thoſe perfidious barbarians, many of whom had been raiſed by himſelf, formed againſt him; and, at length, croſſed the river *Sir*, and received the ſubmiſſion of ſeveral nations of *Getes*, while he conquered others. Returning from thence to *Samarkant*, he ſuppreſſed many plots and inſurrections that were formed againſt him, and behaved with the greateſt lenity and generoſity towards thoſe who were concerned in them; ſeldom putting any of them to death, and pardoning others after repeated offences. He is declared emperor of *Bukharia*; ſuppreſſes his enemies;

invades *Koraſan*,

But *Tamerlan*'s ambition now began to look round, and he ſent a ſummons to *Huſſayu*, the ſofi, or king, of *Koraſan*, demanding reſtitution of certain provinces, which, he ſaid, belonged to him. *Huſſayu* haughtily anſwered, That, if *Tamerlan* wanted thoſe provinces, he muſt conquer them, as he had done, by the ſword. Upon this, *Tamerlan* beſieged and took *Cat*; and ordered a general officer, who had been guilty of cowardice, to be baſtinadoed and led to *Samarkant* at the tail of an aſs. After this, *Tamerlan*'s progreſs in *Koraſan* was ſo rapid, that *Huſſayu* died of grief, and other princes of that country ſubmitted to the conqueror; and *Tamerlan* gave them peace upon the condition of *Huſſayu*'s brother giving to his, *Tamerlan*'s, ſon, *Jehan Ghir*, his daughter in marriage, ſhe being reckoned the moſt compleat beauty then alive, with the genius of an angel. It was not, however, without ſome difficulty that this match was compleated. *Iſuf*, the lady's father, wanted to evade it; but the terror of *Tamerlan*'s arms ſoon brought him to compliance, and the marriage was celebrated with the utmoſt magnificence.

Kaſhgar,

Tamerlan's next expedition was againſt *Kamroddin*, who had uſurped the kingdom of *Kaſhgar*. In this expedition, his ſon *Jehan* acquired great honour; and *Tamerlan* married *Dilſhag Agar*, the daughter of his enemy. But, before he returned to *Samarkant*, he narrowly eſcaped ſome conſpiracies, and afterwards puniſhed the conſpirators. Thoſe puniſhments were followed by ſeveral revolts and rebellions, in the ſuppreſſing of which prince *Jehan* gave great proofs of his courage and conduct. *Kamroddin*, though much ſuperior in numbers, was every where defeated; but *Tamerlan* had the affliction to loſe his dear ſon *Jehan*, whom he found dead upon his return to *Samarkant*. The reſt of the year, 1375, was ſpent in ſubduing and puniſhing the rebellious emirs, or lords, who ſtill held out in *Little* and *Great Bukharia*; and, at laſt, *Tamerlan* defeated *Urus Khan*, and placed his friend *Toktanniſh* upon the throne of *Kipjak*. *Tamerlan*'s next war was with *Iſuf*, the prince of *Khoraſſan*, who challenged him to ſingle combat. *Tamerlan* armed himſelf, and gallantly accepted of the challenge; but *Iſuf* declined it, and moſt unpolitely threw into the ditch of his capital ſome melons which *Tamerlan* had preſented him in a golden baſon.

and is everywhere ſucceſsful.

It was not long before *Tamerlan* was revenged upon him; for he beſieged and took his capital, which was one of the moſt delicious places in the eaſt. By ſome it is called *Karazm*, by others *Urjengh*; and was ſo famous for literature, that it was called the manſion of the virtues and the ſciences.

Tamerlan, though a great prince, was moſt miſerably ſuperſtitious, or had the appearance of being ſo; for that appearance might have been the effect of his policy. His people were governed by their belief in his ſupernatural powers, and he even pretended to a ſpirit of prophecy. He affected

to

to foretel the fate of his rival *Iſuf*, who, during the ſiege of his capital, died of grief; and, when it was taken, he put vaſt numbers of the inhabitants to the ſword, and tranſported all the ornaments of learning he found in it to his own principality of *Kaſh*. He was ſo fond of the ſituation and beauty of *Karazm*, that he declared it the ſecond city in his empire, and his ſummer reſidence. At the ſame time he repaired and beautified it. He conquers *Khoraſan*.

Tamerlan's ambition grew with his ſucceſs, and, at laſt, he could not even conceal that he had formed a ſcheme for univerſal monarchy. Notwithſtanding this, he pretended to vaſt moderation, and to proceed by law. For this purpoſe, he had moulded his vaſt empire into a form of government, which gave him great ſtrength, and, at the ſame time, carried with it an appearance of dignity and freedom. The *Tartars*, who bordered upon *Bukharia* and *Kipjak*, were very powerful and likewiſe very free. They had ſubmitted to his government, and they were the beſt troops he had. He wiſely ſuffered them to retain the forms of their conſtitution in the fulleſt extent. He gave them power to be their own judges; and all crimes of treaſon, or rebellion, were adjudged, and puniſhed, in a meeting, or parliament, conſiſting of their chiefs of tribes, or hords, provinces, cities, and other dependencies upon his empire. In the year 1369, the prince of *Herat* became obnoxious to *Tamerlan*; but, far from puniſhing him in an arbitrary manner, he ſummoned him to appear before the aſſembly of the ſtates. *Pir Ali* (for ſo that prince was called, trifled with the ſummons till he fortified his capital. This did not daunt *Tamerlan*, he aſpired to univerſal empire; and being reſolved to graſp it, he invaded *Korazm*, as a prelude to the conqueſt of all *Perſia*. Either the weakneſs, or the policy, of this great conqueror is beyond belief. Upon his entering *Korazm*, he heard of one *Sanku*, who was eſteemed a ſaint and an idiot, for idiots are an order of ſaints amongſt the *Mahometans*, and were, therefore, in high eſteem all over the eaſt. Upon *Tamerlan*'s approaching this idiot, he threw a breaſt of mutton at his face; which the great conqueror interpreted as an infallible augury of his conquering *Korazm*; which, in the eaſtern ſtyle, was, it ſeems, called the breaſt of the world. Advancing into the country, he ſummoned one of his confederates, called *Ali Bey*, to join him with his troops; and, tho' he was not obeyed, yet, under vaſt diſadvantages, he took *Fuſhenj*, and at laſt laid ſiege to *Herat*; which was defended by *Koyazoddin*, one of the upſtart maleks, or princes, of thoſe times. It is remarkable that *Tamerlan*, in all his progreſs, acted with the greateſt coolneſs and regularity. He viſited learned and holy men, if any were in the neighbourhood, wherever he came: and he ſeems to have had one particular good quality, of infinite importance to ſucceſs; that he never was provoked by reſentment into acts of cruelty or barbarity. He aſpires to univerſal monarchy.

Conſtitution of *Tartary*.

Remarkable inſtance of ſuperſtition in *Tamerlan*,

who conquers *Herat*,

barbarity. *Kayazoddin*, who defended *Herat*, was obliged to ſubmit to the ſuperior courage of *Tamerlan*, and he kiſſed the foot-cloth of the conqueror. *Tamerlan* diſmantled the fortifications of that great city, and carried off the wealth he found in it, which was immenſe.

and loſes his beloved daughter.

After this, *Tamerlan* had leiſure to march againſt *Ali Bey*, who ſoon ſubmitted to his power, as did many other princes of that country, and none felt the effects of his ſeverity but public robbers; he even preſerved *Kayazoddin*, and other princes and emirs, in their ſeveral governments. While he was in the height of his glory, after having conquered all *Korazm*, his daughter *Akia*, married to *Mehemed*, died. She was his darling, and one of the moſt celebrated beauties in the eaſt. Her death ſtruck him with a ſtupefaction that fell little ſhort of indifference as to all worldly purſuits. This, probably, encouraged *Ali Bey* to revolt; and *Tamerlan*, ſtung by the reproaches of his ſiſter, *Kotluk Turklan*, was, at laſt, rouſed from his melancholly, aſſembled his army, and beſieged *Ali Bey* in *Kelat*, a city that, by its ſituation on the brow of a mountain, was deemed inpregnable; as were ſeveral other fortreſſes held by *Ali Bey* in the neighbourhood. But nothing could withſtand the fortune of *Tamerlan*; *Ali Bey*, again and again, pretended to make the moſt profound ſubmiſſions to his power; and as often endeavoured to cut him off by ſtratagems: but *Tamerlan* eſcaped them all, and,

He conquers *Korazm*.

at laſt, made himſelf maſter of all *Korazm*, by the mere dint of his valour and clemency. He took care, however, to put to death *Ali Bey*, and ſome other rebel lords, who, after repeated ſubmiſſions and pardons, had abuſed his clemency.

His vaſt ambition.

The ſuperſtition of *Tamerlan*, and his devotions, though they apparently ſeem to be very violent, had yet an uncommon caſt. One of his maxims was, that God Almighty cannot be better ſerved than by works of juſtice and mercy towards his creatures; and *Tamerlan*, in all his actions and diſcourſes, declared himſelf to be the ſubſtitute of God upon earth. In the year 1383, his wife, and his ſiſter *Kotluk Turkhan*, died. *Tamerlan*, for ſome time, appeared inconſolable; but excuſing himſelf by the above maxim, he again

He ſubdues *Sejeſtan*.

purſued his ſchemes of ambition, and he ſubdued all *Sejeſtan*; a rich province adjoining to *Korazm*. The prince of the country, called *Kothboddin*, and his nobility, ſurrendered themſelves, and were ſent priſoners to *Samarkant*. After this, he took a vaſt number of cities and fortreſſes, known only by their names, for their ſituations are not only uncertain, but unknown. In ſhort, the great conqueſts of *Tamerlan* in the eaſt, ſeem to have been obtained over gangs of unconnected, unprotected banditti, who had ſeized governments, fortreſſes, and cities, after the houſe of *Jenghiz Khan* was ſplit in pieces. In *Tamerlan*'s hiſtory, which, in the original, is tediouſly minute, we are introduced to the

General view of his hiſtory.

names of perſons and places that occur no where elſe. We

ſee

ſee a city, or a fortreſs, in his poſſeſſion to day, and to-morrow he is beſieging it, without any deduction of cauſes or effects. It is certain, however, that he caſt his eyes upon *Perſia*; and *Jalaloddin*, the ſultan of that country, ſought to avert the ſtorm by preſents and ſubmiſſions: but *Tamerlan* was not to be retarded in the courſe of his ambition, which was as irreſiſtible as lawleſs. His general, *Jehan*, took *Kandahar*, and put to death all the *Awgans*, the ſame who are now called *Afgans*, who defended it. In the courſe of his victories over thoſe barbarians, who were as lawleſs as himſelf, he ſometimes was obliged to depart from his uſual moderation. When he made executions, they were terrible; he would pound two or three thouſand people into a jelly in mortars; ſometimes he cut off their heads, and piled them in pyramids (a cuſtom which he ſeems to have introduced to *Perſia*, where it ſtill remains); and ſometimes he would order thouſands of people to be, as it were, baked together with clay and mortar, and there left to expire, in amazing heaps, as monuments of his vengeance, or, as he termed it, juſtice. His cruelty.

Notwithſtanding this horrid relation, *Tamerlan* is not to be numbered amongſt the cruel deſtroyers of mankind. The nature of the people demanded ſuch examples of ſeverity, nor did he inflict more than was abſolutely neceſſary for his own ſafety and ſucceſs. *Samarkant* was his favourite reſidence after the fatigues of a campaign; and, in the year 1384, marching from thence, he afreſh invaded *Perſia* at the head of one hundred thouſand men. His chief enemy, in this expedition, was an emir called *Veli*, one of thoſe obſcure tyrants we ſo often meet with in hiſtory, but a man of great valour. *Tamerlan* took from him *Aſtarabad*, and from thence he marched againſt *Ray*, from whence he drove the ſultan *Ahmed* to *Tauris*; and, at laſt, having reduced all *Perſia* to the eaſt of *Soltaniya*, came back to *Samarkant*. About the year 1386, he entered the field, and, proceeding with his uſual rapidity and ſucceſs, at laſt made himſelf maſter of *Tauris*; by which he reduced all the great kingdom of *Azerbejan*. He invades *Perſia*, and takes *Tauris*.

Tamerlan then meditated an invaſion againſt *Georgia*; the principal inhabitants of which being *Chriſtians*, rendered the attempt highly meritorious in the eyes of *Tamerlan*. *Teflis*, the capital of *Georgia*, was ſoon reduced by his troops, and its governor was made priſoner. Here *Tamerlan* pretended to be a kind of a miſſionary for the *Mahometan* religion. The name of one of the princes of *Georgia* was *Ipokrates*, and he was, by *Tamerlan*, converted to the *Mahometan* faith, and diſmiſſed with great honours. His example encouraged many other princes of the ſame country to turn *Mahometans*. After this, *Tamerlan* marched againſt *Shirwan*, which is conſidered as the garden of *Perſia*. Here he was agreeably

Ibrahim's remarkable submiſſion to him.

agreeably ſurprized by an uncommon ſubmiſſion from *Ibrahim*, the prince of that country. The eaſtern people, in general, have a veneration for the number nine; and all their preſents correſpond with it. *Ibrahim* made *Tamerlan* a preſent of eight ſlaves; and, that he might not be deficient in politeneſs, he offered himſelf as the ninth: a piece of gallantry which ſo highly pleaſed *Tamerlan*, that he permitted him to retain his kingdom with additional poſſeſſions.

Cauſe of his great ſucceſs.

We cannot, however, avoid repeating to our reader, that, in all the countries we have mentioned to have been conquered by *Tamerlan*, there was ſcarcely ſuch a thing as government or order. *Tamerlan*'s ſucceſs was owing to his being recognized in form as a lawful ſovereign; and he had found the means to inſpire the people under him with a veneration for his perſon and authority. On the other hand, the places he attacked, being poſſeſſed only by robbers and ruffians, whoſe dominion was merely perſonal and brutal, his conqueſts were cheap and eaſy. *Toktamiſh*, whom he had made khan, or prince, of *Kipjak*, in the year 1387, revolted from him; but he was ſoon reduced by *Tamerlan*'s generals; and, after that, he deſtroyed *Alenjik*. About this time, the *Turkmans*, like the other free-booters of thoſe days, infeſted the roads, and even plundered the *Mahometans* who had ſet out to viſit *Mecca*. *Tamerlan*, with ſome difficulty, ſuppreſſed them, and then marched againſt the *Upper* and *Lower Armenia*, where he found but little reſiſtance. The truth is, that, though his country abounds with numbers and names of places he took and ſubdued, yet the names of thoſe places are unworthy of being tranſmitted to poſterity. They generally were the receptacles of robbers, and built upon rocks and mountains, ſo as to be proof againſt flying parties of the ſame denomination, but were eaſily reduced by a regular army. The vaſt numbers, however, of thoſe conqueſts, formed, in the whole, a conſiderable empire; and *Tamerlan*, by degrees, ſubdued all *Perſia*, to the very gates of *Iſpahan*, which likewiſe ſubmitted to his force: but the inhabitants, in the night-time, took arms, and put to death a number of *Turks* who were in the army of *Tamerlan*. This gave him a handle for proceeding with great cruelty againſt thoſe people; and he even taxed his ſoldiers with the inhuman employment of bringing in to his camp a certain number of heads; which, upon the whole, are ſaid to have amounted to ſeventy thouſand. After this, all *Perſia* and *Kerman* ſubmitted to *Tamerlan*, and he took poſſeſſion of them as their lawful ſovereign, by ordering himſelf to be prayed for in the moſques and places of public worſhip. *Tamerlan*'s next expedition was againſt *Toktamiſh*, a rebellious khan of *Kipjak*, whom he ſubdued, as he did the *Getes*, who committed vaſt ravages in *Great Bukharia*. One of his generals, however, loſt a battle at a place called *Jutlik*; and

He conquers *Armenia* and *Iſpahan*.

Subdues *Kipjak* and the *Getes*.

Tamerlan

Tamerlan ordered a kind of a court-martial to be held upon the principal officers. The commander in chief was acquitted honourably; but one *Berat Koja*, who commanded under him, was disgraced and punished, by having his beard shaved, and being obliged, dressed like a woman, to run through the principal streets of the city; while other officers, who had behaved bravely, were rewarded in proportion.

Soon after, that is, about the year 1388, a rebellion broke out in *Karazm*. *Tamerlan* suppressed it, and, ordering the inhabitants to remove to *Samarkant*, he destroyed *Korazm*, and sowed the spot it stood upon with barley. This did not prevent other revolts, particularly a rebellion under his own son-in-law, called *Mireke*; whom he likewise defeated and put to death. *Tamerlan* was equally fortunate against other rebels of the same kind. The name of his chief general in those wars was *Omar*; and the khan *Taktamish* was his chief antagonist; but the wars carried on between them were void of all incidents, but dead narratives of *Tamerlan*'s being pertually successful, and his antagonists either defeated or put to death. The *Kipjaks*, however, were always rebellious; and *Tamerlan* as often defeated them as he did the *Getes*, and the other barbarians in *Tartary* and upon the borders of *Bukharia*. Suppresses a rebellion in *Karazm* and another in *Kipjak*.

After those successes, he returned to *Samarkant*, and most magnificently rewarded, both with wealth and honours, those officers who had served him well. Those rewards, however, and the plunder they had made, rendered *Tamerlan* not a little apprehensive, that they might aspire to an independency. He therefore assembled the diet of his empire, which we have already taken notice of; and, by an uncommon effort of genius, he procured such regulations to be enacted as increased the necessary expences of his general officers, so as to keep them dependant upon his bounty. At the same time, *Tamerlan*, for the same purposes, promoted luxury amongst his great men, by exhibiting manificent feasts and entertainments; in which, by imitating him, they became necessitous. *Tamerlan* found the good effects of this policy; for he perceived, that, in a fresh expedition he made against *Kipjak*, some of the greatest khans in the east served him in quality of general officers. His policy.

His great enemies continued to be *Kamroddin* and *Toktamish*; the former fled, and the latter offered his submission by resending to *Tamerlan* a present of nine fine horses and a shonkar. The latter is a bird in vast request all over *Tartary*, *Bukharia* and *China*. It is beautiful, of the stork kind, and always presented, trimmed with diamonds and jewels, to the emperor from his vassals, in token of their submission. Such was the bird presented, by the ambassadors of *Toktamish*, to *Tamerlan*. The latter received the present; and, though he expressed a distrust of *Toktamish*, yet he treated his ambassadors *Toktamish*'s remarkable submission to *Tamerlan*.

His expedition against him in the wilds of *Kipjak*.

dors magnificently, and ordered them to attend him. He then led his army into the vaſt deſerts of *Kipjak*, where he ſuffered inexpreſſible hardſhips; and all of them would have periſhed, had they not hunted for their food. According to the deſcriptions given of this expedition, by *Tamerlan*'s hiſtorians, he marched through countries that ſeemed never before to have been preſſed by human foot; for, during his march of ſix or ſeven months, they met with no inhabitants. He had the precaution, however, to commemorate his expedition, by erecting an obeliſk, on which his name was inſcribed, with dates of time and place. Notwithſtanding all the hardſhips which *Tamerlan* and his army underwent in this march, he never relaxed in point of diſcipline, which he conſidered as the ſoul of ſucceſs. He not only reviewed his army, but received from his great officers, at the head of their ſeveral corps, in a kind of an adoration upon their knees, a ſpeech pronounced in his praiſe. That of a khan, called *Mahmud*, we are told, upon this occaſion, was particularly agreeable to *Tamerlan*; and he anſwered it, by commending this general for the fine appearance and diſcipline of his regiment. The reader is not to forget that thoſe kind of compliments were always attended with magnificent preſents made by the officers to the emperor.

Notwithſtanding *Tamerlan*'s dreary march through thoſe deſerts, yet he knew where his enemies lay. They conſiſted of the *Kipjaks*, headed by *Toktamiſh*; and *Tamerlan*'s grandſon, ſultan *Mehemek*, at his own earneſt requeſt, obtained from his grand-father the command of the vanguard. The army, however, did not reſume its march, after the general review, till the aſtrologers had fixed the lucky hour for the commencement of their operations. After inexpreſſible fatigues, and croſſing vaſt numbers of rivers, partly by rafts, and partly by ſwimming, *Tamerlan*'s vanguard came up with the ſcouts of the enemy, with whom they ſkirmiſhed with various ſucceſs; but, at laſt, both the main armies, on the fifth of *July*, 1391, came within ſight of one another, and prepared for a general engagement. That of *Tamerlan* was drawn up in ſeven diviſions. The firſt was commanded by *Mahmud*, the ſecond by prince *Mehemed*, the third by himſelf, and the other four by general officers. The army of *Toktamiſh*, though more numerous, was divided only into three bodies. Before the battle, *Tamerlan*, at the head of his army, implored the divine aſſiſtance; and the ſignal for the onſet was given by the tremendous ſound of the trumpet kerrenay, which was heard at ſome miles diſtance.

A general engagement

gained by *Tamerlan*.

The battle was long and fierce, and for ſome time doubtful; but, at laſt, *Tamerlan* found the benefit of having divided his army into ſeven lines; for, every commander endeavouring to outdo the other, the troops of *Toktamiſh* were at laſt totally overthrown, and few of them eſcaped the ſword. Though the order of this battle, with many immaterial

terial circumſtances attending it, has been particularly deſcribed by hiſtorians, yet we are in the dark as to the grounds of the quarrel; which, in fact, ſeem to have ariſen entirely from *Tamerlan*'s inſatiable ambition. *Toktamiſh*, we are told, was at the head of the princes deſcended from the famous *Tuſhi*; and, that the few who ſurvived this defeat, retired into the deſert. One of thoſe princes, called *Konje Aglen*, ſubmitted to *Tamerlan*; the victory he had obtained was compleat, and he did not fail to render public thanks for it to Heaven. But the fatigues his troops had undergone, had been ſo great, that he thought proper to give them a reſpite; and, for that purpoſe, he inſtituted a moſt magnificent feaſting in the plains of *Urtupa*. Thoſe plains are ſaid to form a kind of a terreſtrial paradice, and the feaſting was introduced by a magnificent piece of muſic, compoſed by *Tamerlan*'s order, and intitled, The Triumph of *Kipjak*. It is not, perhaps, eaſy for a modern *European* to have a proper idea of the manner in which *Toktamiſh*, and the princes of *Jenghiz Khan*'s blood, lived in thoſe ſequeſtered but delicious plains. Though abounding with all the conveniencies of life, yet they dwelt in tents, which were movable at pleaſure; and their camps took up a ſpace equal to the extent of the greateſt cities. The *Moguls*, for ſuch the *Kipjaks* were, had, after their defeat, been hemmed in by the river *Wolga*; and *Tamerlan*'s troops, having no ſtrong places to attack, found themſelves poſſeſſed of an immenſe number of ſlaves and cattle of all kinds, beſides other riches. In ſhort, *Tamerlan*, like *Jenghiz Khan*, enjoyed his triumph upon thoſe plains in more magnificence than he could have done in the proudeſt cities; and, having left a proper force behind him, he returned to *Samarkant*, from whence he had been abſent for eleven months. *Tamerlan*, beſides other vaſt dominions, was now maſter of all ſultan *Mahmud*'s empire, which reached from *Gazna* to *Indoſtan*, and the heart of *India*; and he gave the command of it to his grandſon *Mehemed*, the ſon of *Jehan*.

His feaſts and magnificence.

But *Tamerlan*, notwithſtanding all his vaſt ſucceſſes, was ſenſible that he reigned over barbarians. He ſought to humanize, if not to civilize, them, by giving them a taſte of a leſs ſavage mode of life. He encouraged matrimony, in his family and court, after his return to *Samarkant*; and, at the weddings of his great emirs, he preſided, on a throne of gold, at the vaſt entertainments made on thoſe occaſions; the tables being ranged in a kind of battle array, the bridegrooms on one ſide and the brides on the other. But nothing could divert, or ſtop, the career of *Tamerlan*'s ambition. His conqueſts, though great and extenſive, were unſettled and precarious; and the princes of *Perſia*, who had, out of fear, ſubmitted to his arms, had many of them thrown off his yoke.

Encourages matrimony.

Tamerlan,

Reſumes his expedition againſt *Perſia*,

Tamerlan, therefore, after giving a looſe to pleaſure and magnificence at *Samarkant*, again prepared for war, and ſignified to his great men that they muſt aſſemble their quotas of troops, and prepare themſelves for an expedition that would laſt five years. Being recovered from an indiſpoſition which had afflicted him about a fortnight, he paſſed the river *Jehun*; and, being joined by all his forces, after performing public prayers, in his own perſon, he advanced towards the *Caſpian Sea*; near which ſome of the revolting princes had raiſed ſtrong forts, from whence they bade him defiance. He beſieged and took *Mahanazar*, a city in *Mazanderan*; and there he found immenſe riches, but he ordered the place to be demoliſhed. In this country, ſome of the *Iſhmalites*, or *Aſſaſſins*, ſo often mentioned in the preceding part of this hiſtory, had taken refuge, and eſcaped the general maſſacre of their countrymen, ſet on foot by *Hulaku*. They were the moſt abandoned of all wretches, and had ſuch an antipathy to learning, that they held it as meritorious to murder any man who could read or write. *Tamerlan* ordered all thoſe monſters, without diſtinction, to be put to the ſword; and, having completely conquered *Mazanderan*, he invaded *Irak*, or *Perſia*, properly ſo called. His arms were there attended with their uſual ſucceſs; and one of his chief generals, called *Ali*, was ordered to reduce the people of *Kurdeſtan*, who, it ſeems, lived by rapine. They were governed by a prince, one *Ibrahim*, who made his ſubmiſſions to *Ali*; upon which the latter deſiſted from attacking him: but thereby diſappointing one of his guides of the reward he expected, he was murdered, and the aſſaſſin was cut in pieces. *Tamerlan* then proceeded againſt *Khuzeſtan*, and the terror of his arms ſubdued every place that either he or his generals attempted. *Tamerlan*, however, notwithſtanding the vaſt encomiums beſtowed by hiſtorians upon his arms, had neither great honour nor advantage from thoſe conqueſts, there being no fewer than ten pretenders to the crown of *Perſia*, each of whom thought to ſtrengthen his intereſt by ſubmitting to *Tamerlan*.

and deſtroys the *Aſſaſſins*.

Subdues *Khuzeſtan*

and *Kalaa Sefid*.

Amongſt his other conqueſts, that which did him the greateſt credit, was that of a place called *Kalaa Sefid*. This place, or rather country, was acceſſible only by a narrow path-way that led to a fortreſs, which commanded a plain of twelve miles in circumference, conſiſting of arrable lands, fine groves, fountains, and every accommodation of life. Therefore, as the garriſon could not be ſtarved by a ſiege; and as the path-way was ſo ſtreight that three men could defend it againſt ſixty thouſand, it was deemed to be impregnable, and, as ſuch, had never been beſieged. Notwithſtanding this ſituation, the indefatigable *Tamerlan*, by widening the path-way, which gave acceſs to the fortreſs, reduced it; and threw all the garriſon down the precipice. A ſubaltern

tern officer, called *Akbuga*, was the first who mounted the steep, and was therefore nobly rewarded by *Tamerlan*.

The most formidable opponent this great conqueror had on this occasion, was a prince called *Mansur*, who had been the most successful claimant to the crown of *Persia*; but had stained himself, by many acts of cruelty and bloodshed. This *Mansur* had, for his body-guard, about four thousand horse; which, as well as the riders, were sheathed in compleat armour; and, by their valour and dexterity, were thought to be invincible. *Tamerlan*, after the conquest of *Kala Sefid*, advanced to *Shiraz*, in quest of *Mansur*; and trusted chiefly to a body of thirty thousand veteran *Tartars*, led by himself. When *Tamerlan* approached *Shiraz*, he found himself opposed by this formidable body of cavalry; which, with *Mansur* at their head, broke through his army, and, at first, defeated *Tamerlan*'s phalanx, which he imagined to be impenetrable. Though this dreadful impetuosity, and the manner of fighting, was new to *Tamerlan*, yet it did not daunt him. He met with *Mansur* in single combat, and gave him several blows with his scymeter which his helmet resisted, and was so well seconded, that *Mansur*, terrible as he was, abandoned the attack upon his person, which he meant to be decisive, and fell upon the infantry. At first, he bore down all opposition; but *Mehemed Sultan* and *Pir Mehemed* rallied the sultan's troops; while *Rukh*, who was no more than seventeen years of age, after performing prodigies of valour by his father's side, encountered *Mansur* hand to hand; killed him, cut off his head, and threw it at his father's feet. While *Tamerlan*, after this victory, was dividing himself in embracing his sons, returning thanks to Heaven, and receiving from his great men the usual oblation in a cup of gold, he was attacked by a fresh body of troops, who were defeated with ease.

His fierce engagement with *Mansur*.

who is defeated and killed.

Tamerlan availed himself of his vast successes; he entered *Shiraz* in triumph, and, at the same time, took possession of *Ispahan*. The princes who were then contending for the crown of *Persia*, were of the family of *Muzaffer*, but all of them very unpopular. *Tamerlan*, who never was at a loss for specious pretences to cover his conduct, at first received their submissions and presents; but soon after, he managed so well, that the chief noblemen, doctors, and imans of the country, presented petitions against them, setting forth the disorders and cruelties committed by them; and entreating him to take the government into his own hands. *Tamerlan* readily complied with this request: the princes were first thrown into irons, and then all of them put to death excepting two, who had lost their eyes through the cruelty of their competitors, and were sent prisoners to *Samarkand*.

He enters *Shiraz* in triumph.

Though the great men of *Persia*, as well as *Tamerlan*, were *Mahometans* at this time, yet all the *Persians* were not of that faith. The inhabitants of a place called *Akuhan*, were held fidels.

Tamerlan's severity against in-

held to be atheiſts, and had fortified their paſſes againſt *Tamerlan*'s army. His ſoldiers, as if diſdaining to ſtain their ſwords with infidel blood, made a large collection of waters amongſt thoſe vaſt mountains of which *Perſia* is ſo full; and, breaking down the mounds that confined them, the waters found their way into the fortifications of thoſe atheiſts, as they are called, and drowned them.

Tamerlan next formed expeditions againſt other kinds of enemies, and killed vaſt numbers of robbers, who were headed by *Serek Mehemed*. After that, his zeal prompted him to march againſt the *Jubers*. Theſe were the remains of the antient *Perſians*; and, like their fore-fathers, they were worſhipers of fire, and kept themſelves unmixed with any other people but thoſe of their own religion: but *Tamerlan* marched into their country, and put them all to the ſword. In the ſummer of the year 1393, he renewed his feaſtings and diverſions in the plains of *Hamadan*, for his ſucceſſes in *Perſia*; and inveſted his ſon *Miran* with great part of the ſovereignty of *Hulaku*, to whoſe empire *Tamerlan* laid claim.

Baghdad offers to ſubmit to him.

The city of *Baghdad* was part of this inheritance, and it had, in ſome meaſure, recovered its former luſtre, being governed by a prince called ſultan *Ahmed*. But *Tamerlan* conſidered him in no other light than that of being his ſubſtitute. *Ahmed*, far from diſputing the point, ſent his great mufti, a man renowned for his learning, with preſents to *Tamerlan* and offers of his ſubmiſſion. *Tamerlan* received the mufti with great reſpect, but paid no regard to the ſultan's offers, becauſe the ſame honours were not done to him at *Baghdad*, as had been paid to the ancient khalifs; namely, thoſe of praying for him publicly in the moſques, and coining money in his name. He therefore marched with his army againſt *Baghdad*; and, conquering all oppoſition, he drove the ſultan *Ahmed* over the *Tygris*, and purſued him for ten leagues, but without effect. *Tamerlan* then returned to *Baghdad*, which he took poſſeſſion of, and he performed his devotions at the famous tomb of *Huſſien*, the ſon of *Ali*. Some of *Ahmed*'s royal family falling into his hands, he ſent them, with the learned men of *Baghdad*, as uſual, to his city of *Samarkand*.

He defeats the *Kurds*,

All *Aſſyria*, and the countries of the eaſt, as we have already mentioned, being now occupied by ſcarcely any other than robbers and rebels, *Tamerlan* had a plauſible handle for his ambition. He defeated the *Kurds*, and took *Takrit*, in which there was a neſt of deſperate robbers, whom he put to death. This place was ſo advantageouſly ſituated upon a mountain, that *Tamerlan* undermined it, with infinite labour; but he ordered part of the walls to ſtand, as an evidence to poſterity of his ſtupendous attempt. After that, he appointed a general rendezvous of all his troops, under pretence of returning home, but he ſuddenly proceeded to *Diyarbeker*.

Having

Having an army both more numerous and better disciplined than any that could be brought to the field against him, he had no great difficulty in subduing, or reducing, all the petty princes, or emirs, as they called themselves, who had erected independent sovereignties, and lived by rapine. In the country, however, through which *Tamerlan* was obliged to pass, his army was more than once in danger of being lost, by torrents rushing from the mountains. But we understand that *Tamerlan*, at proper intervals, gave rest to his troops; and, particularly at *Roka*, or *Edessa*, he exhibited magnificent entertainments and feasts for nineteen days. Such exhibitions had their desired effects upon the emirs. They saw that *Tamerlan* was able to protect them from one another, provided they submitted to his power, which they now did in great numbers; *Tamerlan* seldom punished any but the most flagitious amongst them, but obliged all of them to give the best security that was in their power for their good behaviour. This career of good fortune was rendered the more welcome by the birth of a grandson to *Tamerlan* called *Oluk Beg*, and and who afterwards succeeded him, being a son of the mirza *Shah Ruk*, whom *Tarmerlan* had declared the heir of his empire. and other robbers.

Tamerlan then proceeded to *Amid*, or *Diyarbeker*, a city so strong, by its walls and situation, that, it was said, it was never taken by force. *Tamerlan*, however, in the beginning of *May*, 1394, took it in three days time, with a vast slaughter of the garrison. He then besieged and took *Alenjik*; made himself master of *Aklat*, the capital of the *Lower Armenia*; courteously received all the princes who submitted to him, and punished those who resisted with death, or the loss of their dominions. The greatest resistance he met with was at *Avenik*, which was obstinately defended by a prince, one *Messer*. *Tamerlan* offered him his life and pardon if he would surrender; and sent his son, who had fallen into his hands, a child of six years of age, after presenting him with a vest and a collar of gold, to prevail with *Messer* to quit the place; but he remained inexorable: and, tho' *Tamerlan* was prevailed upon by *Messer*'s mother to renew his offers to the son, yet he could not be prevailed upon to yield till he found himself deserted by all his followers; and then he surrendered himself and was sent prisoner to *Samarkand*; but his treasures were distributed amongst *Tamerlan*'s officers and soldiers. *Messer* holds out against him, but is destroyed.

Notwithstanding *Tamerlan*'s vast successes, his person was often endangered, not only in the field, but by conspiracies. One of his greatest officers, *Yaik Sufi*, being detected in a conspiracy against him, was thrown into irons. During his progress, the young princes and princesses of his own blood, residing at *Sultania*, paid him a visit; and *Tamerlan*, after reducing *Aydin*, marched into *Georgia*, to subdue that country to the faith of *Mahomet*. While he was upon this expedition, news was brought him of another son being born Conspiracies against *Tamerlan*.

to *Shah Ruk*. *Tamerlan* loved magnificence, and, like *Jenghiz Khan*, he found the effects of it, both amongſt his friends and enemies. His court, or rather camp, was, at this time, extremely ſplendid. It contained, not only the princes and princeſſes of his own blood, but ladies of the higheſt quality and beauty from all quarters, as far as *Greece* on the one hand, and *India* on the other; whoſe huſbands had ſubmitted to *Tamerlan*, and who had brought them to admire his magnificence. *Tamerlan*, after the welcome news he had received, and hearing that great part of *Georgia* had been reduced by his generals, reſolved to make a moſt elegant diſplay of his grandeur. For this purpoſe, he pitched, as *Jenghiz Khan* had done, upon a ſpacious delightful plain, of which two miles were taken up by the tents of the company he was to entertain. He himſelf appeared with a crown of gold on his head, and his ſceptre in his hand, ſitting on a throne, erected under a canopy ſo grand, that it was ſupported by forty pillars. Every thing was conducted with the utmoſt taſte as well as magnificence; large bands of muſic, both vocal and inſtrumental, were prepared; a ſumptuous banquet, and the fineſt wines of the eaſt, were ſerved in with the greateſt decorum, and in ſuch a manner, as proved that *Tamerlan* had perfectly refined himſelf from his *Tartar* education.

His ſucceſſes in *Georgia*.

His magnificent appearance.

He then renewed his operations againſt the *Chriſtians* of *Georgia*, whom he proceeded againſt with equal cruelty and injuſtice; and, at laſt, took *Teflis*, the capital of a vaſt country. He was obliged, however, to leave the management of that war to his generals, on receiving the news that his old enemy, *Toktamiſh*, the ſultan of *Kipjak*, had taken the field againſt him, and was making incurſions into his dominions. At firſt, *Tamerlan* endeavoured, by letters, to perſuade him to deſiſt; but *Toktamiſh*, being over-perſuaded by his great men to ſend him a rude anſwer, he aſſembled his army, the moſt numerous of any that had been ſeen ſince the days of *Jenghiz Khan*, at the foot of the mount *Alburz*, the antient *Caucaſus*, where he reviewed them. He then advanced to *Terki*, the capital of *Degeſtan*, and lying on the *Caſpian Sea*, about one hundred miles to the north of *Derbend*; while *Toktamiſh* was encamped near the river *Tark*; from whence he moved, the more to harraſs *Tamerlan*'s army, to *Kura*; and, having found a proper ground, he drew up in order of battle. Upon this, *Tamerlan* wheeled round and did the ſame, forming his troops in ſeven lines. His ſon, the mirza *Mehemed*, commanded the main body, as he himſelf did the body of reſerve; the command of the other diviſions being given to the generals whom *Tamerlan* had diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Bahadah*, or *the courageous*. The infantry, covered with their bucklars, ſtood before the cavalry.

The battle was exceſſively bloody. The *Kipjaks* penetrated as far as *Tamerlan*'s own poſt; and would have killed, or taken him priſoner, had it not been for the wonderful efforts

forts made by his emirs and his ſon mirza *Mehemed*, which delivered him from his danger. The battle, however, continued very bloody, and ſometimes to the diſadvantage of *Tamerlan*; but, at laſt, his generals made ſuch deſperate efforts, that he gained the victory. Some ſay, that it was greatly owing to the cowardice of *Toktamiſh*. *Tamerlan* looked upon this victory to be ſo glorious and important, that he performed his devotions of thanks, upon his knees, in the face of the army; and, after moſt liberally rewarding thoſe who had ſerved him beſt, he ſet out in purſuit of *Toktamiſh*, who, at laſt, fled into the inacceſſible forreſts of *Bulgaria*. Before he purſued farther conqueſts, he made *Aglen*, one of his officers, and the ſon of *Eurus Kan*, his tributary khan of *Kipjak*; and ſent him to ſuppreſs the remains of the rebellion. *Tamerlan* defeats *Toktamiſh*.

Mean while, *Tamerlan*, in perſon, led his army to the banks of the *Wolga*, making an immenſe booty all the way he marched. After this, he reduced a vaſt number of *Tartar* tribes; and, all on a ſudden, ſtruck into *Muſcovy*, and ſubdued and plundered that whole country, not excepting *Moſcow*, its capital. He then proceeded to *Palus Meotis*, and took *Aſoph*, where he ordered the inhabitants to be put to the ſword, and ſome *Mahometan* captives they had made to be ſet at liberty. He next marched to *Kuban*, the capital of *Circaſſia*; which country, his troops, under ſultan *Mehemed*, and *Seran Shah*, likewiſe conquered. *Tamerlan* had his motives for his expedition into *Muſcovy*; though, at this time, they are very unaccountable, if that country was the ſame barbarous uncultivated ſpot that it was during the laſt century, or that it is now. It is likewiſe difficult to know how ſuch vaſt armies as *Tamerlan* carried with him, could, in ſuch countries, find ſubſiſtence for themſelves and their horſes. Many of the latter, indeed, we are told, died through want; but the wonder is, that any of them were left alive, if the countries through which he marched were ſuch as they are repreſented to be by travellers at this very time. Nothing, however, is incredible with regard to the patience and abſtinence of *Tamerlan*'s troops upon this and all other occaſions. marches towards the *Wolga*, and into *Muſcovy*.

Tamerlan next turned his arms againſt the *Georgians*, and ruined all their fortreſſes, ſome of which were deemed to be impregnable, upon *Mount Caucaſus*; in all his progreſs ſurmounting inexpreſſible difficulties. All this happened in the years 1394 and 1395; at the end of which he compleated the conqueſt of *Kipjak* and *Koſer*, and found himſelf maſter of an immenſe empire. After this, about the beginning of the year 1396, he renewed his war againſt the *Georgians*, whom he treated with his uſual ſeverity; but pardoned ſuch of them as were *Mahometans*, even though they had appeared in arms againſt him. He then returned to *Iran*, took *Sirjan*, and ſuppreſſed all the rebels there which had taken arms He invades *Georgia*.

in his abſence. *Tamerlan*, after this, returned to *Sultania*, where he ſuppreſſed many rebellions and robbers, and ſubdued all *Perſia* as far as the *Gulph of Ormus*. He then ſet out, by very quick marches, for *Samarkand*; where he built a noble palace, adorned with the fineſt pavilions and paintings in the eaſt. At the ſame time, he made another noble entertainment for his principal officers; divided among them the rich ſpoils he had taken; and made his ſon, *Shah Rukh*, ſovereign of *Koraſſan*, *Siſtan*, and *Mazanderan*.

His farther conqueſts.

Tamerlan then reſumed his operations on the ſide of *Ormus*; the ſultan of which, *Mehemed*, ſubmitted to pay an annual tribute of ſix hundred thouſand dinars to mirza *Mehemed*, *Tamerlan*'s ſon; who, after eſcaping being aſſaſſinated, returned to *Samarkand*. There *Tamerlan* ſtill reſided, and built another moſt magnificent palace; which, by the deſcription of it, ſeems to have been ſomewhat in the *European* taſte; for *Tamerlan*, by this time, had entertained ſeveral ambaſſadors from the chief courts of *Europe*. In this place he ſolemnly married another bride, daughter to a foreign prince, the king of *Geta*. His fame was now ſo great, that even the emperor of *China* courted his alliance, and ſent ambaſſadors with very valuable preſents to his court.

His magnificence.

He undertakes the conqueſt of *India*,

Though *Tamerlan* was thus living in the utmoſt pomp and magnificence, yet he ſtill had his ambitious projects in view; and, under pretext of deſtroying idolatry, which was the prevailing worſhip in *India*, he undertook the conqueſt of that vaſt country. But, to leave every thing quiet behind him, he reduced *Sirjan*, which had ſuffered a ſiege of three years; during which time all its garriſon were killed, excepting the governor and ſix private men. He likewiſe reduced a rebellion which broke out at *Nahawend*, in *Perſia*; and, as his ambition never was without the moſt plauſible pretext, he laid hold of one to invade *India*. A deſcendant of the *Gazna* family reigned in that country, and he dying, his two generals, *Melu* and *Sarenk*, governed every thing under the colour of *Mahumud*, the late emperor's grandſon's authority.

Tamerlan laid hold of thoſe favourable circumſtances, and ordered his grandſon, the mirza *Pir Mehemed*, whom he made governor of that part of *Perſia* lying neareſt to *India* to invade that empire; and, to pave the way for himſelf invading it in perſon, and carrying his arms even into *China*. *Pir Mehemed* obeyed his grandfather's orders, and laid ſiege to *Multan*, one of the moſt conſiderable cities in *India*. *Tamerlan*'s forces having thus a footing in this country, he immediately put himſelf at the head of his army, and marched to *Anderab*. As there were in *India* a vaſt number of *Mahometans*, *Tamerlan* eaſily formed a party there. The *Mahometans* complained of the *Siapuſhes*, poſſibly the ſame called by modern *Europeans* *Seapoys*. They are, according to *Tamerlan*'s hiſtory, a gigantic

gantic race of men, and all of them idolators. They lived, like the other barbarians of thoſe times, in caſtles built upon mountains extremely difficult of acceſs. But *Tamerlan*, acquainted with the nature of all the enterprizes he undertook, had always in his army a great many regiments of mountainneers, or markits, who were extremely alert in taking ſuch places, however inacceſſible they appeared. The fortreſſes of the *Siapuſhes* were taken, and every man amongſt them who fell into the hands of the conqueror, were put to death. defeats the *Seapoys*,

In one of thoſe enterprizes, *Burkan Aglen*, a great commander under *Tamerlan*, diſcovered himſelf to be a rank coward; for which that emperor, who ſeldom went to extremes in the puniſhments of his own ſubjects, baniſhed him the court and marked him with infamy; while he nobly rewarded thoſe officers who behaved bravely. *Tamerlan*'s ſucceſs in *India* ſpread abroad his fame, and ambaſſadors from all quarters came to pay him the ſubmiſſions of their maſters. He received them with vaſt politeneſs, and mingled acts of benevolence with thoſe of juſtice; being as ready to reward the good as to puniſh the bad. As a proof of the high veneration he was held in at this time, we need only mention his having been offered the dignity of the khalif of *Baghdad*, by a deputation from the cities of *Mecca* and *Medina*; and a powerful prince of *India*, the moment he paſſed the river *Indus*, ackhowledged him to be his maſter. and puniſhes a coward.

The hiſtory of *Tamerlan* is, however, different from that of many other great conquerors. His wars were generally, as we have already obſerved, carried on againſt thoſe petty princes who were, indeed, no better than robbers, but had erected themſelves into ſovereigns. When he paſſed the river *Indus*, and entered into *India*, he defeated, or reduced, a great number of thoſe ſubaltern potentates, the chief of whom was one *Shahaboddin*, who, after drowning his wife and children, ſheltered himſelf in inacceſſible woods. *Nuroddin* was the general whom *Tamerlan* principally employed in this expedition. He had ſaved his life in his great battle with *Toktamiſh*; and, as gratitude was, perhaps, the moſt diſtinguiſhed virtue of *Tamerlan*, *Nuroddin* was very highly advanced in his army. Reflection on *Tamerlan*'s conqueſts.

During his progreſs in *India* he built a moſt amazing bridge at the confluence of the rivers *Jamed* and *Jeneve*; and then he marched to *Multan*, which he beſieged and took. The chief reſiſtance he met with was at *Batnur*, a ſo treſs which, being built in a vaſt deſert, was thought to be inacceſſible. But *Tamerlan* delighted in difficulties, and conquered them, though not without giving great proofs of his native ferocity, by ordering vaſt numbers of the *Indians* to be put to the ſword, becauſe they were guebers, or idolaters. He next advanced to *Delhi*, the chief city in that part of *India*. Beſides the vaſt numbers he had butchered, he had one hundred thouſand priſoners. He was afraid of pinching his own ar-

my ſhould he maintain them. He pretended that they had entered into a conſpiracy againſt him, and he put them all to death. Such was the barbarity of this conqueror, ſo celebrated by *European* hiſtorians for his virtue and clemency. When he conquered *Delhi*, he found himſelf oppoſed by a vaſt army of *Indians*; and here he gave a remarkable proof of his firmneſs and ſagacity. In order to poſſeſs his troops and ſubjects with a vaſt opinion of his ſanctity, he always had pretended to be devoted to aſtrology; and held the profeſſors of it in ſuch veneration, that they conſulted the poſition of the ſtars before he entered upon any enterprize. When he was about to engage the *Indian* army before *Delhi*, the aſtrologers declared, that the ſtars were unfavourable to him: but he knew his own circumſtances were otherwiſe, and that the time for fighting the enemy was favourable. In a heat, he told his aſtrologers, that it was not the ſtars, but the god of the ſtars, who was to direct him; and, pretending to meet with a favourable omen from the *Koran*, he ordered his army to advance againſt the *Indians*.

His vaſt ſagacity.

His men afraid of elephants,

The troops of *Tamerlan*, in this expedition, were moſtly *Tartars*, or *Bukharians*, who, in his hiſtory, are termed *Jagatays*. They never had ſeen an elephant, and, being exceſſively ignorant and ſuperſtitious, they entertained the moſt dreadful ideas of thoſe creatures, even to the thinking them invulnerable, that they could tear up the largeſt trees by their trunks, and overthrow the ſtrongeſt buildings by their ſtrength. *Tamerlan* ſaw this pannic prevalent amongſt his troops. He always expreſſed himſelf ſo highly in favour of the *Mahometan* clergy, that he carried great numbers along with him in all his expeditions. Before the battle began he aſked them, Where they would chuſe their ſituation to be. Their anſwer was, Amongſt the ladies, if his majeſty pleaſed. *Tamerlan* eaſily comprehended what they meant; and, fearing the effects of their pannic upon his troops, he applied himſelf to deſtroy it; in a manner which evinces, that he was not totally ignorant of *Greek* and *Roman* learning. He ordered a vaſt number of buffalos, or wild oxen, to be tied together, and buſhes to be planted between their horns ready to be fired. At the ſame time, in the front of his army, he cauſed deep pits to be dug, and covered ſmoothly with turf, under which he lodged ſharp pointed ſtakes to receive the elephants. Thoſe ſtratagems had the deſired effect. The elephants either fell into the pits, or, terrified by the blazes between the buffalos horns, recoiled upon their own army and put them into diſorder. All this time, the emperor was at prayers, upon the top of a high mountain, in ſight of the armies; but his devotions did not interfere with his duty as a general. Having a full view of the battle, he gave ſuch excellent orders, that the *Indians*, with their ſultan *Mahmud* at their head, were driven into *Delhi*. By this time, the *Jagatays*, under the mirza *Pir Mehemed*, the ſheik *Nuroddin*, and

who, with the *Indians* are defeated.

and other excellent commanders, had loſt all their dread of the elephants, whom they found to be not only vulnerable, but ſerviceable to themſelves, by throwing their owners into confuſion. One of *Tamerlan*'s grandſons, the mirza *Kabil*, though but fifteen years of age, encountered ſingly an armed elephant; whom, after cutting and ſtabbing it with his ſword, he brought, bound with ropes, into his grand-father's preſence, who, upon that occaſion, ſhed tears of joy.

Character of the *Indians*.

When we reflect upon the prodigious odds of numbers againſt which the *Engliſh*, and other nations, lately prevailed over the ſame enemy, we have no great room for launching, with *Tamerlan*'s hiſtorians, into his praiſes upon the above victory. Thoſe *Indians*, then as now, were ſunk in luxury and barbarity. They truſted to their elephants, and thoſe being defeated, their reſiſtance was leſs than that of women. *Mahmud*, and his general *Mellu*, inſtead of defending *Delhi*, which was immenſely rich and populous, abandoned it, and fled into the deſerts; upon which *Tamerlan*'s generals, without reſiſtance, took poſſeſſion of that capital. But here he and his officers tarniſhed all their glories by a cruelty which was equally ſordid as inhuman. The dreſs of the inhabitants of *Delhi*, even amongſt the meaner ſort, was covered with gold and jewels; which attracting the eyes of the *Jagatays*, they formed the barbarous reſolution of plundering the city, making ſlaves of the inhabitants, and of maſſacring all who ſhould reſiſt. This reſolution was the more cruel, as *Tamerlan* had met with a ready ſubmiſſion from the inhabitants. He had appeared in the utmoſt ſtate upon the grand throne of the *Indian* emperors, and had received the moſt humble ſubmiſſions from all the nobility and chiefs of the empire. Even their elephants and their rhinoceroſes were taught to do him homage, and to implore his mercy, as they had been uſed to do to their own emperors; but yet it is certain that the *Jagatays* butchered and made ſlaves of all the inhabitants. Some of their common men had to their ſhares one hundred and fifty ſlaves apiece; and even ſome boys had twenty; which they could ſcarcely march under the plunder of gold and precious ſtones that they had made.

Maſſacre of them.

We have not ſufficient grounds for ſaying that *Tamerlan* authoriſed theſe deteſtable proceedings. On the contrary, it is pretended that ſome of his great generals did all they could to repreſs them; and nothing is more probable than, that the hopes of plunder had induced many of the emirs, as well as the common men, to follow *Tamerlan* in this and his other expeditions; nay, perhaps, he made them ſome ſuch promiſe: but, if he did, it was a barbarous condition; nor do we hear that any, either of the ring-leaders or ſoldiers, concerned in this mutiny, for ſuch it is repreſented to be, were puniſhed. This is a circumſtance that, conſidering *Tamerlan*'s ſtrict diſcipline, makes it highly improbable that he, in his heart, diſapproved of the enormous cruelties of his army.

and of the army. The inſolence of the *Jagatays* had rendered ſome of
Guebres. the *Indians*, the *Guebres* particularly, deſperate; and, ſuch was *Tamerlan*'s impious zeal, that he ordered no quarter ſhould be given them; and he even ſhared in the ſpoils of the unhappy city, by ordering that all the architects and maſons, who were found in it, ſhould be reſerved for himſelf, to be employed in erecting a magnificent moſque at *Samarkand*.

Delhi ruined. In ſhort, *Delhi*, the richeſt, and one of the moſt populous cities then in the world, was completely deſtroyed, and towers were erected with the heads of the unhappy inhabitants who had been maſſacred.

Tamerlan conquers *India.* After this, *Tamerlan* received the ſubmiſſion of ſeveral powerful *Indian* princes, and marched againſt *Mirtha*, a city in poſſeſſion of the *Guebres*. But even deſpair did not avail thoſe unhappy people. Amazed at the attacks of *Tamerlan*, they abandoned themſelves to a liſtleſs inactivity; inſomuch that one of the boys of the *Jagatay* army was the firſt to mount their walls; and, being followed by the reſt of the army, the uſual carnage enſued; but, with the barbarous aggravation that the male *Guebres*, grown to be men, were flayed alive, and their wives and children carried into ſlavery. After compleating this inhuman conqueſt, his rage againſt the *Guebres* ſeemed to encreaſe. As they ſaw themſelves doomed to deſtruction, they retired to the mountains, and to other paſſes and fortreſſes by ſea and land. But *Tamerlan*'s ſoldiers were greatly their ſuperiors in defile-fighting. He ſent an army of fifty thouſand horſe againſt them; and, as the *Tartars*, to this day, are more bold and enterprizing than any people in paſſing rivers on horſeback, and in mounting precipices, the *Guebres* were everywhere cut in pieces. But

In great danger. *Tamerlan*'s perpetual ſucceſs betrayed him, at laſt, into a ſecurity which had almoſt proved his ruin; for he was obliged, three times in one day, to engage them with vaſt odds of numbers againſt him; and, a brave *Guebre* attacking him, hand to hand, when *Tamerlan* had no more than one hundred horſe about his own perſon, he was in imminent danger: he, however, killed the *Guebre*, and remained maſter of the field.

His farther conqueſts. One great cauſe of *Tamerlan*'s vaſt ſucceſs in *India*, lay in the diviſions that prevailed amongſt the people: they were not only of different religions, but of different intereſts; ſo that his hiſtorians tell us, he fought twenty battles in thirty days, was always victorious, and that ſeven of the moſt important cities in *India* ſubmitted to him. The principal defiles in which thoſe victories were gained by *Tamerlan*, who paſt the *Ganges*, were that of *Kupele*, which, by ſome, is ſaid to lie about fifteen miles from the head of that great river, together with the immenſe mountains of *Swalek* and *Kuke*. At laſt, *Tamerlan*, having carried his arms to the eaſtern borders of *India*, repaſſed the *Ganges*, continuing, wherever he marched, to put the *Guebres* to the ſword.

On

On the twelfth of *March*, 1399, *Tamerlan* took *Bayla*, a town of the diſtrict of *Chamu*, which was likewiſe the name of a river and of the capital of the province. He took this place by ſtratagem, and moſt inhumanly put to death all who fell into his hands, excepting the king and fifty of his great men, who were made priſoners. The king being wounded, great tenderneſs was expreſſed for his recovery, in hopes of his diſcovering his treaſures: but this prince, pretending to be convinced of the truth of *Mahometaniſm*, embraced that religion; upon which *Tamerlan* took him under his protection. *Tamerlan*, after that, reduced *Lahor*, a city and province of great importance and renown; and, after croſſing the rivers *Jennaw* and *Daudana*, he ſettled his rout homewards, and regulated the different governments of *India*, which he had now, in a manner, wholly ſubdued. In his return home, he paſſed through the province of *Kaſhmir*, which is celebrated for its vaſt populouſneſs, and for being ſo ſurrounded by mountains, that the inhabitants require no other defence. On the twenty-eighth of *March*, he croſſed the *Indus*, and, after making many painful, and ſometimes dangerous, marches, he arrived at his capital of *Samarkand*, upon the ſixteenth of *May*, 1399. Returns to *Samarkand*.

Such is the detail of this mighty monarch's conqueſt of *India*; and, as we have given it as repreſented by his hiſtorian *Sharifſoddin Ali*, a *Perſian* fond of his virtues, who compoſed it from *Tamerlan*'s own memoirs, only nineteen years after his death, at the command of his grandſon *Ibrahim*, it ſerves to ſhew the ridiculous miſtakes of *European* hiſtorians with regard to his motives and character; which they have drawn, not according to the truth of hiſtory, but according to their own ideas and prepoſſeſſions. The reader will ſee, in the ſubſequent part of his hiſtory, the reaſon why *Chriſtian* writers have been partial in favour of his memory; but they knew him in no other character than in that of the defender and ſaver of the *Greek* empire, and the conqueror of a prince of his own religion. But we ſhall have a future opportunity of doing juſtice to his actions. Miſtakes of *European* writers.

Tamerlan, having diſtributed amongſt thoſe who had beſt ſerved him, the vaſt ſpoils of *India*, after a ſtay of four months at *Samarkand*, found himſelf under neceſſity to march into *Perſia*. His ſon, *Miran Shah*, was there governor, or rather king, of *Azerbijan*; but was ſtill underſtood to be ſubordinate to the emperor his father. But *Miran*, by an unhappy fall from his horſe in hunting, had received a contuſion which had diſordered his brain; and no more reaſon remained with him, than what ſerved to direct him to proceed in the affairs of government with a brutal violence and cruelty: a ſtate of mind worſe than that of total inſenſibility. After committing many extravagances, he had attempted to beſiege *Baghdad*; and he made war upon the *Georgians*, who defeated his troops. *Tamerlan* had the chief information of his ſon's Misfortunes of *Tamerlan*'s ſon *Miran*.

ſon's diſorder from the latter's wife, who had been forced to fly from his brutal uſage of her to *Samarkand*; where ſhe made *Tamerlan* ſenſible of the neceſſity he was under of marching in perſon into *Iran*. His preſence ſoon remedied all diſorders; and *Mirzan* himſelf ſubmitting, in one of his lucid intervals, to his father, he ſpared him, but ordered all the companions of his debauches and exceſſes to be hanged.

Other differences in his family.

During this expedition, *Eſkander*, *Tamerlan's* grandſon by his ſecond ſon, *Omar*, reduced almoſt all *Mogulſtan* and *Jelah*, though he was then but fifteen years of age; and, what was ſtill more extraordinary, he governed his conqueſts with the greateſt prudence and moderation. Thoſe amiable qualities, and his ambition to diſtinguiſh himſelf, rendered him obnoxious to his couſin *Mehemed*, to whoſe courage and abilities *Tamerlan* had been ſo greatly indebted. His jealouſy went ſo far, that *Eſkander* was beſieged in the caſtle of *Andekhan*; which he ſurrendered with his own perſon: and, after his principal officers, with twenty-ſix of his domeſtics, had been put to death, he was ſent in irons, with his remaining ſervants, to *Samarkand*, where *Mehemed* then reſided.

One of his grandſons arreſted and baſtinadoed.

This was not the only miſunderſtanding which, at this time, happened in *Tamerlan's* family. *Pir Mehemed* and *Roſtem*, two others of his grandſons, and elder brothers to *Eſkander*, had orders to march againſt *Baghdad*; but *Pir Mehemed* remained at *Shiraz*, and, infatuated with aſtrology and ſuperſtition, he employed himſelf in compoſing poiſonous philtres and faſcinations. Whatever might have been in this charge, it is certain that the governor of *Schiraz* ventured to put him under an arreſt; and *Tamerlan* was ſo much convinced of his guilt, that he not only deprived him of the government of *Pars*, or *Proper Perſia*, which he gave to *Roſtem*, his younger brother, but ordered him to be brought in chains to *Samarkand*, and many of his companions to be put to death. *Pir Mehemed* was accordingly brought in that diſgraceful manner before *Tamerlan*, when he was upon his march; and he immediately ordered him to be tried by the laws of *Jenghiz Khan*. His judges found him guilty, and he was ſentenced to receive a baſtinado; after ſuffering which, his chains were ſtruck off and he was ſet at liberty.

Tamerlan raiſes another great army.

Had *Tamerlan* atchieved no greater conqueſts than thoſe we have related, he muſt have been conſidered as one of the moſt powerful monarchs in hiſtory; but the fame of his actions, and the particulars of them, would have been obſcure to *Europeans*, had they not been illuſtrated by the glories he acquired after this period. By the puniſhment of the mirza *Miran's* ſeducers, the kingdom of *Adherbijan*, and all the neighbourhood, were reduced to their duty; and having then in the field a numerous army, which had been raiſed for ſeven years, *Tamerlan* reſolved to find it ſufficient employment.

Marches againſt *Georgia*.

Of all the enemies *Tamerlan* ever encountered, the *Georgians* ſeem to have given him the greateſt diſquiet. They had been

been long esteemed amongst the best troops in *Asia*, and the mountainous situation of their country rendered the conquest of it extremely difficult; nor, when conquered, was it tenable, by a foreign army unused to the soil and climate, and way of living of the inhabitants. *Tamerlan* therefore, and the greatest conquerors in the east, never had been able to maintain the advantages they had sometimes obtained over the *Georgians*, and, the year after, they generally were obliged to begin afresh. *Tamerlan* was desirous, that his arms should be deemed invincible, when his officers did their duty. The *Georgians* had lately defeated the troops sent against them by *Mirau*; and *Tamerlan* ordered they should be tried and punished, which many of them were, some by the bastinado, some by fining, and some by death. He then entered *Georgia* by the defile of *Komsha*, but the roads being encumbered by woods and precipices, and covered with snow, it was with the greatest difficulty he could proceed in the works of death and devastation; for we are told, that he gave quarter to none of the inhabitants who fell into his hands, and that he destroyed all dwellings, and fruits of the ground wherever he marched. It is pretty certain, however, that this expedition was none of the most fortunate for *Tamerlan*; for being unable to advance, he returned to *Karabagh*. This disappointment served only to encrease his desire of being revenged, and in the succeeding spring he summoned a dyet of his states, where it was resolved to make a kind of a crusade, or holy war upon the infidels, (for so *Tamerlan* accounted the *Christians*) of *Georgia*. When one reads a single expedition of *Tamerlan* into this country, he reads them all. All consists in hunting the enemy from pass to pass, in giving no quarter, and destroying every thing. But it does not appear that *Tamerlan*, notwithstanding all his success, could make any permanent conquest of the country; and he took the first decent opportunity offered him by a submission tendered by some of its princes, to quit it.

punishes some of his officers

1400.

The fame of *Tamerlan* now spread over all *Europe*, and the progress of the *Turks* made his friendship courted by the emperors of *Constantinople*, and many *Christian* powers. It is uncertain whether he learned the use of artillery from them, or in those parts of his *Tartar* dominions that lay most contiguous to *China*; but he certainly, about this time, knew the use of gunpowder, which was then familiar to the *Europeans*; and it appears that he made use of some kind of artillery in his late expedition against the *Georgians*. But though *Tamerlan* could not, without great uneasiness hear of *Bajazet*'s growing power, yet he had many considerations to make him cautious how he proceeded. Though *Tamerlan* has by some writers, and those of note, been represented as a kind of a rationalist in religion, and as believing only in one God, and extreamly moderate and indulgent towards others; yet nothing

He makes use of gunpowder and artillery.

Voltaire confuted.

nothing is more certain from his hiſtory, than that he was a *Mahometan* even to an apparent enthuſiaſm, and that too, of the worſt kind; for with all the impieties of that ſect, he mingled the groſs ſuperſtitions of the *Tartars*. The wars he carried on in *India* were undertaken with the profeſſed deſign of exterminating the *Guebres*, a harmleſs, perhaps, a virtuous race, who worſhipped God after the manner of their forefathers, and the dangerous wars he had with the *Georgians*, were undertaken becauſe they were infidels, that is, *Chriſtians*. We are far from pretending that *Tamerlan* was ſincere in thoſe profeſſions of religion; if he was not, his wickedneſs was the greater. It was certain they were neceſſary to his views; half his ſubjects were *Mahometans*, and the other half idolatars; for that ſimplicity of religion that *Jenghiz Khan* was born under, was worn out in *Tartary*; and thus *Tamerlan* accommodated himſelf to both religions of his ſubjects, few of whom were *Chriſtians*.

as to *Tamerlan*'s religion.

Character of *Bajazet*, emperor of the *Ottoman Turks*.

This was one of the conſiderations, that influenced *Tamerlan* to manage *Bajazet*, who was conſidered as the ſcourge of the *Chriſtians*, and the ſupport of the *Mahometan* cauſe in the weſtern part of *Aſia*. Another conſideration occured, *Tamerlan*, excepting the *Georgians*, had hitherto fought with no troops comparable to thoſe of the *Ottoman Turks* under *Bajazet*. He was ſenſible of this, and that *Bajazet*, was poſſeſt of a numerous artillery. He likewiſe knew *Bajazet*'s ambition, and that one defeat in a general engagement might ſhake the very foundation of his empire; which in a great meaſure reſted on the opinion his ſubjects had, that he was invincible. On the other hand, *Tamerlan* looked upon the intereſt of his allies, or rather his tributaries, to be his own concern, and *Bajazet* had ſtript two of them of *Sivas*, and *Malatiya*; and had made many inſolent demands upon other princes, who were under his protection; particularly upon *Taharton*, his governor of *Arzengan* and *Azerum*. Had it not been for the conſiderations we have already mentioned, *Tamerlan* would not have done *Bajazet* the honour of a letter, previous to invading his dominions. But it was ſuch a letter, as a ſuperior writes to a vaſſal; for in it he called *Bajazet* a piſmire of a prince, and gave him the reproachful name of a *Turkman*. *Bajazet*'s anſwer was full of indignation, for he told *Tamerlan*, that he might advance when he pleaſed, that he had long wanted to go to war with him, that if he tarried longer, he, *Bajazet*, would ſeek him out, and drive him beyond *Tawris*. This irritated *Tamerlan*, and marching to *Suivas*, or *Sebaſti*, he took it, and his conqueſt was attended with his uſual cruelties; the city was demoliſhed, four thouſand *Armenian* cavalry of the gariſon were buried in pits, and the earth flung upon them, and the reſt of the *Chriſtians* made ſlaves, while the *Mahometans* had their liberty. The ſultan *Ahmed* of *Baghdad*, and *Kara Yuſif*, a neighbouring prince, famous for his rapines, had by this time revolted

His haughty anſwer to *Tamerlan*.

volted from *Tamerlan*, and put themſelves under the protection of *Bajazet*, who took *Arzenjan*, and made *Taharten*'s wife and children captives. This provoked *Tamerlan* to deſtroy all the frontiers of *Anatolia* and *Syria*, in ſuch a manner, that even the haughty ſpirit of *Bajazet* was brought down to a ſubmiſſion; and upon his writing an humble letter, and releaſing *Taharten*'s wife and children, *Tamerlan* countermanded the expedition againſt him, and ſuddenly turned his arms againſt the *Egyptian Syria*. Princes ſeldom want pretexts for carrying on war, when they have an appearance of ſucceſs. *Tamerlan*, when he had reduced *Baghdad*, pretended, as we have already ſeen, to all the rights, and pre-eminences of its antient khaliffs. In this he was thwarted by *Barkok* the ſultan of *Egypt*, whom *Tamerlan* accuſed of having abuſed and murdered his ambaſſadors. His firſt attempt in *Syria* was againſt *Beheſna*, a fortreſs deemed to be impregnable, according to *Tamerlan*'s hiſtorians, who well knew the facts they wrote of. His troops had a very ſingular method of taking all cities, however ſtrong; which was by undermining them quite round, but as they proceeded, they propt the walls with ſtrong beams of timber. When the work was compleated, theſe beams were ſet on fire, and the walls ſunk all at once. On this occaſion *Tamerlan* gave a proof at once of his magnimity and prudence. For though the governor of the place offered to ſubmit, and though he promiſed him and his garriſon their pardon, (they being *Mahometans*) yet *Tamerlan* told him, he would firſt convince them, that no place was impregnable to his arms; for upon a ſignal given, the props were ſet on fire and the walls ſunk. This amazing operation gave him the poſſeſſion of another very ſtrong city, called *Antap*, which ſurrendered upon being ſummoned. At this time, the troops of the *Egyptian Syria* were aſſembled at *Halep*, but the art of fortification there had been vaſtly improved ſince the time of the cruſades; and *Tamerlan* well knew, that in many places he would find a reſiſtance, very different from what he had found elſewhere, and ſuch as would be proof againſt his mining. He durſt not attack ſuch a city as *Halep*, defended by a garriſon of ſixty thouſand men, but he approached it with ſuch ſhews of fear, that the enemy were encouraged to draw out upon the plain, and were almoſt every one of them cut in pieces by the *Jagatays*; who mounted the walls of the city, upon the heaps they made of *Syrian* carcaſes: and the city being thus taken, the caſtle ſurrendered likewiſe.

who marches into *Syria*.

His manner of taking cities.

Halep taken.

The reader is to obſerve, at this period of *Tamerlan*'s hiſtory, that the *Syrians* were now both undiſciplined and effeminate; and *Tamerlan* was at the head of an army conſiſting of eight hundred thouſand of the beſt troops in the world. But they had been upon hard duty for two years, and their generals were inceſſantly repreſenting the neceſſity

Tamerlan's vaſt army.

of

of giving them ſome reſpite. *Tamerlan* rejected all intimations of that kind, pretending his honour would not ſuffer him to liſten to them; and with very little difficulty, he reduced *Balbek*, with the great cities of *Hamah*, and *Hems*, and proceeded towards *Damaſcus*, though it was then in the very depth of winter, through inceſſant rains, and ſnow.

He is in danger of being aſſaſſinated.

It was during this march, that the famous attempt by a villain, in the habit of a dervis, was made to aſſaſſinate *Tamerlan*. His hiſtorians ſay, that this villain, with two others, were employed by *Faruj*, now ſultan of *Egypt*, by way of deputies from him, and had acceſs to *Tamerlan*'s perſon. It does not, however, appear, that the attempt was actually made, for ſome of *Tamerlan*'s courtiers, ſuſpecting their intention, they were ſearched, and poiſoned daggers being found in their boots, the principal was put to death, with the dagger he intended for the emperor, and the others were ſent back with their ears and noſes cut off to *Faruj*.

He gains the great battle of *Damaſcus*, againſt the ſultan of *Egypt*.

Atihmiſh a favourite general under *Tamerlan*, was at this time priſoner in *Egypt*, and *Tamerlan* made his liberty an indiſpenſible condition, of his treating with *Faruj*. According to ſome authors (nor is the thing at all improbable) the troops of *Tamerlan* were in a moſt miſerable condition; and his great men were ſo diſguſted with the fatigues they had ſuffered, that his ſon *Huſſayu* in a fit of drunkenneſs, went over to *Faruj*, and took a command under him. *Faruj*'s army was now lying at *Damaſcus*, and when *Tamerlan* was drawing near to the place, he conſented to releaſe *Atihmiſh* and to order money to be coined, and prayers to be ſaid in *Tamerlan*'s name; who thereupon prepared to return: but in his retreat, his rear was attacked by the *Egyptians*, which brought on a general engagement, in which the latter were defeated, and was to fly back to *Damaſcus*. In this battle, a *Jagatay* officer ſpying the mirza *Huſſayu*, made him priſoner, and carried him to his brother. *Ruk Timur*, having intelligence of this accident, ordered him to be loaded with chains; he was ſoon delivered through the interceſſion of *Ruk*. But he was tried upon *Jenghiz Khan*'s laws, and baſtinadoed, and as a farther mark of ignominy prohibited to come into the imperial hall. Thoſe baſtinadoings, excepting the pain attending them, gave very little concern to the greateſt princes of *Tamerlan*'s court. *Pir Mehemed* was, by this time, employed, by the emperor, and ſerved him faithfully: *Eſkender* was afterwards reconciled to *Mehemed*, and had a great command under *Tamerlan*. *Miran* had ſo far recovered the diſorder of his brain, that he likewiſe was employed, and we ſhall afterwards find this ſame *Huſſayu* at the head of a great body of his father's troops. In ſhort, without launching out into reflections upon the unlimitted ſubmiſſions paid to *Tamerlan* by his ſubjects of all ranks, it is certain, that his greateſt conqueſts and victories

victories were owing to his ſons, grandſons, and other princes of his own family.

After the battle of *Damaſcus*, *Faruj* fled to *Egypt*; upon which that city was delivered up to *Tamerlan*, who ſoon after took the caſtle likewiſe; but ordered the governor to be hanged for pretending to hold it out: the garriſon were made ſlaves. Though *Damaſcus* had been taken by a ſurrender made of it by the chief men of the place, who promiſed to pay the conqueror a tribute, yet *Tamerlan*, ſeeing the incredible riches that were in the place, moſt impiouſly pretended, that the *Syrians*, by their misfortune, proved themſelves to be the objects of God's wrath, for having ſerved the *Omian* khalifs againſt the houſe of *Ali*. This hint was ſufficient; the *Jagatays* broke into *Damaſcus*; ſtripped it of its immenſe riches, which they even wanted carriages and beaſts of burthen to carry off; butchered the inhabitants by thouſands, made the reſt ſlaves, and then laid the place in aſhes. He takes *Damaſcus*. His barbarity there,

It is extremely probable, that the number of ſlaves which attended his army, at this time, were either dangerous or inconvenient to him, for, before he left *Syria*, he ordered all his *Mahometan* captives to be ſet at liberty. He then made his ſon, the mirza *Mehemed*, a prince of the empire of *Hulaku*. After this, he made himſelf maſter of *Tadmor*, the famous *Palmyra* of the antients; which muſt have been better inhabited than it is now, otherwiſe it would not have been worth the conquering. Perhaps its preſent ruinous condition is, in a great meaſure, owing to *Tamerlan*'s *Tartars*. Several other expeditions, eſpecially one againſt the *Turkmans*, were all purſued at the ſame time, and happily executed by *Tamerlan*'s generals. Amongſt them, none ſhewed greater zeal and courage than his ſon *Huſſayu*, who commanded a party of five thouſand horſe, and was now re-admitted to his father's favour. Before *Tamerlan* left *Syria*, he inhumanly ordered the cities of *Hamah* and *Halep* to be ruined. and all over *Syria*.

Tamerlan then ordered a general rendezvous of his army to be held upon the banks of the *Euphrates*, which river his troops paſſed by ſwimming. Nothing now withſtood his conqueſts but the ſultan, or rather governor, of *Mardin*; a place ſo ſtrong, that *Tamerlan* did not think fit to beſiege it in form, but left one of his generals with troops ſufficient to block it up. The cities of *Pir*, *Edeſſa*, and *Alenjik*, ſubmitted to him at the ſame time, as did *Miſibin* and *Muſel*; and then he made two great detachments from his army. One of thoſe he ſent towards *Georgia*, and another to reduce *Baghdad*, while he himſelf marched to *Tauris*. Marches againſt *Mardin*.

Baghdad was, at that time, perhaps, as populous, though not ſo rich, as it had been under the khalifs. It was defended by a brave officer, who was himſelf a *Mogul*, in *Ahmed*'s name; and the garriſon was compoſed of *Turks* and *Arabs*. When the *Jagatays*, who were commanded by *Ruſtem*, came He takes *Baghdad*.

within ſight, the governor made a ſally, in which they loſt ſome of their beſt officers; but the governor, after a moſt bloody diſpute, was obliged to return to the city, which he refuſed to deliver up but to *Tamerlan* in perſon. This induced *Tamerlan* to change his route, and he repaired to his camp before *Baghdad*. The governor, who had no other meaning but to gain time, pretending that *Tamerlan* was not there in perſon, continued to hold out with ſo much obſtinacy and ſkill, that all *Tamerlan*'s operations by mining were ineffectual. The ſeaſon, however, being exceſſively hot, and the garriſon no longer able to ſtand to their duty, the place was, at laſt, carried by aſſault, upon a platform raiſed by the beſiegers; while the brave governor, and his daughter, threw themſelves into the *Tygris*.

His enormous cruelties.

The cruelties committed by *Tamerlan* and his troops, on this occaſion, if poſſible, exceeded all their former barbarities. The number of the beſiegers was eighty thouſand, and, beſides the vaſt numbers killed in the heat of the ſtorm, or drowned in the *Tygris*, *Tamerlan* taxed every ſoldier with the head of a *Baghdader*, which he was to cut off in cold blood, and to bring into a general heap: an order that was moſt punctually performed, and the whole erected into towers. In ſhort, none were ſaved from the general maſſacre, excepting a few learned men; and the ſtench from the dead bodies threatened a peſtilence in the air: while the emperor ordered that all the public buildings, religious ones excepted, ſhould be razed. All the neighbourhood of *Baghdad* was then ravaged; and *Tamerlan*, in his way to *Tauris*, ſubdued a great number of curds, or robbers.

Marches again into *Georgia*,

Tamerlan, departing from *Tauris*, reſumed his operations againſt *Georgia*; which, as uſual, ended in the ſubmiſſion of *Ghurgin*, the malek, or king, of that country; and, on the twelfth of *December*, 1401, *Tamerlan* went into winter-quarters at *Karabagh*. Here he appeared in great ſplendour, and received ambaſſadors, who brought him the ſubmiſſions of their maſters from all quarters; and he then ſolemnly inveſted his ſon *Mehemed* with a crown of gold. It is greatly to the honour of *Tamerlan*, that his conduct, with regard to his family, was irreproachable. He conquered only for them; but, when they offended, he left them to the laws. *Eſkander*, at the ſame time *Mehemed* was crowned, was tried either for his former, or an after, miſbehaviour; and, after receiving the baſtinado, he was taken again into favour and employed. *Ahmed*, the ſultan of *Baghdad*, upon *Tamerlan*'s retreat from that city, made an attempt to regain it; but in that he was diſappointed by the vigilance of *Tamerlan*'s officers in the neighbourhood.

crowns his ſon *Mehemed*,

Nothing now remained an object of *Tamerlan*'s ambition, but *Bajazet*, Thunderer, as he was called, the emperor of the *Othmans*. It is true he had *Egypt* in his eye, and ſeveral other countries which he afterwards ſubdued; but he knew that

that theſe muſt fall of courſe, ſhould he defeat *Bajazet*. The only obſtacle he then had, was his own diſſimulation, which had carried him to ſuch lengths, that he declared his conſcience would not ſuffer him to attack a *Mahometan* prince, who, like *Bajazet*, ſpent his life in carrying on wars againſt infidels; he found means, however, in this caſe, to reconcile his religion with his ambition. *Bajazet* continued ſtill to protect *Kara Yuſef*, who, it ſeems, had been guilty of the moſt enormous crimes, even that of robbing the caravans of pilgrims travelling to *Mecca*. *Tamerlan* ſeized upon this lucky incident; he complained of *Bajazet*'s protecting this ſacrilegious robber; and *Bajazet*, notwithſtanding his haughty temper, was prevailed upon, by his great officers of ſtate, who dreaded the power of *Tamerlan*, to ſend him a moſt ſubmiſſive apology.

His ambition for univerſal monarchy

The ambition of *Tamerlan*, as we have already hinted, from his firſt ſetting out in life, was to be monarch of the world; and it was with him a common ſaying, That the world ought not to brooke two maſters. To do him juſtice, ſubmiſſion, and *Bajazet*'s ſubjection, was often all he required, together with a moderate tribute, in compenſation for his protection. Even *Bajazet* was force to temporize ſo far, as to promiſe him obedience; but *Tamerlan* knew his fiery diſpoſition, and that his ſchemes of ambition were the ſame with his own. He received the ambaſſadors with great politeneſs and magnificence; but told them, that he could not give their maſter his protection, unleſs he would put to death *Kara Yuſef*, or give him up to him, *Tamerlan*, or drive him out of his empire. He intimated that he would give *Bajazet* ſufficient time for coming to a reſolution. This delay was probably occaſioned by his own inability to proceed immediately to action. The immenſe fatigues and loſſes his troops had ſuſtained required time for recruiting them; and he wiſely reſolved, not to attack ſuch an enemy as *Bajazet* without a certainty of ſubduing him. This delay was equally favourable to *Bajazet*, who made uſe of it for providing force ſufficient to reſiſt the ſtorm he ſaw impending upon him. In ſhort, both of them were ſenſible, that they muſt contend for the empire of *Aſia*; and they made their preparations accordingly.

Marches into *Anatolia*.

For two months, *Tamerlan* ſeemed employed only in hunting in the plain of *Aktam*, and in other matters of a pacific caſt; but all the while he was collecting an army ſuperior, perhaps, to any one we read of in hiſtory. The time preſcribed by him to *Bajazet* being expired, he marched his troops, or rather his nations, towards *Anatolia*; and demanded that the fortreſs of *Kemak* ſhould be put into his hands. *Bajazet* having, by this time, put himſelf into what he thought a proper poſture of defence, ſent *Tamerlan* a kind of a defiance; upon which, the latter beſieged and took *Kemak*. Notwithſtanding this, he ſtill preſerved ſome appear-

ances of moderation, by continuing to renew his offers of friendſhip to *Bajazet*, provided the *Ottoman* would give him one of his ſons in hoſtage. He knew that *Bajazet* would deſpiſe ſuch a condition; and his great men, foreſeeing the very ſerious conſequences that were likely to happen, began to renew their remonſtrances, with this addition, that the aſpect of the heavens was extremely unfavourable for any expedition againſt *Bajazet*'s dominions. *Tamerlan* had foreſeen this objection, and was prepared to anſwer it. He ordered the aſtrologers to be aſſembled, and that they ſhould conſult the aſpect of the heavens. The report of the aſtrologers, in their jargon, was in favour of the expedition againſt *Bajazet*, who, as they predicted, would be taken priſoner.

His great men oppoſe his expedition,

but he perſeveres and marches againſt *Bajazet*.

Upon this, ſuch was the force of ſuperſtition, a unanimous reſolution was taken to march againſt the *Ottoman*, and *Tamerlan* ordered a general review of his troops upon the plains of *Suivas*. On this occaſion he ſeems to have exerted the utmoſt of his power. His numbers, according to *Schiltiger*, who was an eye-witneſs, amounted to ſixteen hundred thouſand men; but this muſt be underſtood of the attendants upon his camp as well as fighting men; for others ſay, that, at the battle which followed, he had no more than eight hundred thouſand men who engaged. But, on which ever ſide the truth lies, his numbers were ſo prodigious, that he muſt long before have been determined on the expedition. *Bajazet* was, by this time, arrived at *Tokat*, and both emperors advanced towards *Cæſaria*; but their armies met at *Ankora*, the antient *Ancyra*, a city in the north of *Anatolia*; and there one of the moſt memorable battles, recorded in hiſtory, was then fought. *Tamerlan* arriving firſt, laid ſiege to *Ankora*; but, *Bajazet* being within four leagues of him, he raiſed the ſiege to fight him.

Deſcription of the battle of *Ancyra*.

According to the beſt accounts, *Tamerlan*, on this occaſion, proved himſelf to be a more able general than *Bajazet*. He ſhewed more judgment in the choice of his ground; and, by his movements, cut the *Ottomans* off from the river: ſo that they had no water but a little ſpring, which *Tamerlan* deſtroyed, and thereby ſeven thouſand *Ottomans* periſhed of thirſt. He was likewiſe ſuperior in all the other diſpoſitions, and in thoſe ſkirmiſhes which unavoidably precede a general action between two great armies. The numbers of *Bajazet*'s army are as uncertain as thoſe of *Tamerlan*. The author laſt quoted makes them three hundred thouſand, while others make them but half that number. *Bajazet*, who had been victorious over the beſt troops of *Greece* and *Europe*, conſidered *Tamerlan* and his troops as barbarians, whom the diſcipline of his army would ſoon conquer; but, fatally for himſelf, he was miſtaken. Perhaps, had the numbers been equal, the event would not have been the ſame; for, though *Tamerlan*'s troops were intrepid, and well diſciplined in the

ſervice

ſervice of the field, yet the *Ottomans* had the ſuperiority in point of armour, twenty thouſand of *Bajazet*'s cavalry being armed in complete ſteel.

Tamerlan, on that deciſive day, gave the command of his army to his ſons and the princes of his blood. *Mehemed* acted as general in chief. His army was drawn up in three lines, and a body of reſerve. His ſons *Shak Ruk*, and *Kalil*, with the mirza *Huſſayu*, in the van, led the left wing; and mirza *Meran* commanded the right, the van of which was led by the mirza *Abubeker*, a young prince who had performed prodigies of valour in his grandfather's, *Tamerlan*'s, ſervice. The centre, conſiſting of eighty battalions, was commanded by *Mehemed*, and the rear by *Tamerlan* in perſon, whoſe other ſons and grandſons had all of them commands under the generals we have mentioned. In the front of his army, *Tamerlan* placed vaſt numbers of elephants with towers filled with armed ſoldiers on their backs, not ſo much from an opinion of the ſervice they could do, but becauſe they ſerved to make a diſplay of his *Indian* victories and intimidate the enemy. It is remarkable, that the grand badge of dignity carried before *Mehemed*, as generaliſſimo, was a red horſe tail and the figure of an half-moon, fixed on a ſtaff. of *Tamerlan*'s diſpoſitions,

Bajazet, whoſe numbers, by the beſt accounts, as we have already ſeen, were in no degree equal to thoſe of *Tamerlan*, commanded the main body of his own troops. His brother-in-law *Stephen*, who is ſaid to have been an *European*, commanded the right wing, in which were twenty thouſand cavalry armed in ſteel, as we have already mentioned. The left wing was commanded by *Bajazet*'s ſon, by ſome called *Chelebi*, and by others *Solyman*, and was formed of *Anatolian* troops. *Kiriſchi*, the ableſt warrior of all *Bajazet*'s ſons, commanded the rear. Three other ſons of *Bajazet* ſerved under him as lieutenant-generals. and thoſe of *Bajazet*

Before the battle a great many ſkirmiſhes paſſed, in one of which the governor of *Anatolia* was taken priſoner by *Tamerlan*'s troops. This great conqueror could not bear the thought that any man on earth ſhould think himſelf his equal. He ordered the baſhaw to be brought before him, and demanded of him the reaſon, why *Bajazet* was ſo preſumptuous as to oppoſe him. "My maſter," replied the baſhaw, "conſiders himſelf as the ſun to the earth; and the "heavens admit not of two ſuns." This anſwer nettled *Tamerlan*, who told the baſhaw that he was determined to chaſtiſe his maſter's pride, and, upon the baſhaw's ſignifying his ſorrow that he was a priſoner, *Tamerlan* gallantly gave him his liberty, with a preſent of a fine horſe, upon condition of his faithfully repeating to *Bajazet* what he had ſeen and heard, which he accordingly performed. *Tamerlan*'s magnanimity.

Many have been the fictitious accounts of the great battle which followed on the plains of *Ancyra*, as has been already mentioned; but, ſo little were *European* authors acquainted

with the true circumſtances of it, that they were ignorant of the name of the place where it was fought; therefore, all that they have ſaid of it, is the reſult of their own fancy. On the firſt of *July*, about ten in the forenoon, *Tamerlan*'s infantry poſſeſſed themſelves of the heights of *Ancyra*, from whence *Tamerlan* himſelf ſurveyed his enemies diſpoſitions, which appeared to him admirable. The *Ottoman* infantry, or what we now call *Janiſaries*, moved to the charge in one ſquare body; and this made *Tamerlan* reſolve to head the attack upon it with the choice cavalry of his troops. The armies, at this time, were at the diſtance of about two miles from one another; and *Tamerlan*, while the *Ottomans* were advancing, as uſual, performed his devotions upon his knees in ſight of his army. *Abubeker*, with his guard, began the battle on *Tamerlan*'s part; and it ſoon appeared, that the *Jagatays*, even in point of diſcipline, were ſuperior to the *Turks*, who were forced to give way. The mirza *Huſſayu*, who led the van-guard of *Tamerlan*'s left wing, made a terrible impreſſion upon the enemy; but engaging himſelf too far, *Tamerlan* ſent other troops, who ſupported him; ſo that they penetrated into the *European* ſquadrons, which were the flower of *Bajazet*'s cavalry, and broke them. But, at this time, the fate of the day had taken an unexpected turn. Great part of *Bajazet*'s army were originally *Tartars*, and, having a warm affection for their countrymen, the *Jagatays*, they either ſtood inactive, or went over to *Tamerlan*. This, beſides the natural affection they had for their countrymen, was greatly owing to the fierce, over-bearing manners of *Bajazet*, which the *Tartar* princes could not brook. Both *Stephen* and *Bajazet* ſaw they were betrayed. Some ſay that the former was killed at the head of the *European* cavalry; and others, that he cut his way through the enemy. As to *Bajazet*, when he found himſelf betrayed, he retired into the centre of his faithful *Janiſaries*, and took poſſeſſion of an eminence, which was ſurrounded by a prodigious number of *Tamerlan*'s troops, with himſelf at their head. The number of *Ottomans* in this body were no more than ten thouſand, all the reſt of *Bajazet*'s army being, by this time, either cut in pieces or diſperſed. Notwithſtanding this, the *Janiſaries* maintained their ground, and were almoſt every man of them killed on the ſpot where they ſtood. *Bajazet* ſtill ſurvived, and attempted to fly; but, by *Tamerlan*'s expreſs order, he was made priſoner; and, being placed upon a ſorry nag, he was brought before *Tamerlan*, who, by this time, with his ſon *Shak Ruk*, had penetrated into the thickeſt ranks of the *Ottomans*, and gained a compleat victory.

He totally defeats *Bajazet*, and takes him priſoner.

Various are the relations of the firſt interview between thoſe two mighty princes. The moſt authentic accounts are the moſt agreeable to *Tamerlan*'s character. He had as great a paſſion to mortify the pride of *Bajazet* as to conquer his army. Well knowing that his troops had ſurrounded the

the *Ottomans* ſo completely that it was impoſſible for them to eſcape; and perceiving that his victory, in all other reſpects, was fully obtained; he withdrew to his tent, and engaged in a game at cheſs with his ſon *Shak Rhuk*. While he was at this diverſion, the ſhouts of joy, upon the taking of *Bajazet*, reached him; but he affected an entire indifference; and, though he underſtood that the *Ottoman* was at the door of his tent, he continued his play without the leaſt emotion. At laſt he gave it over, and *Bajazet* was introduced by ſultan *Mahmud*, khan of *Bukharia*, to whom he had ſurrendered. *Tamerlan*, at firſt viewing him with a ſtudied diſregard, "Is this," ſaid he, "the man who ordered us to diſmiſs our wives, and to forego the names of men, if we did not meet him?" for ſuch had been the expreſſions in one of *Bajazet*'s meſſages to *Tamerlan*. "I am that man," replied the captive, "but it becomes not a conqueror to inſult his priſoner." This reply diſarmed *Tamerlan* at once of his reſentment and his apparent indifference. He ordered *Bajazet* to be inſtantly unbound, and to take a ſeat oppoſite to him.

Curious particulars of the interviews between them.

According to the common account, he obſerved that *Bajazet* was blind of an eye, as he himſelf was lame of one ſide; and it was natural for him to ſay, in a fit of laughter, that God Almighty had but little regard for ſublunary power, when he beſtowed ſo great a ſhare of it upon two maimed miſcreants, pointing to *Bajazet* and himſelf.

His triumph over his haughty foe being thus compleat, he gently reproached him for his preſumptuouſneſs, in rejecting all the favourable propoſals he had made; but aſſured him of his life and protection. *Bajazet*, perceiving his conqueror thus affable, requeſted that ſearch might be made after his ſons, *Muſa* and *Muſtafa*, who had been in the battle. *Tamerlan* gave orders accordingly; and *Muſa*, being found alive, was ſuffered to repair to the tent allotted for his father. Some writers have embelliſhed the above interview with many imaginary paſſages and diſcourſes; and the general report is, that *Tamerlan* treated *Bajazet* in the ſame manner the latter is ſaid to declare he would have treated him, had he been conqueror; that is, had him ſhut up in an iron cage. Tho' there is no foundation, in the relations of the beſt cotemporary authors, for this particular fact, yet we are inclined to think, that it is not entirely deſtitute of foundation. For, ſome days after the battle, *Mehemed*, one of *Tamerlan*'s ſons, contrived to make a kind of ſubterraneous paſſage under his father's tent, by which he might eſcape. This contrivance was diſcovered by the guards; and it is, by no means, improbable, that *Tamerlan*, jealous and barbarous as he was, might give orders for ſecuring his priſoner in a portable cage. But there is ſufficient authority for believing, that this order was not given till after *Bajazet*'s attempt to eſcape was diſcovered and defeated: for we are even told, that, at the firſt converſation, *Tamerlan* preſented him with a royal robe.

Tamerlan's humanity to *Bajazet*.

Conjecture about the latter's captivity in an iron cage.

We have been the more particular in the relation above, becauſe few periods of time furniſh ſuch an example; and the relation of ſuch an interview may be termed the hiſtory of the human mind. All that followed, was butchery and barbarity. *Tamerlan* without reſiſtance, became maſter of *Anatolia*, and his army plundered it. He ſent his ſon mirza *Mehemed* to lay hold upon *Bajazet*'s treaſure at *Peruſa*; but *Chelebi*, *Bajezet*'s ſon, having fled thither out of the battle, had ſecured it beforehand. *Mehemed* however, made *Bajezet*'s wife, and his two daughters priſoners; together with the daughter of the ſultan *Ahmed* of *Baghdad*, who had been betrothed to one of *Bajezet*'s ſons. Authors are divided as to the treatment which *Deſtina*, *Bajazet*'s wife, met with from *Tamerlan*. Some ſay, he generouſly ſent her to her huſband; but this probably did not happen, till after he had publicly made her appear a ſlave amongſt his own domeſtics; and ſome ſay, as a concubine.

Tamerlan conquers *Anatolia*.

After conquering and making priſoner *Bajazet*, the reader can ſcarcely queſtion, that *Tamerlan* could meet with no oppoſition in *Aſia*. But he proceeded like a *Tartar* and a barbarian; marking his progreſs every where by blood and ruin. It is true, he did a few acts of juſtice, when they were ſubſervient either to his intereſt or revenge; but none to compenſate for his inhumanities. His ſubduing *Bajazet*, the great enemy of the *Chriſtian* name, has recommended his memory to the *Chriſtian* writers; but all they relate of him is mere declamation, without the leaſt regard to thoſe facts which even the hiſtorians of his praiſe have tranſmitted; and which prove him to have been one of the greateſt monſters of cruelty, vanity, and diſſimulation, that ever lived.

His barbarous ſucceſſes.

All *Anatolia* being now ſubdued, *Tamerlan*'s idea of univerſal empire led him to ſend a ſummons, *October* 25, 1402, to the ſultan of *Egypt*, demanding the rights of the antient khaliffs, that money ſhould be coined, and prayers ſaid in his name; and that his miniſter *Atilmiſh* ſhould be ſet at liberty. *Tamerlan*, at the ſame time, ſent other ambaſſadors to the *Greek* emperor, commanding him to become his tributary; and likewiſe to *Chelebi*, *Bajazet*'s ſon, demanding his ſubmiſſion: and all thoſe embaſſies, were attended with threats of invaſion, in caſe his commands were not complied with. As the ſultan of *Egypt*'s chief reliance had been upon *Bajazet*'s ſupport, he immediately agreed to *Tamerlan*'s terms, as did the emperor of *Conſtantinople*, and prince *Chelebi*. *Tamerlan* had now ſcarce any paſſion to gratify, but his hatred to the *Chriſtians*. Two fortreſſes were built upon, or near, the place where the antient *Smyrna* ſtood, one of which, was garriſoned by the knights of *Rhodes*. *Bajazet* had often in vain attempted to take it; and *Tamerlan* now laid ſiege to it, by ſea and land, with ſuch numbers, that his ſoldiers, by throwing ſtones into the harbour, ſoon choaked

He demands the rights of the antient khaliffs.

it

it up; and the knights had ſcarce time to betake themſelves to their ſhips, in which they eſcaped. Notwithſtanding this cowardly deſertion, the inhabitants made ſo deſperate a defence, that, when they were overpowered, and the place taken, they were put to the ſword, and their ſkulls were erected into a tower. It is commonly ſaid, that *Tamerlan* intended to have reſtored *Bajazet* to his dominions; and that he even gave him the inveſtiture of *Anatolia*. It is however certain, that *Bajazet* did not live to enjoy the fruits of this generoſity; for he died on the twenty-third of *March* 1403, of an apoplexy. *Tamerlan* is ſaid to have bewailed his death with tears; but all relations of that kind, are void of probability; and ſome authors of great credit ſay, that he poiſoned himſelf, that he might be relieved from the indignities his barbarous conqueror made him ſuffer. That *Tamerlan* might intend to reſtore him to his dominions or part of them, is likely, and agreeable to his own plan of power, if *Bajazet* conſented to become his tributary.

Death of *Bajazet*.

Nothing can be more to the diſadvantage of *Bajazet*, than the compariſons that had been drawn between him and *Tamerlan*; but at the ſame time nothing can be more chimerical and unjuſt. For though both of them appear to have been proud and cruel, yet *Tamerlan* does not appear to have poſſeſſed a ſingle virtue; while even *Bajazet*'s enemies, allow he had many. He was in particular placable, though ſubject to fits of paſſion, while *Tamerlan* was coolly and determinately cruel. Though *Tamerlan* was now at as high a pitch of human greatneſs, as perhaps any man ever attained to, yet his natural thirſt for blood never permitted him to be at reſt. After taking *Symrna*, he furniſhed the *Mahometans*, who held the other fortreſs built in that place, with arms to make war againſt the *Chriſtians*, and then he took a city call'd *Ulug Burlugh*, where, as uſual, he put all the men to the ſword, and carried all the women and children into captivity. It was about this time that he loſt his grandſon *Mehemed* ſultan, who died of a fever.

Compariſon between him and *Tamerlan*.

Tamerlan's inhumanities and ſword, had rendered great part of his dominions deſolate, and the kingdom of *Geta* in particular. A tribe of *Tartars*, under the name of *Turks*, as the *Tartars* generally were termed, after they had left their own country, had been carried by *Hulaku* into *Perſia*; where they kept themſelves unmixt with any other people, and, in time, declared themſelves independent. *Bajazet* had employed them as mercenaries, and they had ſerved him well, under the name of *Kara Tartars*. But this independency, was far from ſuiting *Tamerlan*'s ſchemes; and he ordered the plains where they lived to be ſurrounded by his vaſt armies. He then ſent for their head leaders, and acquainted them, that his intention was, to ſend them to their original country, that they might repeople the kingdom of *Geta*. Moſt of them ſeemed to ſubmit to his will, but the inhabitants

Regulations of the latter.

inhabitants of *Kaiſariya* making ſome reſiſtance, were all of them cut in pieces.

He buries his ſon *Mehemed*,

Mehemed ſultan, having been one of the greateſt favourites with *Tamerlan* of any of the imperial family; his funeral was celebrated with vaſt magnificence, and it is remarked, that all the ſultaneſſes, on this occaſion, appeared in black at *Tamerlan*'s court, which was then held at *Avenik*, or *Van*. Scarcely was this ſolemn mourning over, when *Tamerlan* reſumed his operations againſt *Georgia*. His old enemy *Gurgin*, the king of that country, had made an occaſional peace with him, but had no intention to keep it; nor had he performed the ſubmiſſions he had promiſed. *Tamerlan* again marched into that country, and *Iſſa*, the prince of *Mardin*, made his obeiſance to him, upon his knees, and bare headed. This flattered at once *Tamerlan*'s vanity, and his avarice, for the prince made him a very rich preſent; which he returned, by beſtowing on him a crown, a belt adorned with jewels, and a royal robe. This example encouraged other princes of the ſame country to make their ſubmiſſions likewiſe; and they were all of them received and rewarded in like manner. But *Gurgin*'s ſubmiſſion was *Tamerlan*'s main object; he therefore marched directly againſt that prince. The latter, as uſual, endeavoured to appeaſe *Tamerlan* by ſubmiſſion and preſents, and offered to throw himſelf at his feet, as other princes had done. But *Tamerlan* would not ſuffer him to put himſelf upon the ſame footing with thoſe princes. He told him, he had indulged them, becauſe they were *Mahometans*, but that he expected, if *Gurgin* did not turn *Mahometan*, he would pay him the tribute of *Karaj*; and he inſiſted upon his repairing directly to his court. *Gurgin* was not ſincere in his profeſſions, and gained time enough to fortify a paſs in his country, which was thought impoſſible for human force to conquer; it being provided with a ſtrong garriſon, great reſervoirs of water, with vaſt quantities of wine, and all proviſions; and it went by the name of the fortreſs of *Kortene*. *Tamerlan*'s principal officers thought him infatuated, when he advanced his imperial ſtandard, with a deſign to attack this place; but he concerted his meaſures ſo well, that by the help of his *Merkits*, a kind of *Tartar* mountaineers, he made himſelf maſter of it in a ſhort time, and with very little loſs; and put the garriſon to the ſword. This paſs, which was *Gurgin*'s great dependence, being conquered, the *Tartars* broke like a tempeſt into *Georgia*, where they gave no quarter to any *Chriſtian*; and converted all the churches and monaſteries into places of *Mahometan* worſhip. In ſhort, this execrable butcher of mankind, who has been ſo much extolled by *Chriſtian* writers, proceeded with an inhumanity againſt *Chriſtians*, that ſhocked even his own barbarians. *Gurgin*'s chief crime was, that he had refuſed to be a ſlave, but to ſave his country from utter ruin, he offered all that ſubmiſſion and tribute,

and again marches againſt *Georgia*;

his progreſs there

that

that *Tamerlan* had required. He had, it is true, before been insincere in those proffers, if we are to believe *Tamerlan*'s historians; but, from several evidences, there is some reason for thinking that they have omitted certain circumstances in *Gurgin*'s favour. For when his ambassadors were admitted into *Tamerlan*'s presence, many of his emirs and principal officers prostrated themselves at his feet, along with the ambassadors, and seconded them in their petitions. But *Tamerlan* was inexorable, and nothing but a universal massacre of the *Georgian Christians* could appease him. The emirs then had recourse to the powers of their own constitution, and demanded that the matter should be considered in an assembly of the doctors of the law.

Tamerlan's cruelty over-ruled by his muftis.

Though *Tamerlan* was one of the most absolute, as well as the most powerful princes that ever lived; yet he well knew the extent of human nature. He never had deprived his *Tartars* of the exercise of their constitution established by *Jenghiz Khan*; and upon this occasion, he gave way to a consultation of the doctors, and muftis. Their opinion was, that as the *Georgians* had consented to pay tribute, and to commit no hostilities against the *Mahometans*, that their law prohibited *Tamerlan* from prosecuting them with fire and sword. This report being made in the presence of the emirs, *Tamerlan* confirmed it with a nod to *Ibrahim* the king of *Shirwan*; whom he valued for his integrity, and who was one of the intercessors in favour of the *Georgians*. The ambassadors of *Gurgin*, in token of their master's sincerity, then laid at *Tamerlan*'s feet a thousand pieces of large gold coin, struck in his name, some valuable jewels, and rarities; and at the same time presented him with a thousand horses. After this, *Tamerlan* having made great part of *Georgia* almost a desert, marched to *Teflis*, its capital, and gave orders for rebuilding the city of *Balykan*, in that neighbourhood. This was done with vast expedition and strength, and the conqueror at the same time ordered a canal, eighteen miles in length, and fifteen cubits in breadth, to be dug for introducing the water into the new city; so that the whole of this undertaking is considered, as being the most considerable of all *Tamerlan*'s civil works. The merit therefore of this *Tartar*, is vastly inferior to that of *Alexander the Great*, whom he surpassed in his conquests, and who settled colonies, and founded cities, that are great and powerful to this day. *Tamerlan*, in other respects, shewed himself a mere barbarian. He was not, like *Jenghiz Khan*, a great legislator, but governed his vast dominions entirely by his own occasional views, and expedients. At last, tired out with the practice of murder and rapine, he began to affect a different character. He held assemblies of learned men in his court, called from all parts of his empire; and he ordered the states of the different provinces, with all the grievances of his subjects, to be laid before him in writing. This done, he sent

His works of magnificence inferior to those of *Alexander the Great*.

proper

proper perſons, in the nature of commiſſioners, or intendants, through his ſeveral ſtates, with orders to remedy all abuſes, and even to refund out of the public treaſure, the ſums that had been extorted wrongfully by his officers, and collectors. It was about this time likewiſe, that in a great meeting of his ſtates, he ſeemed to ſhew ſome remorſe for his having endeavoured always to make himſelf powerful, rather than his ſubjects happy. He ordered that they ſhould apply perſonally to himſelf, for the redreſs of their grievances, and that they ſhould freely give him their advice, for the good government of his empire. All this he delivered in a ſpeech, which was minuted down by one preſent, and has been tranſmitted to poſterity. This reformation was not merely confined to words. He ordered his grandſon *Abubeker*, to rebuild the city of *Baghdad*, and to exterminate the tyrants who oppreſſed it. *Karmi*, a celebrated doctor, whom he had intruſted with the government of *Pars*, or *Perſia*, properly ſo called, had, under pretence of raiſing a preſent to the emperor, extorted three hundred thouſand dinars from the people. This fact coming to *Tamerlan*'s knowledge, and being fully proved, he ordered the doctor to be bound, and to be ſent to *Skiras*, with a yoke, as a badge of infamy, about his neck; and the inſtruments of his rapine to be hanged. *Karmi*, upon his return, performed a kind of a public penance in the moſque, amidſt the acclamations of the people, in praiſe of the emperor's juſtice; and was then diſmiſſed from all his employments.

his ſcheme for reformation.

Rebellions againſt him.

But when *Tamerlan* began to have ſome repoſe, and his ſubjects to taſte the ſweets of tranquility, ſeveral rebellions broke out. The king of *Lor Kucheck*, a province on the borders of *Bukharia*, of *Tamerlan*'s own erecting, though the boundaries are now unknown, revolted; but he was quickly ſuppreſſed and his head cut off. *Eſkander*, who had been made governor of *Damawand* and *Firwykuh*, likewiſe broke out into open rebellion, which gave *Tamerlan* ſome trouble to ſuppreſs. He gave the charge of it to *Ruſtom*, and *Soleman*, two princes of his blood, with charge, if *Eſkander* laid down his arms, to accept of his ſubmiſſion, and to continue him in his government. But *Eſkander* having fortified himſelf in *Firwykuh*, bade them defiance; and *Tamerlan* was even obliged to march againſt him in perſon. The *Kara Tartars*, whom we have already mentioned, revolted about the ſame time, but were ſoon ſuppreſſed; and *Eſkander* being driven by *Tamerlan* out of all his fortreſſes, periſhed miſerably in the woods. Thoſe revolts and rebellions, becoming now very frequent, *Tamerlan* ordered all his governors of *Syria* and *Perſia* to ſend him, by way of hoſtages, each, his neareſt relation; and he even, when they were dilatory, carried them off by force, to reſide at *Samarkand*. All this while, *Tamerlan* enjoyed the ſweets of repoſe, even to a ſurfeit. His feaſts and entertainments were magnificent, and,

and, in imitation of *Jenghiz Khan*, he encouraged hunting of the wildeſt beaſts: he refined upon that diverſion, beyond any prince perhaps ever heard of. He had not only all kinds of *European* dogs, but tygers and leopards, adorned with gold collars, whom he bred up, to run down their own ſpecies; and it was capital for any one of his own train, to decline encountering with the fierceſt animal, when not employed in hunting and feaſting. *Tamerlan* greatly affected the company and converſation of the learned doctors of his empire; to whom he uſed to make preſents of ſuch curioſities as his country afforded; and he took particular pleaſure in hearing them diſcourſe, upon the thorny parts of their law and religion.

His magnificence in hunting.

But *Tamerlan*, though now old, had been ſo long accuſtomed to an active life, that peace became inſipid to him, and nothing could ſatisfy him, but the conqueſt of *China*; which was to render him ſuperior to the great *Jenghiz Khan*. With this intention he marched from *Karabagh*, on the eighth of *April* 1403; but previous to the execution of his undertaking, he made the mirza *Omar*, his grandſon, and ſon to his ſon *Miran*, king of all the countries, that had been poſſeſſed by *Hulaku*. This was done in a formal manner, and at a great feaſt. But the domeſtic ſtate of *Tamerlan*'s vaſt dominions, did not ſuffer him to proceed in the *Chineſe* expedition. He ſeems to have been deſtitute of the ſagacity of *Jenghiz Khan*, in the choice he made of his officers and governors; for he was obliged to hang many of them for oppreſſion, injuſtice, and rebellion, at the time he propoſed to march towards *China*. All of a ſudden he returned to *Samarkand*, where he ſeemed to lay aſide all thoughts of future conqueſt, that he might enjoy thoſe he had made. Ambaſſadors from all the known parts of the world, now appeared before him; andamongſt others, one from *Henry* III. king of *Caſtile*, his name was *Ruy Gonzales de Claviſo*, and he preſented *Tamerlan* with ſome *European* tapeſtry, of ſuch exquiſite workmanſhip, that it outdid all the manufactures of Aſia. As to the particular ſubject of this embaſſy, we are in the dark. All we know is, that, during the ambaſſador's reſidence, *Tamerlan* lived in a magnificence, almoſt unknown even to eaſtern potentates. He ordered a palace to be erected, vaſtly more capacious and ſumptuous, than any he had built before; for it was a ſquare of fifteen hundred cubits, and no coſt or materials, that *Aſia* could produce, in marbles, or other decorations, was ſpared upon it. But *Tamerlan*, though he had ſuſpended, had not laid aſide, the thoughts of the conqueſt of *China*. All his care now was, to leave the government of his empire upon ſuch a footing as that no revolutions could happen during his abſence. With this view, he opened a jubilee of a very extraordinary kind; magnificent beyond expreſſion, but at the ſame time, barbarous.

He meditates the conqueſt of *China*.

Tamerlan's fine palace.

For

Embaſſies to him from *Europe*.

But *Tamerlan* was now exalted to ſuch a pitch of greatneſs as to be conſidered as maſter of the world: and though he had conquered no part of *Europe*, yet the *European* ambaſſadors, who reſided in his court, were conſidered as delivering to him homage and tribute, from their ſovereigns. *Tamerlan*'s hiſtorians only mention them in that ſenſe and call them the piſmires of grandeur; as if he had honoured them beyond expreſſion, in inviting them to be witneſſes of his greatneſs. The opening of his palace was the prelude to what followed; and *Tamerlan* a ſecond time, celebrated the matrimony of all who had deſcended from him; and that too in one day. To do this with the greater magnificence, he ordered all his governors, and great officers of ſtate, to repair to *Samarkand*; and the jubilee he held, was celebrated upon the plain of *Kani Guel*, which ſignifies the mine of flowers. Nothing that a wild, and barbarous invention could deviſe, was wanting to embelliſh it. The plain was covered with tents, that formed a moving city, furniſhed with every luxury of life. The whole however, ſeems to have been void of elegance. Butchers were dreſt up in the ſkins of thoſe animals they had ſlaughtered. Women were diſguiſed like goats, and in ſhort no ſpecies of the brutal kind was wanting in maſquerade. Even the aerial creation was imitated; and men, and women, went about dreſt like angels, faries, and hobgoblins. Artificial gardens, producing all the fruits of the field, were raiſed behind the tents; and pageants were made by the manufacturers and traders in their ſeveral ways. All this was a prelude to the marriages of ſix princes, his grandſons; which were celebrated after the *Mahometan* ritual. The rejoicings upon this occaſion, after the ceremony was over, were anſwerable to the grandeur of *Tamerlan*.

His jubilee.

and marriages of his deſcendants.

Ceremonies.

His emirs, his clergy, and all the great lords, appeared at an awful diſtance before the imperial throne; and every one preſent, after the manner of the *Moguls*, ſhowers heaps of precious ſtones, jewels, and gold upon the new married princes, and their brides. The whole plain, immenſe as it was, was one continued ſcene of eating and drinking, from which none were prohibited; and the proviſions were the moſt exquiſite that luxury could procure, from the moſt delicious parts of the globe. In ſhort, we are told by the hiſtorians of the time, that whole forreſts were cut down, to furniſh wood for dreſſing the victuals. To crown the whole feſtivity, *Tamerlan* iſſued a ſolemn proclamation, by which he ordered, an equality of conditions to be obſerved while the feaſt laſted, and an uncontrouled liberty of rejoicing; all complainings, and reprehenſions of one towards another, of the rich towards the poor, of the ſtrong towards the weak, were expreſsly forbidden. To conclude, no man was to ſay to another, what doſt thou? The magnificent dreſſes and equipages of the emperor, and the new married princes, conſiſting

Remarkable proclamation.

conſiſting of elephants, with dazling ſtones upon their backs, camels, horſes, and mules, adorned with the moſt coſtly trappings and embroideries, and carrying golden bells with a moſt immenſe diſplay, of all kind of rich moveables to crown the pomp. Thoſe rejoicings were obſerved in all other parts of *Tamerlan*'s vaſt empire, as well as at *Khani Guel*.

All this magnificence and rejoicing, which was infinitely beyond what we can deſcribe, had a political end. It laſted two months, and *Tamerlan*, by his vaſt indulgences during that time, diſpoſed his ſubjects, the great as well as the vulgar, to enter into his favourite view, which was the conqueſt of *China*. On this occaſion, he ſhewed himſelf to be the moſt barbarous and deteſtable of all hypocrites. In an aſſembly of his great men, he pretended, that it was a matter of conſcience with him, to attone for the *Mahometan* blood that had been ſhed during his wars, by carrying his arms into *China*, which was then inhabited by idolaters, whom he was reſolved to exterminate, and to convert their temples into moſques. This execrable ſpeech was heard with vaſt applauſe by the gorgeous barbarians; and the ſultan of *Egypt*, having afreſh made his ſubmiſſion, and promiſed *Tamerlan* ſatisfaction in every point, was diſmiſſed, with peculiar marks of honour, particularly a letter written in letters of gold, three cubits in breadth, and ſeventy in length; ſuch ridiculous ideas had thoſe *Tartars* of magnificence. Other ambaſſadors, for he had them from all parts of the known world, received proofs of *Tamerlan*'s bounty at the ſame time. We are told particularly, that he made rich preſents to the ambaſſador of *Spain*; but that miniſter, probably from motives of intereſt, makes no mention of them. After this, *Tamerlan* put the affairs of his government into the hands he could beſt truſt, during his abſence; and he ordered the troops for his *Chineſe* expedition, to be reviewed in the plains of *Taſhkunt*, by the emir *Barendak*, who found them to amount to two hundred thouſand men, all of them in excellent condition; an army which *Tamerlan* probably thought, was more than ſufficient for the conqueſt of *China*.

He undertakes an expedition againſt *China*.

His profound hypocriſy.

His army reviewed.

Nothing but the infatuation of ambition, could have prompted *Tamerlan* to undertake ſuch an expedition, at his advanced time of life; and after the immenſe fatigues he had undergone. It is ſaid that his army exceeded all that ever had been known; but this muſt be underſtood of their military diſcipline, the compleatneſs of their arms and appointments, and the excellent diſpoſitions *Tamerlan* had made for ſubſiſting them: we are particularly told, that he ordered the countries through which he was to paſs, to be ſowed with grain, for the uſe of his troops upon their return. But he now approached his laſt hour; he ſtill retained, or affected to retain, his regard for aſtrology, and the happy hour

It marches

of

of his departure being fixed, he ſet out upon his expedition upon the eighth of *January* 1405, whi'e the ſeaſon was remarkably bitter, and the roads almoſt impaſſable, by the rain and ſnow that fell. Thoſe conſiderations were no bars to *Tamerlan*. Though the froſt and cold daily killed and diſabled vaſt numbers of his ſoldiers, yet he croſſed the *Sihun*; and on the twenty-fifth of *February* he reached *Otrar*. Nature could no longer ſupport ſuch fatigues; he had, before he left *Samarkand*, been in a declining ſtate of health, but he endeavoured to conceal it. Being arrived at *Otrar*, which was once the capital of *Turkeſtan*, but now a petty town, in the extremity of the province of *Samarkand*; he gave audience to an ambaſſador of his old enemy *Toktamiſh*, who threw himſelf upon his mercy, and *Tamerlan* was abſurd enough to promiſe, that upon his return from his *Chineſe* expedition, he would employ his arms, in fixing him once more on the throne of *Kipjak*. After this, he was ſeized with a fever, and ſeems to have been ſometimes delirious; for he often cried out, that he heard houries exhorting him to repentance, becauſe he was to appear before God.

in a bitter ſeaſon.

Death of *Tamerlan*.

He ſpent the laſt hours of his life, as other illuſtrious deſtroyers of mankind, in repenting of his crimes, and in forming reſolutions of amendment. But finding he was paſt hopes of recovery, he declared his ſon *Mehemed* his heir and ſucceſſor, and obliged all his miniſters and general officers preſent, to ſwear that they would ſee his will performed. A like oath was adminiſtered to all the great lords who could not be preſent; and at the ſame time, he exhorted all about him, to relieve and cheriſh his people. As *Tamerlan* commonly marched with his empreſs, and the ladies of the ſeraglio, in his train, he ſent for them and took leave of them. Some of his chief lords, foreſeeing what afterwards happened, begged him to ſend to *Taſhkunt*, for the other princes of his blood, that they might be inſtructed in his will from his own mouth. But *Tamerlan* would not ſuffer them to leave their poſts; and in his laſt moments, he ſhewed an anxiety about his army; till on the firſt of *April*, 1405, he gave up the ghoſt, declaring he believed only in one God, and liſtening to the reading of the koran; after living ſeventy-one years, of which he reigned grand khan, or emperor, for thirty-ſix.

His charactar.

We have had ſo many opportunities of making obſervations, upon the character and conduct of this mighty conqueror, that we ſhall be the more ſparing of them here. In valour and generalſhip, as well as in good fortune, he had no equal in his age; nor could we credit the inſtances we have of his courage, perſeverance, and patience under the moſt trying difficulties, were it not that they come from unqueſtionable authority. At the ſame time, it appears from the ſame authority, that there was not a ſpecies of barbarity, and injſtice, that can enter into the compoſition of mankind,

kind, but what he was guilty of. In the few inſtances, that we have of his generoſity, he ſeems to have proceeded upon political views; and they are of very little importance. The moſt illuſtrious is, his not putting *Bajazet* to death; but we have already conſidered that paſſage, and perhaps it was much more to his intereſt, that he ſhould live his priſoner by way of pledge. In many incidents of *Tamerlan*'s life, he ſeems to have had ſome tincture of vanity; but we are to reflect, that the keeping up magnificent appearances, was as neceſſary to him, as any other part of policy.

His great hypocriſy.

Hypocriſy was, perhaps, another of *Tamerlan*'s civil accompliſhments; though, upon moſt occaſions, he acted as an enthuſiaſt for the *Mahometan* religion, and certainly died in that faith. But appearances were neceſſary for his conqueſts, and his zeal for *Mahometaniſm*, furniſhed him always with an argument, when he could find no others, for bloodſhed and rapine. It is however, with difficulty we can conceive, that he was ſincere in his belief of judicial aſtrology, and the other ſuperſtitions he practiſed; but even theſe were neceſſary for inſpiring his barbarians with that confidence which generally carries conqueſt along with it.

Inferior to *Jenghiz Khan*.

Tamerlan ſeems to have propoſed *Jenghiz Khan* as his model; but he had all *Jenghiz Khan*'s vices, without one of his virtues; unleſs we allow unbounded magnificence, and family affections to be ſuch. *Tamerlan*, like *Jenghiz Khan*, did acts of juſtice; and even the princes of his own family often felt his ſeverity. But all thoſe acts were neceſſary to the maintainance of his own authority and intereſt. Both *Jenghiz Khan* and *Tamerlan* were well ſerved by their children; but *Jenghiz Khan* made a better choice of his other generals and governors. In that reſpect, *Tamerlan* was often unfortunate, as well as in the too haſty ſettlements, he made of his conqueſts; though both might be owing to the perpetual hurry in which he was obliged to live.

Deſcription of his perſon.

Tamerlan, like *Jenghiz Khan*, was in his perſon the ſtrongeſt, and the moſt compleat ſoldier in his dominions; and knew the uſe of weapons the beſt. Both of them affected vaſt magnificence, and to ſpeak in public; and were eſteemed compleat orators. Nothing is more aſtoniſhing, than that *Tamerlan*, though lame of one ſide, ſhould undergo the immenſe fatigues, and perform, as he did, ſuch prodigious acts of perſonal valour. His perſon is ſaid to have been tall, and corpulent. His beard, according to the beſt repreſentations, was thick: he was very fair in his complexion, and all his limbs were formed with the greateſt ſtrength; and at the ſame time his appearance was becoming and majeſtic.

His affectation of plainneſs.

Tamerlan, though, as we have already ſeen, a deep diſſembler, was ſo remarkable for his affectation of plainneſs and ſincerity, that he choſe theſe two words for the inſcription upon his ſeal: and was diſpleaſed, when any about him indulged

dulged themſelves in the moſt harmleſs jokes, or raillery. He carried this decency to the prohibiting all groſs language in his preſence; nor would he ſuffer his courtiers to mention thoſe inhumanities of murder and rapine, of which he himſelf was ſo often guilty. He was ſo well ſerved by his ſpies, and his memory was ſo tenacious, that he often mentioned things to ſtrangers, that they thought he could only know but by inſpiration. Add to this, he was exceſſively inquiſitive, even about the ſmalleſt matters. Secrecy and celerity were in him very remarkable; for after hearing the opinions of all his general officers, and even after giving orders to follow it, he generally executed his own; and he had ſuch an opinion of his troops, that he omitted no ſtratagem, when his enemies declined an engagement, to give them a deſpicable opinion of his army; for he thought that when they could fight, they muſt conquer.

his ſecrecy, celerity, and inquiſitiveneſs.

Though hiſtorians have greatly extolled his memory, for the magnificient edifices he raiſed; yet they generally conſiſted of detached fortreſſes, bridges, moſques, and the like buildings; for we know not of any great commercial city he founded, or that he was very ſtudious in poliſhing the minds and manners of his ſubjects. It is true, we ſometimes meet with his repairing the ravages of cities, which he or his army had committed: nor did he give his favourite reſidence *Samarkand*, all the advantages it might have enjoyed by its nature and ſituation. It is much more for his honour to mention, that he cauſed to be erected in his dominions, many edifices for the entertainment and relief of the poor, and travellers. It was none of *Tamerlan*'s leaſt advantages, that he had the art to make his conqueſts paſs as ſo many marks of the peculiar care of providence towards him; and he often mentioned, that God had raiſed him from being a poor prince, to be the greateſt monarch on the face of the earth.

His buildings and public works.

Tamerlan left behind him thirty-ſix male deſcendants, and ſeventeen female. His own ſons were only four, (viz.) the mirza *Jehan Ghir*, who died in his father's life time, and was father to *Mehemed*, whom *Tamerlan* had made his ſucceſſor. The mirza *Omar Sheykh*, was his ſecond ſon, who died in his father's life time. The mirza *Miran Shah*, was his third ſon; and his fourth and beſt beloved, was *Shah Rukh*. All thoſe princes had ſons and daughters, at the time of *Tamerlan*'s death.

Tamerlan's deſcendants.

Hiſtory

History of Tamerlan's *ſucceſſors, from his death, in the year* 1405, *to the year* 1530.

THE death of *Tamerlan*, whoſe body was interred at *Samarkand*, did not put an end to the *Chineſe* expedition, the conduct of which was committed to *Kalil Sultan*, *Tamerlan*'s grandſon by *Miran*. The proceedings of *Tamerlan*'s family, however, and his great officers, on this occaſion, are not eaſily accounted for. The ſame diſorders happened upon *Tamerlan*'s death, as had fallen out under *Jenghiz Khan*'s ſucceſſors. The conſtitutions of *Tartary* did not admit of *Tamerlan*'s will taking place, in favour of *Mehemed*, before a diet of the ſtates was held. This interval gave room for intrigues and rebellions. *Huſſayu*, the ſame prince who had ſo unaccountably deſerted at *Damaſcus*, endeavoured to make himſelf maſter of *Samarkand*; but was prevented by a party formed in favour of *Kalil Sultan*, who declared him emperor, and ſwore obedience to him at *Taſhkunt*, where he had an army. This uſurpation, however, was diſcountenanced by the empreſſes and a great body of the emirs; and *Kalil Sultan*, with his party, conſented to ſubmit to *Mehemed*.

Diſorders upon *Tamerlan*'s death.

Notwithſtanding this, the governor of *Samarkand* refuſed to give up that city to *Mehemed*, until the latter was recognized by the diet of the ſtates. This gave *Kalil* and his friends an opportunity of retracting the ſolemn ſubmiſſion they had made to *Mehemed*; and, by diſtributing a great number of horſes, money, and furniture, *Kalil* ſtrengthened his intereſt ſo, that he became maſter of *Samarkand*, then the richeſt place in the world. Entering that imperial city, he ſeated himſelf in *Tamerlan*'s throne, and received the ſubmiſſion of all the great men. It was the more eaſy for him to carry on his ſchemes, as he pretended to act only in *Mehemed*'s name until the diet of the empire could be convened.

Kalil Sultan mounts his throne.

But *Kalil* had not the good fortune to preſerve that vaſt empire which he had obtained by his liberality. He had, during *Tamerlan*'s life-time, fallen in love with a lady, whoſe name was *Shadi Mulk*, and had actually married her. She was of low extraction, and the concubine of a court-lord; for which reaſon, *Tamerlan* had often prohibited, under ſevere penalties, their cohabiting together. But the commerce between them ſtill continuing, *Tamerlan* had ordered her to be put to death; and ſhe was ſaved only by the interceſſion of his favourite empreſs, who alledged that ſhe was then with child.

When *Kalil* came to the throne, he reſumed his paſſion for *Shadi*, who governed him ſo entirely, that he ſhewed but little regard to the affairs of government, and diſobliged his great emirs. The empreſſes, and ladies of the ſeraglio, at

His weakneſs for *Shadi Mulk*.

the same time, being very rich and powerful, formed intrigues against him on account of *Shadi*'s haughtiness, and of his not paying a proper regard to their high quality. Those intrigues brought on scenes of rebellion all over the empire. *Kodadad*, one of the most powerful of the *Tartar* princes, revolted, and was joined by *Nuroddin*, who had been the great favourite of *Tamerlan*. On the other hand, *Shak Rhuk* held the government of *Herat* and *Koraſſan*, and was joined by a great many who wished to see him emperor; while *Allahdad*, another great governor, on the frontiers of *Geta*, being suspected by *Kalil*, joined *Kodadad*. Such a diversity of interests, while all the agents were actuated by ambition and insincerity, for some time, saved *Kalil*. *Allahdad* betrayed *Kodadad*, and was made first minister by *Kalil*. The ravages of the rebels, however, still continued; and the *Moguls*, who hated *Tamerlan*'s government, forced *Kodadad* to deliver up the places that *Tamerlan* had taken from them. In short, all *Bukharia*, and the neighbouring kingdoms, were filled with blood and confusion.

Rebellion against *Kalil*.

Mehemed raises troops, and publishes his claim, which is answered by *Kalil*.

In the mean time, *Mehemed* resided at *Kandahar*, and no regard was paid to his pretensions. Having, however, a great party to back him, he raised troops, and published a manifesto, charging *Kalil Sultan*, who now had left off paying him any regard as *Tamerlan*'s heir, with rebellion and usurpation. *Kalil* sent a formal answer to this charge, maintaining, that he held his empire, as *Tamerlan* had held it before, by his sword; and, that both his father *Miran*, and his uncle *Shak Rhuk*, being nearer in blood to *Tamerlan*, if proximity of blood gave any right, ought to be preferred to *Mehemed*. He observed farther, that he was willing to be directed by his father and uncle, and to leave *Mehemed* in possession of his government of *Kandahar*.

Reflection

In reviewing those transactions, there appears somewhat extremely absurd in *Tamerlan*'s disposition upon his deathbed. For, as *Kalil* observed, *Tamerlan* had made a partition of his dominions, to his sons and grandsons, in his own life-time; and they were actually in sovereign possession of them at the time of his death, though he constituted *Mehemed* his heir and successor, as being the son of his eldest son. It is likewise very unaccountable that *Kalil* should be declared sovereign emperor, while his father, *Miran*, was alive, and then under no incapacity, that we know of, for government. Whatever might be the cause, it is certain that those paper skirmishes were backed by strong armies raised on all sides. *Kalil Sultan* trusted the command of his to *Hussayu*, to whom he had been reconciled; but who betrayed him, and set up for a part of *Tamerlan*'s succession, to which he thought himself intitled. *Hussayu*, in his turn, was betrayed by *Allahdad*, and the generals whom he trusted; all of them went over to *Kalil*; so that *Hussayu* was obliged to fly to his uncle *Shak Ruk*, in *Koraſſan*, where he soon after died.

Kalil,

Kalil, who ſeems to have wanted neither addreſs nor courage, having thus regained his ſuperiority, gave battle to *Mehemed*, who was defeated, and obliged to fly to *Kandahar*. He made a ſecond attempt, in which his ſoldiers abandoned him; and, at laſt, being ſhut up in a fortreſs, he came to a compromiſe with his competitor; and each ſolemnly ſwore not to diſturb the other's dominions. Upon *Mehemed*'s return to *Kandahar*, his vizir rebelled againſt him, but could not form a party, amongſt the great men, ſtrong enough to ſupport his pretenſions. He was, therefore, obliged to fly to *Herat*, where he was put to death by *Shak Rhuk*; who, without any oppoſition, made himſelf maſter of the province of *Shandahah*. *Kalil* defeats *Mehemed*.

Numberleſs were the rebellions that broke out, after this, in thoſe dominions, that had been ſubject to *Tamerlan*. The *Moguls*, the *Kare Tarters*, the *Kipjaks*, and millions of other barbarians, were, all at once, in arms; all of them headed by princes, and rebels pretending to independent power; while *Kodadad* and *Nuroddin* quarreling, the latter was received into *Kalil*'s protection, and rewarded with the honour of marrying one of *Tamerlan*'s wives; and *Kalil* remained, for ſome time, victorious. He made the beſt uſe of the reſpite which ſucceſs gave him; for he ordered *Allahdad* to rebuild the city of *Termed*, which had been ruined under *Jenghiz Khan*; this was done and the city fortified in a moſt ſurprizing ſhort time; hiſtorians ſay in fifteen days. We mention this, that the reader may have ſome idea of the ſtrength of the places in thoſe countries; for *New Termed*, as it was called, was a very large city; and its walls were rebuilt to ſuch a height, as not to be ſcaled. The houſes were likewiſe rendered habitable. As, therefore, we cannot ſuppoſe that thoſe barbarians had any ſupernatural means of conſtructing fortifications, thoſe of *Termed*, as well as the houſes, muſt have been extremely ſlight. Confuſions of the empire.

Shak Rhuk continued, all this time, in peaceable poſſeſſion of *Koraſſan*; but was making preparations for becoming maſter of *Kalil*'s dominions. Hearing that *Kalil* had re-built, and re-fortified, *Termed*, he gave orders for doing the ſame with a caſtle, ſtanding on his dominions, oppoſite to that city. After that, the mirza *Omar*, another of *Tamerlan*'s grandſons, and the ſovereign of *Perſia*, was defeated by a rebel of his own blood; whom *Shak Rhuk*, in his turn, defeated and put to death. But *Omar* and *Shak Rhuk*, afterwards quarreling, the former was killed, and the latter became ſovereign of *Perſia*. This acquiſition of territory rendered *Shak Rhuk* an over-match for *Kalil*. But the failings of the latter, gave *Shak Rhuk* ſtill greater advantages. He now owned *Shadi* as his firſt wife; and ſhe raiſed a worthleſs deformed domeſtic to ſuch power, that he lorded it over *Allahdad* and *Argun Shah*, the two greateſt lords about court. Conduct of *Shak Rhuk*.

Kodadad rebels,

History can ſcarce furniſh a more compleat ſet of villains and traitors than thoſe who ſerved *Kalil* in high poſts. Thoſe two lords, inſtead of retiring from court, or boldly maintaining their ground againſt a worthleſs favourite, invited *Kodadad* to march from *Turkeſtan* towards *Samarkand*, which they promiſed to put into his hands. *Kodadad* was eaſily perſuaded; and, while upon his march, *Kalil*, though himſelf a great and a fortunate general, gave the command of the army, who was to oppoſe *Kodadad*, to *Allahdad* and *Argun*. They accordingly marched to ſome diſtance from *Samarkand*, but perſuaded *Kalil* to come and take the command of his troops; and, in the mean time, gave *Kodadad* ſuch exact intelligence of the route that prince was to take, that he was intercepted by a ſtrong detachment of the rebels; and, after a valiant reſiſtance, made priſoner, and carried to *Kodadad*. This traitor diſſembled ſo exquiſitely, that he outwitted *Kalil*'s two generals, whom he was unwilling ſhould come in for a ſhare of his good fortune: for, by the force of proteſtations, he perſuaded *Kalil* to order *Allahdad*, and the army

takes *Samarkand*,

under him, to ſurrender without terms; and then *Kodadad* continued his march towards *Samarkand*, which he took poſſeſſion of, and acted, in every reſpect, as the ſovereign of the empire: keeping *Allahdad*, *Argun*, and *Baba*, the worthleſs favourite of *Shadi*, in cloſe confinement.

Shak Rhuk, who was now extremely powerful, laid hold of this opportunity to make himſelf maſter of *Bukharia* and its capital. He raiſed a great army, and ſent his chief general, *Malec*, againſt *Kodadad*. That traitor ſeems to have had no ſettled plan of power, or, if he had, he was diſappointed by the affection which the people expreſſed for the family of *Tamerlan*. *Samarkand* was now no longer, as it was under *Tamerlan*, the capital of the greateſt empire in the world; and, therefore, was no longer able to give employment and ſupport to the prodigious number of ſtrangers who flocked to it from all quarters; and who, before this revolution happened, had retired to their reſpective countries: ſo that none but the old inhabitants, who were attached to *Tamerlan*'s army, were left behind. *Kodadad*, therefore, perceiving he could not be ſupported in his uſurpation, after plundering the imperial palaces, and the houſes of the chief inhabitants, upon the firſt accounts he received of *Malec*'s motions, marched haſtily out of *Samarkand*, taking with him his priſoner *Kalil*. He directed his march to *Andekan*, where he renewed his proteſtations of duty to *Kalil*. His deſign was to obtain that prince's commiſſion for raiſing an army amongſt the *Moguls* and the other *Tartars*, who were the beſt affectioned towards *Kalil*. But, when he came amongſt them for that purpoſe, and made overtures for putting them in poſſeſſion of *Kalil*'s dominions, they cut off his head.

but flies.

In

In the mean while, a perfect anarchy prevailed at *Samarkand*. One *Abdolwal*, a celebrated doctor of law, was there the demagogue of the people; and continuing so, he disposed of every thing, declaring openly for *Shak Rhuk*, who soon after arrived at *Samarkand*. By his orders, *Allahdad*, and his accomplices, were put to death; and *Baba*, to avoid the most exquisite torments, found means to drown himself. As to the unhappy *Shadi*, she was equally enamoured with *Kalil* as he was with her; and suffered, on this occasion, the most cruel indignities and even tortures, till *Shak Rhuk* put an end to her sufferings, and ordered her life to be spared. After this, he had no farther trouble in taking possession of his new empire. *Kalil* amused himself in making the most tender verses upon his *Shadi*; and, at last, came to a resolution to surrender himself, with the few troops he had left, into *Shak Rhuk*'s hands; which he accordingly did. The conqueror had his reasons for receiving him into his protection, and even restoring his *Shadi* to his embraces. But, when he left *Samarkand*, he took both of them along with him, and gave *Kalil*, by way of compensation for what he had lost, the sovereignty of several provinces in *Persia*. But he soon after procured him to be poisoned; and *Shadi*, unable to survive him, stabbed herself. Both of them were buried at *Ray* in one tomb.

Shak Rhuk takes possession of *Samarkand*.

It is plain that *Kalil* had naturally great talents, both for war and government, had his passion, or rather dotage, for *Shadi*, suffered him to make use of them. He was extremely handsome, liberal, and brave; and, by his exterior virtues, he acquired himself a party that supported him against all the striking defects of his title.

In this place it may be proper to observe, that *Tamerlan*, when he conquered only part of a country, or, perhaps, received a hasty submission, declared himself sovereign of the whole, and assigned it governors out of his own family accordingly. He had two enemies; *Ahmed*, the sultan of *Baghdad*; and *Kara Yusef*, the prince of *Arabia*; whom he never had been able to subdue, though he had made his utmost efforts for that purpose. Upon *Tamerlan*'s death, *Ahmed* recovered the sovereignty of *Baghdad*, and got possession of *Tauris*; while *Kara Yusef* made himself master of the *Arabian Irak* and *Mesopotamia*; and, entering *Azerbejan*, he defeated *Miran*, *Tamerlan*'s son, and the father of *Kalil*; and drove *Abubeker*, the other son, into *Sejestan*; where he soon after died or was killed.

After this, *Kara Yusef* defeated and killed *Ahmed*, who had quarrelled with him; and remained master of *Tauris*, *Sherwan*, *Georgia*, and *Azerbejan*. At last, his great progress alarmed *Shak Rhuk*, who had left the sovereignty of *Samarkand* to his son *Ulug Bek*; and he prepared to attack *Kara Yusef*, who died about this time, though it is uncertain in what manner. *Shak Rhuk* continued the war with *Yusef*'s son *Eskander*,

Eſkander, with various ſucceſs; but *Eſkander* was, at laſt, defeated. *Shak Rhuk*, after this, applied himſelf to the works of peace; and, leaving ſome noble monuments of his greatneſs, he died, in 1446, in the ſeventy-firſt year of his age and the fortieth of his reign.

Death of *Shak Rhuk*

Such are the materials we have of thoſe powerful ſucceſſors to the great *Tamerlan*, that can be depended on; for we have not ventured to inſert all that has been ſaid of them, becauſe no two hiſtorians agree in the facts, or even in the names of places and perſons. We cannot, however, help mentioning the remarkable manner in which *Shak Rhuk* got his name. *Tamerlan*, when he received the news of his birth, was playing at chefs, and had made that movement, by which the piece called the rhuk, or tower, gives check to the ſhak, or king; and the forms of the game requiring he ſhould then pronounce the words *ſhak rhuk*, he gave them for his ſon's name. *Shak Rhuk* had ſeveral ſons; but none of them, excepting *Ulug*, his eldeſt ſon, ſurvived him. His other ſons were *Abul Tetah*, *Ibrahim*, *Bayſankar*, *Sayergatmiſh*, and *Mohammed Juki*.

His iſſue.

Ibrahim deſerved well of learning. He was, during his father's life-time, governor of *Pars*, or *Proper Perſia*, and reigned in *Syria*, where he built a college for learned men, which, for its beauty and endowments, was called *the manſion of delight*. It was by his command, the mulla *Shafroddin Ali*, a *Perſian* by birth, compiled his excellent, well-ſupported hiſtory of *Tamerlan*; and he was furniſhed by *Ibrahim*, who obtained them from other princes of his houſe, with the authorities, and original papers, from which he drew it up; and even with the original journals and extracts compoſed by *Tamerlan*'s own order and in his preſence. Upon the death of that conqueror, his ſons and deſcendants, who ſhared amongſt them his dominions, had no leiſure for encouraging works of learning; and, indeed, many of them had no inclination; for almoſt all their dominions relapſed into that barbarity and ignorance from which they had been raiſed by *Jenghiz Khan* and *Tamerlan*, the latter of whom was a profeſſed patron and protector of the learned in all nations. *Ibrahim* left likewiſe behind him ſome pieces of poetry of his own compoſing.

Hiſtory of *Ibrahim*.

Though *Ulug* had governed, for forty years, that part of *Tamerlan*'s empire which lay to the north of the river *Amu*, or *Jehun*, and was intitled to the whole of the ſucceſſion of his father, yet, upon *Shak Rhuk*'s death, *Alladawlet*, the eldeſt ſon of *Baſankar*, took poſſeſſion of *Koraſſan*, that important country lying between *Great Bukharia* and *Perſia*, of which it is properly a province. His brother *Mohammed* remained governor, or rather ſovereign, of *Pars*; as the third brother, *Abel Kaſſim*, did of *Jorjan* and *Mazunderan*; thoſe beautiful countries bordering on the *Caſpian Sea*. *Alladawlet* pretended, at firſt, that he had ſeized *Herat*, the then capital

Alladawlet uſurps.

His pretence.

of

of *Koraſſan* only to preſerve it for his uncle *Ulug*; but he made himſelf maſter of the perſon of *Abdollatif*, *Ulug*'s eldeſt ſon. This brought on a treaty, by which the young prince was reſtored to his father, and *Alladawlet* remained governor of *Koraſſan*. *Ulug* however not thinking himſelf bound by this treaty, drove *Alladawlet* out of *Koraſſan* into *Mazandaran*, where he joined his brother *Abul Kaſſem*, called by others *Baba*; while they raiſed a great army, which was defeated likewiſe by *Ulug*; and they were obliged to fly to their brother *Mohammed*, the ſovereign of *Pars*. Upon *Ulug*'s return to *Herat*, he found the inhabitants of the ſuburbs of that city in arms; but he ſoon reduced them, gave the plunder of the ſuburbs to his ſoldiers, and returned to *Samarkand*.

Defeated and flies.

His ſeverity in plundering the ſuburbs of *Herat*, was attended with very bad conſequences to him; for, during his abſence at *Samarkand*, *Baba* recovered *Aſtrabad*; and the inhabitants of *Herat*, likewiſe, opened their gates to him. We are not ſufficiently inſtructed as to the particulars of the great misfortunes which ſoon after befel *Ulug*; they were probably owing to that unnatural, barbarous ſpirit which, after *Tamerlan*'s death, took poſſeſſion of his deſcendants. Be that as it will, it is certain that *Abdollatif* rebelled againſt his father, defeated him, took him priſoner, and, after a ſlight trial, formally put him to death. After this, the monſter put his brother to death likewiſe; but his crimes growing too deteſtable to be longer endured, even by barbarians, his own ſoldiers ſhot him dead with their arrows. We muſt not here forget that *Ulug* was an excellent aſtronomer; and, that the juſtly famous tables which bear his name, were compoſed under his inſpection, by the two beſt aſtronomers of that age; and were afterwards publiſhed in *England* with a *Latin* tranſlation.

Baba recovers *Herat*.

Ulug's ſon puts him to death.

Ulug, a great aſtronomer.

Mohammed, the ſon of *Baſankar*, whom we have already mentioned, had, by this time, diſpoſſeſſed *Abdollah*, who had ſucceeded his father *Ibrahim* in his ſovereignty, or government; and *Abdollah* had been kindly received by *Ulug*, who even gave him his daughter in marriage; and he remained at *Samarkand*, till the death of *Abdollatif*, when he mounted the throne. But, in a few months, he found a very formidable competitor in his couſin *Abuſaid*, the ſon of *Mohammed*. This prince had given ſtrong marks of his ambition during the life-time of *Ulug*; but he had been taken priſoner by *Abdollatif*. Making his eſcape, he laid claim to the throne of *Samarkand*, and advanced againſt that capital; but was, in the year 1450, met and defeated by *Abdollah*, and obliged to fly into *Turkeſtan*. Here he met with a powerful ſupporter, in the perſon of *Uzbek*, the khan of *Kipjak*, who lent him an army, at the head of which he defeated and ſlew *Abdollah*, and became maſter of *Great Bukharia*, and the other provinces that had belonged to *Ulug* on the north of the *Amu*.

Diſorders of the empire after his death.

Abuſaid ſucceeds and kills *Abdollah*.

The

The *Kipjaks* return home.

The *Kipjaks*, who had fought for *Abuſaid*, had done it only in hopes of being able to plunder *Samarkand:* but *Abuſaid*, perceiving their intention, entered the city in diſguiſe; and, making the inhabitants ſenſible of their danger, he defeated their deſign, ſo that they thought proper to return home. *Abuſaid* being thus ſettled on the throne of *Samarkand*, made preparations for conquering all *Koraſſan* and *Perſia*, then held by *Mahmud*, the ſon of *Baba*. But arriving at *Herat*, *Ahmed*, the governor of that city, retired into the citadel, and baffled all *Abuſaid*'s attempts to take it. This exaſperated *Abuſaid* ſo much, that he put to death his own mother, upon a falſe accuſation of her having held a correſpondence with his enemies. Soon after, *Abuſaid* loſt the ſtrong fortreſs of *Nirettu*; and underſtanding that *Abdollatif*'s ſons were preparing to make good their claims to their father's ſucceſſion, in the neighbourhood of *Balk*, he marched thither and defeated them; the eldeſt being killed, while the youngeſt, *Jughi*, fled. After this, the *Turkmans*, under the command of *Jehan*, the ſon of *Kara Yuſef*, committed great ravages in *Abuſaid*'s dominions; but, after various ſkirmiſhes, the *Turkman* propoſed a peace; by which he was left in poſſeſſion of *Azerbejan*, and other provinces in *Irak* and *Koraſſan*.

Abuſaid puts his mother to death,

and makes peace with the *Turkmans*.

Abuſaid then applied himſelf to make commerce flouriſh in his dominions, and particularly in *Herat*, which was now in his poſſeſſion. For this purpoſe, he ſent to his reſpective countries the beſt part of his troops. This gave the neighbouring princes, who were all of them his couſins, encouragement to invade his territories: but he bravely encountered and defeated them, and put one of them, who fell into his hands, to death. In 1459, he defeated *Huſſayu*, the ſultan of *Maſſanderan*, and made himſelf maſter of its capital; where he was recognized as ſultan, but he gave the government of it to *Mahmud*. He next reduced *Kalil*, the ſultan of *Sejeſtan*, who had made an attempt upon *Herat*, to aſk his pardon; and he made peace with *Jughi*, the ſon of *Abdollatif*, who claimed his father's inheritance. But, about this time, *Huſſayu* regained poſſeſſion of *Maſſanderan*, after defeating prince *Mahmud*; and, invading *Koraſſan*, he laid ſiege to *Herat:* but, upon *Abuſaid*'s advancing to relieve it, he retreated to *Aſtarabad*. Hither *Abuſaid* purſued him, and a ſecond time conquered *Mazanderan*, and again appointed his ſon *Mahmud* its governor.

proves victorious.

His next war was with *Jughi*, who had become too formidable, and had fortified the city of *Sharukiya* ſo ſtrongly, that it held out a whole year's ſiege againſt *Abuſaid*. He obliged *Jughi*, however, to ſurrender himſelf and the place at diſcretion; and he kept him priſoner all his life. In the year 1463, his generals were defeated by *Huſſayu*, who had again invaded *Koraſſan*; but *Huſſayu*'s troops deſerting from him,

him, gave *Abuſaid* ſome reſpite. His next expedition was againſt *Haſſan Beg*; and it was undertaken after conſulting with *Noſroddin*, who was accounted the ableſt politician of that age. *Haſſan Beg*, again and again, applied, by his ambaſſadors, for peace; but it was refuſed by *Abuſaid*, who demanded *Haſſan Beg* ſhould deliver himſelf up into his hands, and, at the ſame time, penetrated ſo far into his dominions, that he gave *Haſſan Beg* an opportunity, firſt to cut off his proviſions, then his troops, and, laſtly, to make himſelf priſoner. After ſome debate in *Haſſan Beg*'s council, it was judged improper he ſhould live; and he was therefore put to death, in the forty-ſecond year of his age, and the twentieth of his reign. As he was a very powerful prince, the ruin of *Tamerlan*'s empire, in a lineal ſucceſſion, is dated from him.

He marches againſt *Haſſan Beg*, who puts him to death.

We have given the reader an extract of this prince's hiſtory, as a kind of a ſpecimen of what he muſt expect, were we to give the like of the reigns of his ſucceſſors. When he reads the above, he reads the whole: a confuſed chaos, conſiſting of nothing but depredations, invaſions, deaths, and defeats. *Abuſaid* left eleven ſons: the eldeſt, *Ahmed*, reigned in *Great Bukharia*, and was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon, *Maſſud*, whoſe brothers rebelled againſt him.

This brings our hiſtory to the year 1499, when the *Uſbeg Tartars* invaded the kingdom of *Great Bukharia*, drove *Baba*, the reigning deſcendant from *Tamerlan*, from thence; he then fled into *Gazna*, and from thence to *Indoſtan*, where he reigned till the year 1530.

Hiſtory of *Baba*.

The above comprehends all that is material of the hiſtory of *Tamerlan*'s ſucceſſors in *Bukharia*, *Syria*, *Koraſſan*, *Perſia*, and the neighbouring countries. We are now to purſue the hiſtory of ſuch of his ſucceſſors who are commonly called the *Great Moguls of India*.

Hiſtory of the Great Moguls, *from the year* 1525 *to the preſent time.*

LEARNING in *India*, at this period, was at ſo low an ebb, that it is uncertain, whether *Baba*, when he was driven out of *Great Bukharia*, was received in *Gazna* and *Indoſtan* as a lawful prince or as a conqueror. It is certain, that the ſovereigns of *Great Bukharia*, being eſteemed the eldeſt branches of *Tamerlan*'s family, and the princes to whom all the reſt of his blood owed a kind of homage, they took upon them all *Tamerlan*'s titles, and, particularly, that of emperor of the *Indies*. It is moſt probable, that the *Indian* princes acknowledged a ſuperiority over them to be veſted in the

Uncertainty of hiſtory at this time.

the *Bukharian* emperors; and, perhaps, paid them ſome tribute. But, when *Baba* came to take poſſeſſion, they diſputed it. He was defeated, we are told, in four battles; but, in the fifth, he beat the ſultan *Ibrahim*, though he was at the head of one hundred thouſand *Afgans*, the beſt ſoldiers in *India*, and one thouſand armed elephants. *Baba* purſued his ſucceſs, and, about twelve months after, he defeated *Rana Songa*, and died poſſeſſed of all that part of *India*, excepting the kingdoms of *Dekan*, *Guzerat*, and *Bengal*, in the year 1530, after reigning in *India* almoſt five years, and in the fiftieth year of his age.

His conqueſts in *India*.

Succeeded by *Hemayun*,

His ſon *Hemayun*, about the year 1535, conquered the greateſt part of *Guzerat*. In the year 1538, he conquered *Bengal*. But he was now attacked by an *Afgan*, or *Patan*, prince, named *Shir Kan*. This *Shir Kan* took his meaſures ſo well, that he obliged him, *Hemayun*, to fly from place to place, and at laſt to *Agra*, where he was joined by ſome troops, and he marched towards the *Ganges*. He and his officers, thinking they were at a great diſtance from their enemy, indulged themſelves in all manner of exceſs; but were

who is defeated by *Shir*.

ſurprized, and utterly defeated, by one of *Shir*'s generals, at the head of ten thouſand light-horſe, who had made a forced march in the night-time for that purpoſe. It was with the utmoſt difficulty that *Hemayun* himſelf eſcaped over the *Ganges*; and all his camp, treaſure, and elephants, with the ladies, fell into the hands of *Shir*, who protected the womens honour.

His great diſtreſſes, he flies into *Perſia*,

In the mean while, *Hemayun*, with a favourite wife, big with child, wandered amongſt thoſe who had been lately his vaſſals, diſpirited and deſerted by all. None would admit him into their cities, and even his own brothers refuſed him protection. In this diſtreſs he reſolved to fly into *Perſia*, and left his wife and ſon, but a year old, with all his treaſure, in *Shauwan*; where they were ſeized by *Aſheri*, one of his unnatural brothers.

Sultan *Thomas*, for ſo we ſhall call him, then reigned in *Perſia*, and received the fugitive prince with diſtinguiſhed humanity and honours; ordering even his own brother, *Beyram*, to attend him at his meals. *Beyram* reſenting an affront which he thought *Hemayun* had put upon him, endeavoured to perſuade his brother to put him to death. But *Begun*, the generous ſiſter of *Thomas*, put him in mind that he was the eldeſt deſcendant of the great *Tamerlan*, to whom their family was ſo much indebted; and, that he would thereby violate all the laws of hoſpitality. *Thomas*, moved by her eloquence, came to the noble reſolution of replacing *Hemayun* upon his throne; and gave him a body of troops, with which he beſieged *Kondahah*; which was defended by *Aſkeri*, who ignobly expoſed *Hemayun*'s wife and young ſon upon the walls. This touched the *Mogul* emperor, and brought on an accommodation, by which *Aſkeri* gained his life

from whence he returns and reconquers his dominions.

life and liberty. But the *Mogul* took poſſeſſion of the city, and, after that, puniſhed another of his unnatural brothers, called *Cam Ram*, with the loſs of his dominions and eye-ſight.

The death of *Shir*, which happened about this time, and the diſtractions of his empire, compleated the good fortune of *Hemayun*, who was every where victorious; and, at laſt, reduced the province of *Soubal*, lying between the *Ganges* and *Temni*; and took poſſeſſion of the great city of *Delhi*: where, about three months after, he was killed by a ridiculous accident; for, coming down the ſtairs of his palace, he was overtaken by a drowſineſs, and fell down forty ſteps; which accident put an end to his life three days after, in the fiftieth year of his life, and in the twenty-ſixth of his reign, in the year 1556. His death.

Hemayun's ſon, *Akbar*, one of the beſt and greateſt princes that ever ſat upon the *Mogul* throne, ſucceeded his father, when he was but little more than thirteen years of age. Upon *Hemayun*'s death, *Abdol Kan*, the brother of *Shir*, reſolved to invade *Delhi*. This *Abdol* had murdered his nephew and lawful prince, and had uſurped his throne; but the nobility oppoſing him, he had retired to *Shiluar*; from whence he invaded *Delhi* with an army of one hundred thouſand men and five hundred elephants. A nobleman of great merit, one *Beyram*, had been entruſted by the late *Mogul* with the education of his ſon, and the conduct of his armies; but he was then at ſo great a diſtance from *Delhi*, that that city, before it could be relieved, fell into the hands of *Kemow*, *Abdol*'s general. But the *Mogul* troops, aſſembling from all quarters, *Kemow*'s men mutinied for want of pay, and abandoned him; ſo that all his baggage and elephants were taken; and, at laſt, he himſelf being made priſoner, young *Akbar* ſtruck off his head with his own hand, and a great ſlaughter was made of his diſperſed ſoldiers. Succeeded by his ſon *Akbar*. who conquers *Kemow*.

Though *Beyram* was the *Mogul*'s general, tutor, and firſt miniſter, yet his nurſe, *Maghem*, was his favourite; and, as *Akbar* grew up, ſhe inſpired him with a jealouſy of his governor; and, at laſt, unknown to *Beyram*, he was crowned at *Delhi*. *Beyram*, whoſe intentions were very loyal and upright, being extremely old and broken with fatigue, deſired no other reward of his ſervices, than to ſpend the remainder of his days in retirement at *Mecca*; but, before he could get thither, he was aſſaſſinated by one of his *Patan* ſlaves, whoſe father *Beyram* had put to death. He gets rid of his miniſter.

A great intercourſe had, by this time, been opened between *Portugal* and *India*; ſo that the *Indians* received vaſt improvements in their manners and arts. *Agra*, one of the moſt conſiderable cities in *India*, had only mud walls to defend it; but *Akbar* ordered it to be ſurrounded with ſtrong walls of ſtone. He afterwards marched againſt *Zinet*, a rebel lord, and, in a few months, took *Chitah*; which a former emperor Fortifies *Agra*. Takes *Chitah*.

emperor of *India* had beſieged, for twelve years, in vain. *Zimet*, as ſoon as he found the place muſt be taken, burned all his wives and children alive, and died with his ſword in his hand.

Defeats the rajahs. His fate did not deter other great rajahs, or lords, from rebelling in like manner. But all of them were defeated, and ſome of them put to death, by the ſurprizing activity and courage of the *Mogul*.

His ſuperſtition and pilgrimage. Though this prince, in fact, had his religion to chuſe, being extremely indifferent to all ſects, yet, like the great *Tamerlan*, and the ſucceſſors of *Jenghiz Khan*, he either was, or affected to be, ſuperſtitious. Having no children, he ſettled the affairs of his government, and ſet out on a pilgrimage, bare-footed, to viſit the tomb of *Haji Mondi*, an *Indian* ſaint, with an idle notion, that his mediation could procure him an heir. A ſtone was erected at the end of every mile, to commemorate this pilgrimage. Upon his return, he viſited a living ſaint, called *Selem*, or *the peaceful*, about eighteen miles from *Agra*; and this holy man, to the *Mogul*'s great joy, predicted that he ſhould have three ſons; and that one of his concubines was then with child. Whatever truth may be in this ſtory (for the ſaint might have ſpoke at a venture) it is certain that *Akbar* had three ſons; and that he called the eldeſt *Selem*, after the ſaint; and afterwards laid out an immenſe ſum of money in incloſing *Sikeri*, the place of the ſaint's reſidence, with a ſtrong ſtone wall; and ordered it thenceforth to be called *Tettipur*, or *the place of victory*. His gratitude did not ſtop there; for, after erecting within it a magnificent palace, he would even have made it the place of his reſidence, had it not been for the unwholeſomneſs of the waters with which it was ſupplied.

Interview with a ſaint.

His quickneſs in defeating a rebellion. But, when *Akbar* was intent upon thoſe and other great works, *Huſſayu*, *Mirza*, *Mohammed*, and *Jehan Kan*, had broke out into rebellion. Upon this, *Akbar* mounted all the officers, and the few troops he had about his perſon, upon dromedaries; and, though the rebels were at the diſtance of four hundred miles, he came up with them in ſeven days. His unexpected preſence daunted them, and they fled; which encouraged the *Mogul*'s loyal ſubjects to join him; ſo that he purſued the rebels at the head of twelve thouſand horſe, which were commanded by *Gogau*; while he himſelf followed cloſe behind. The rebels made a ſtand, *Gogau* was killed, and his army muſt have been entirely defeated, had it not been for the perſonal valour of *Akbar*, who charged the rebels ſo bravely, that they gave way; *Huſſayu* and *Mirza* were killed on the ſpot; and *Mohammed*, falling into *Akbar*'s hands, was beheaded, and all the province of *Guzerat* was again reduced to the *Mogul*'s authority.

All this while, *Akbar*'s generals were carrying on a war, with various ſucceſs, againſt the princes of *Patan*; the chief of whom was called *Dowet*, who was an indolent prince and perpetually

perpetually drunk. *Akbar*, at laſt, marched in perſon againſt him, at the head of fifty thouſand horſe and ſix hundred elephants; and, after defeating the *Patan* generals, he laid ſiege to the city of *Patan* itſelf, which held out for ſix months; but, at length, he ſtormed and took it; while *Dowet* was ſo brutally drunk, that he knew nothing of the matter, and was carried off in a boat by his ſervants, who ſoon after cut off his head; and thus *Akbar* became maſter of all *Bengal*, excepting one or two caſtles, particularly that of *Rotas*, eſteemed the moſt impregnable of any in *Aſia*, and was defended by its rajah. He gained an immenſe treaſure by this expedition. *Mohab*, one of his generals, undertook to reduce *Rotas*; and having, by the means of vaſt preſents made to the rajah, obtained his acquaintance, he begged the favour of him, that he ſhould have the liberty to leave his harran, or ſeraglio of women, in the caſtle, till he ſhould return from a journey he intended to make. The rajah conſented; and *Mohab*, inſtead of women, filled the two hundred litters, in which his harran was carried, with armed men; and *Mohab* thereby became maſter of the caſtle; where the rajah was killed, and his vaſt treaſure was ſeized.

He invades *Patan*.

End of a drunken prince.

Rotas taken by ſtratagem.

Thoſe rajahs, as they ſtill continue to be called, every year paid a ſlight acknowledgment to the *Mogul*, as they do, indeed, at preſent; but, in all other reſpects, they acted as independent princes; and, could they have united amongſt themſelves, the *Mogul* had not been able to withſtand them. But *Akbar*'s fortune prevailed over all. The ſtrong caſtle of *Jehur* was betrayed to him by the rajah's own brother. After this, no rajah dared to truſt another; and it was eaſy for the *Mogul* to reduce them ſingly. It appears as if the ladies in *India*, at that time, were capable of acting as rajahs; for we read of a beautiful princeſs of the *Patans*, who invaded the *Mogul* dominions at the head of her troops; but being defeated and taken priſoner by *Adam*, one of the *Mogul*'s generals, like another *Cleopatra*, ſhe took poiſon to prevent her being carried in triumph. In ſhort, almoſt all the rajahs of *India* were now in arms; but all of them were defeated; ſome of them were put to death by the *Mogul*, or his generals; and others by their own hands. At laſt, finding *Akbar* reſolved to be obeyed, they, by degrees, made their ſubmiſſions; and all, who did, met with a moſt gracious reception, and had the honour to ſend their daughters, as concubines, to the *Mogul*. This happened about the year 1570.

Conſtitution of the rajahs.

Akbar was now in the height of power and proſperity, and, though his dominions were not ſo extenſive as thoſe of *Jenghiz Khan* and *Tamerlan*, yet they were more compact, and he, perhaps, was maſter of more riches than either of them. By this time, the *Uzbeks* had conquered all *Bukharia*; and *Abdollah*, their ſultan's ſon, came to *Lahor* to pay a viſit to *Akbar*, who had an interview with him in that city. But *Akbar* had not forgot that *Bukharia* was the original inheritance

Great power and riches of *Akbar*.

ance of his family; and, having again conquered the *Patans*, and got poſſeſſion of *Kondahar*, by the treachery of its governor, he formed a ſcheme for regaining the empire of *Samarkand*.

With this view, he ſent two ambaſſadors, who, indeed, had no other commiſſion than that of being ſpies, into *Bukharia*, to learn the ſtate of that empire; but, though they made their report, we do not find that he ever attempted the conqueſt of it. The truth is, it was at too great a diſtance for him to think of invading it before he had ſecured himſelf in *India*. But the little kingdom of *Kaſhemia*, opening his entrance into *Bukharia*, he reduced it, partly by force, and partly by money, allowing the king and his ſon a certain yearly revenue. After this, *Akbar*, by his generals, reduced the kingdom of *Sindi*, whereof he made a province depending on himſelf. The king of *Dekan* happening to die about this time, was ſucceeded by his daughter *Ijan Bibi*; and *Akbar* reſolved to ſubdue it. But, though his generals defeated the troops of *Dekan*, yet the *Mogul* troops ſuffered ſo much, and their queen made ſuch excellent diſpoſitions, that ſhe maintained her power and independency againſt him.

Conquers *Kaſhemia*.

Baffled by the queen of *Dekan*.

Akbar, exaſperated at this reſiſtance by a woman, ordered his ſon *Morad* to carry on the war againſt her. But the young prince gave himſelf ſo entirely up to drinking, that he loitered away his time, for ſix months, at *Brampur*. *Akbar* underſtanding this, ſent *Abul Fazel* to reclaim him. He was a man of taſte and learning, and wrote the hiſtory of his own times with peculiar elegance. He had been tutor to *Morad*, and he was, at that time, preſident of *Akbar*'s divan, or council. His admonitions, however, could not reclaim his pupil, who died of drinking, about the year 1598. Upon his death, *Abul Fazel* took the command of his army, conquered *Barar* and *Kandiſh*, and perſuaded *Akbar* to remove to *Aga*, that he might attempt the conqueſt of *Amdanagar*, *Viziapur*, and *Golkonda*.

His ſon killed by drinking.

Remarkable requeſt of *Akbar*.

It was about this time, that *Akbar*, who appears never to have attached himſelf to any particular ſect, or religion, wrote to the king of *Portugal*, and to *Albuquerque*, his viceroy in the *Eaſt Indies*, deſiring that a tranſlation of the ſcriptures into *Arabic* or *Perſian* might be ſent him, together with a perſon proper to explain them. Either the king of *Portugal*, or *Albuquerque*, ſent three jeſuits, *Xavier*, *Pigueria*, and *Benedict*, to the *Mogul* court. But a worſe choice of miſſionaries could not have been made. *Xavier*, who underſtood the *Perſian* language, inſtead of complying with the *Mogul*'s requeſt, compoſed a goſpel of his own, intitled *The Hiſtory of* Jeſus Chriſt; ſtuffed with all the abſurdities of *Romiſh* legends; together with another treatiſe, by way of defence of the *Chriſtian* religion, called, *A Mirror to ſhew Truth*. Thoſe rhapſodies falling into the hand of an acute *Perſian* nobleman, were anſwered by him in ſuch a manner, that

that all the learning of the court of *Rome* could not give a ſufficient reply to him; for, inſtead of defending the *Chriſtian* religion, they attempted only to defend the church of *Rome*, the infallibility of popes, and the abſurdities of their faith. We cannot well ſuppoſe that ſuch performances were proper for making a convert of *Akbar* to *Chriſtianity*. He, however, built a church for the commiſſioners at *Agra*; and gave them, not only his protection, but ſeveral privileges.

He proſecutes the *Dekan* war.

About the year 1596, *Ranah Mardout*, the moſt powerful of the rajahs of the province of *Indoſtan*, rebelled; and *Selem*, *Akbar*'s eldeſt ſon, was ſent to ſubdue him with a great army. But *Akbar* never had loſt ſight of the *Dekan* war, and went to proſecute it in perſon, by the advice of his favourite *Abul Fazel*; who told him, that, if he could conquer that kingdom, thoſe of *Viziapur* and *Golkonda* muſt follow of courſe. *Akbar* had the faireſt proſpect of ſucceſs in this expedition; and, after ſix months ſiege, he took the ſtrong caſtle of *Haſſer*.

His ſon *Selem* rebels.

But, while he was thus in the career of his victory, he received the aſtoniſhing news, that his ſon *Selem*, with the army under his command, was marching to make himſelf maſter of *Agra* and his empire. Upon this, *Akbar* gave the command of the expedition he was upon to his ſon *Daniel*, and other generals, and ſet out for *Agra*; but not time enough to prevent *Selem*, who had gained over a vaſt party to his intereſt, from making ſeveral vigorous, though unſucceſsful, attempts againſt that city; from which he was obliged to remove, and his father entered it. It was in vain for *Akbar* to attempt to reduce his ſon to his duty by the moſt ſerious and pathetic letters; for *Selem* became every day more formidable in his grogreſs, till, at laſt, he ſummoned the governor of *Bengal* to deliver up that province to his power, but met with a flat refuſal. This diſappointment had ſuch an effect upon *Selem*, that he ſent one of his chief miniſters, called *Jehan*, to treat with his father. *Jehan* remained ſix months at *Agra*, and brought *Akbar* to conſent to pardon his ſon, provided he would throw himſelf at his feet. But *Selem*, who had ſtill on foot an army of ſeventy thouſand excellent troops, demanded previouſly an indemnification of all his officers, and that they ſhould keep poſſeſſion of what they had acquired. *Akbar* rejected thoſe conditions. *Selem* went on in his rebellion, coined money in his own name, and had even the inſolence to ſend ſome of it to his father.

Progreſs of the *Dekan* war.

Akbar now thought, that the ſuppreſſion of his ſon's rebellion was of more importance to him than the proſecution of his conqueſts. Prince *Daniel* had advanced to *Gondezin*, a city of *Jan Bibi*'s dominions; upon which ſhe retired to *Amadnagar*, where ſhe prepared to ſtand a ſiege. The prince, however, in about ſix months time, made himſelf maſter of the place, ſtrong as it was, with all the queen's vaſt treaſures; but ſhe had ſecured herſelf from farther inſults by

taking poiſon. This great conqueſt, with other advantages, gained by *Daniel*, alarmed the kings of *Viziapur* and *Golkonda* ſo much, that they ſent the moſt ſubmiſſive letters, attended by great preſents, to *Daniel*; who, like his brother, having betaken himſelf to drinking, proceeded no farther in his conqueſts.

Such was the ſituation of *Akbar*'s affairs, when he ſent an order to *Abul Fazel* to ſet out immediately to his aſſiſtance againſt his ſon *Selem*. *Abul Fazel* promiſed to obey him, and gave him hopes of ſoon ſeeing his ſon a priſoner before him. But *Selem*, who was rich, powerful, and the apparent heir of the empire, had intelligence of all that paſſed, and of the route *Abul Fazel* was to take to *Agra*, and the preciſe time he was to ſet out. *Selem*, upon this, gave orders to one of his officers to way-lay him; and *Abul Fazel*, who had not above three hundred horſe in his retinue, who were all of them killed after a brave reſiſtance, was found ſitting under a tree, where his head was ſtruck off and ſent to *Selem*. The news of this event affected *Akbar* ſo much, that, for three days, he ſhut himſelf up from all company. In ſome time after, he received news of the death of his ſon *Daniel* by exceſſive drinking. When this news came to *Akbar* he was advancing againſt *Selem* at the head of an army; but his reſolution was ſoon changed by the reflection of *Selem* being now his only ſon. He therefore once more wrote to the prince, offering him his pardon; which *Selem* accepted of, and, after conſulting the aſtrologers concerning the happy minute, he was introduced to his father at *Agra*.

Abul Fazel murdered.

Prince *Daniel* drinks himſelf to death.

Akbar reconciled to *Selem*.

Akbar, notwithſtanding all his accompliſhments, had ſtill the *Tartar* blood within him. Upon ſeeing his ſon at his feet, he led him into an inner apartment; where he diſciplined him ſo violently with his fiſts, that the prince offered him his breaſt to pierce. *Akbar* even forgot himſelf ſo far as to reproach him for being ſuch a coward as to reſign his arms when he was at the head of ſeventy thouſand men, and to come on his knees before the throne. This ſurprizing interview being over, *Akbar* ordered the prince, and all his attendants, to be carried to priſon. *Akbar*'s paſſion, however, ſubſiding in a day or two, he went to ſee his ſon, and, with his own hand, gave him ſome opium, which was a favourite drug with *Selem*; and, upon the interceſſion of the ladies of the palace, he, at laſt, ordered him and his attendants to be reſtored to their liberty. *Akbar*, however, who was now grown old and ſuſpicious, being informed that his ſon had ſome dangerous deſign in his head, ordered that he ſhould not appear before him attended with above three or four of his omras, or noblemen.

Conjecture.

Upon the whole of this hiſtory, it appears, that, from *Selem*'s behaviour, he muſt have had ſome very ſtrong provocations for his rebellion, which hiſtorians have not acquainted us with. They, moſt probably, aroſe from the father's

father's partiality to his other ſons; as we ſee *Selem* ſo readily ſubmitting to him after they were both dead.

Akbar did not long ſurvive this reconciliation: but the manner of his death, as related by hiſtorians, is highly improbable. They tell us, that, taking ſome diſguſt at the mirza *Gaja*, one of his great lords, he gave orders for his phyſician to prepare two pills, one of them poiſoned, the other not; but both of them ſo alike one another, as not to be diſtinguiſhed but by a certain mark. It is ſaid, by ſome, that the mirza himſelf preſented thoſe pills to the *Mogul*; and, that he ſwallowed the ſound one, as *Akbar* did that which was poiſoned. Perceiving his miſtake, he immediately took antidotes, put his own turban upon *Selem*'s head, and girded him with his father *Mehayun*'s ſword. He charged him, at the ſame time, not to act as ſovereign within the palace, nor to come within his preſence, till he was recovered: But the poiſon proved too ſtrong for his conſtitution, and he died twelve days after taking it, on the twelfth of *October*, 1605, when he was ſixty-three years of age, of which he reigned almoſt fifty. He was a great and a fortunate prince, but, beſides his ſuperſtition, he had the other failings of the *Mogul* race. Nothing could ſtand in the way of his ambition, and, when he could not conquer by force, he ſubdued by money. Under him all religions had toleration, and that of the *Chriſtians*, as has been ſeen, encouragement. Death of *Akbar*.

Notwithſtanding the late *Mogul*'s nomination of *Selem* to be his ſucceſſor, the grandees of his empire were far from being united in that point. He had received great provocations from ſome of them, which they were afraid he might revenge; and others thought they might have a greater ſhare in the government, if they advanced to the throne the ſultan *Koſru*. At the head of the laſt party were two noblemen, *Manſeng* and *Aſem*. But the party of *Selem* at laſt prevailed over all oppoſition; and *Manſeng* was obliged to reſtore to his father the young prince, whom he had carried off during the heighth of the diſpute. Diſputes about the ſucceſſion, which falls upon *Selem*.

Selem being thus fixed upon the throne, aſſumed the name of *Jehan Ghir*, and was then about thirty-ſix years of age. He was complimented upon his acceſſion by the three monarchs that ſtill remained in *India*; *Golkonda*, *Viziapur*, and *Dekan*, who made him magnificent preſents; as did the ambaſſadors from *Perſia* and *Tartary*, and the rajahs, or great lords. From this it appears, that he was then incomparably the moſt powerful monarch in the eaſt; which might, in a great meaſure, be owing, partly to the diviſions that tore *Perſia* and *Tartary* at this time, and ſplit thoſe great empires into petty ſovereignties; but it is likewiſe extremely probable, that the *Mogul* family, after being ſettled on the throne of *India*, were ſerved in their wars by great numbers of their original countrymen, who were infinitely ſuperior to the effeminate *Indians* in all the duties of the field. Add to this,

this, that the benefits of commerce had attracted many *Europeans* to their ſervice.

Prince *Koſru* revolts,

Jehan Ghir knew, by his own experience, the power which an heir-apparent has among his father's ſubjects, whenever he pleaſes to exert it. He deliberated concerning the putting out of *Koſru*'s eyes; but that prince eſcaped, and endeavoured to make himſelf maſter of *Lahor*. He was purſued ſo cloſely by detachments from his father's troops, and, at laſt, by his father in perſon, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty he eſcaped to *Haſſan Beg*, the governor of *Kabul*, who was his friend. In a few days he got together an army of twenty thouſand men, with which he formed the ſiege of

but is defeated and taken priſoner.

Lahor, but was obliged to abandon it. After this, being ſurrounded by the imperial forces, he gave them battle, but was defeated, and, being obliged to fly, he was taken priſoner, along with *Haſſan Beg*, in a little boat croſſing a river. *Haſſan Beg* was put to a moſt cruel death. Eight hundred of *Koſru*'s ſoldiers, who had been taken priſoners, were impaled alive, along the roads through which *Koſru* was to paſs; and his father inſulted his miſery ſo much, that he demanded of the prince, while he was paſſing along, the names of the criminals, as they were raving upon the ſtakes. *Koſru*, though young, ſhewed a becoming concern; and told his father, that he ought to have ſerved him ſo, and have ſpared ſo many brave men; and, that he could have no ſatisfaction in the after-part of his life.

Conſpiracy againſt the *Mogul*.

The *Mogul* arriving at *Lahor*, committed his ſon to the cuſtody of his great lords, while he himſelf went a hunting. This had almoſt proved fatal to him. A conſpiracy was formed amongſt them to make away with the father, and to place the ſon upon the throne. This conſpiracy was diſcovered time enough for the *Mogul* to defeat it; and he ſurprized the conſpirators, who were ſome of the greateſt lords in the empire; and, amongſt the reſt, the high-treaſurer, or etimadodawlet. The lords were immediately beheaded, but the treaſurer redeemed his life, by paying upwards of one hundred and thirty-two thouſand pounds ſterling, though he was ſtill treated in the moſt ignominious manner, and kept in priſon. Thoſe executions ſeem to have been performed at *Kabul*.

It is defeated.

Koſru's eyes ſealed up.

Upon the king's return to *Lahor*, *Koſru*, who was ſtill a priſoner there, was ſentenced to have his eyes ſealed up for three years. Some ſay, that he was blinded with a certain juice, but that he ſtill had a glimmering ſight: however, when Sir *Thomas Roe*, and Mr. *Tarry*, his chaplain, ſaw him and ſpoke with him, he appeared to have no defect in his ſight; at leaſt they mention none. *Azem*, the father-in-law of *Koſru*, likewiſe felt the *Mogul*'s indignation, and was thrown into chains; from which, however, he was delivered and reſtored to favour, ſome years afterwards, at the interceſſion of the ladies of the harran.

Jehan

Jehan Ghir, during his father's life-time, had been in love with a beautiful lady, called *Meher Meja*, who had been married to a nobleman, one *Shir Afkan*, a *Turk* by original. This nobleman was sent to *Bengal*, and, by the management of the *Mogul*, had been cut off. Upon his death, the king ordered the family of *Shir Afkan* to be sent to *Agra*, and, on the journey, a dervis is said to have predicted the future greatness of *Meher Meja*; which, considering *Jehan Ghir*'s former attachment to her, and her own exquisite beauty, he might well do, without any spirit of prophecy. She had along with her a daughter of six years old, and, when they arrived at *Agra*, they were introduced to *Rokkia*, the *Mogul*'s mother, who seems to have been as fond as her son was, of *Meja*. History of *Jehan Ghir* and *Nur Jehan* or *Nurmahal*.

When she was presented to *Jehan Ghir*, he found her improved in charms. She fell at his feet, and recommended her daughter, whom she held in her hand, to his majesty's mercy and protection. The *Mogul*, smiling, said he was resolved to be the child's father. *Meher Meja* understood his meaning, and answered him with the most profound humility: She was daughter of the treasurer, and, perhaps, both the severe treatment, as well as the pardon that nobleman received, was owing to that circumstance. He was not yet replaced in his posts and favour: but, so delicate was the *Mogul*'s love, that he not only courted her assiduously for forty days, but ordered one of his chief noblemen, *Abdol Hassan*, to go, as his proxy, and demand her in form of her father for his first wife. As the treasurer, by the sentence and the punishments he had undergone, was deemed to be an infamous person, *Hassan* was beginning to make some remonstrances on that head, when the *Mogul* commanded him to be gone and do as he had ordered him.

The marriage was soon celebrated. The lady's name was changed into *Nur Jehan Begum*, or *The Lady who enlightens the World*; and was the same with the famous *Nurmahal*, so celebrated by *European* historians and travellers. After marriage, the *Mogul*'s passion encreased for her to such a degree, that her father was restored to all his places, and had a greater degree of credit than ever, together with the command of five thousand horse; and the *Mogul* seemed to take pleasure in promoting all her relations and dependents to the chief posts of his empire. In short, the whole affairs of the empire were managed by *Assof Kan*, the treasurer, and his daughter. He marries her.

This happened about the year 1611, when a resolution was taken, that *Abdol Kan* should command an army against the rajah *Rana*, instead of *Mohabet*, who had been appointed to carry on that war. This *Rana* had a principality called *Rendow*, the chief castle of which, called *Siavend*, was thought to be inaccessible, by reason of the woods and deserts surrounding The rajah *Rana* conquered.

ſurrounding it. But *Abdol*, after defeating the troops ſent againſt him, cut his way through the woods, took the place, put the garriſon to the ſword, and demoliſhed all the temples of idolatry; *Rana* himſelf eſcaping with great difficulty. This was eſteemed ſo great a conqueſt, that *Abdol* was employed in ſervices of ſtill more importance in *Guzerat*; where he deſtroyed all the robbers and rebels, who were very powerful, in thoſe parts. War, at the ſame time, was carried on againſt the king of *Dekan*; the management of which was committed to the *Mogul*'s favourite ſon the ſultan *Parweis*. It appears that the kings of *Guzerat*, *Viziapur*, *Dekan*, and *Golkonda*, had been accuſtomed to pay a yearly tribute to the *Mogul*, which, of late, had been with-held. *Parweis* demanded this tribute from the kings of *Viziapur* and *Golkonda*, and they readily paid it. *Parweis* then fell with his troops upon *Amber*; and, in the mean time, *Rana* quietly ſubmitted to the *Mogul*'s authority. *Jehan Ghir*, provoked with *Amber*'s reſiſtance who had on foot fifty thouſand men, ordered one hundred thouſand of his beſt troops to advance againſt his capital. Upon this *Amber* fled.

Other conqueſts by *Jehan Ghir*'s generals,

The *Mogul* army was, at this time, commanded by noblemen and generals united in nothing, but a blind obedience to the reigning emperor. *Amber* knew this, that his own capital was defenceleſs, and that, if the *Mogul* generals advanced, he muſt be ruined. *Jehan Ghir* was himſelf at a vaſt diſtance, and therefore *Amber* forged certain letters ſo artificially, and conveyed them ſo craftily, to the *Mogul* generals, that they had not the leaſt doubt of their contents; which were, that the *Mogul* himſelf was dead. Upon this, all of them, even *Abdol*, who had the chief command, broke up their ſeveral camps, and left *Amber* at liberty to regain all he had loſt, which he eaſily did. Though *Jehan Ghir* was terribly incenſed at their credulity, yet we do not perceive that any of them was puniſhed; and *Abdol* was afterwards preferred even to higher commands; in which he ſerved his maſter with great ſucceſs, every where reducing the rebellious rajahs, and ſending their ſubjects into ſlavery. We are told, that he ſent as many ſlaves into *Perſia*, as, from the ſale of them, he obtained the ſum of one hundred and thirty-ſeven thouſand pounds ſterling. About the ſame time, the *Mogul* had the good fortune to ſuppreſs a moſt dangerous rebellion in *Bengal*.

who are outwitted by *Amber*, king of *Dekan*.

A rebellion ſuppreſſed.

All thoſe ſucceſſes, and all the grandeur of *Jehan Ghir*, were ſources of calamity and miſery to his ſubjects. The lands of every rajah, or prince, who was ſubdued, became immediately the *Mogul*'s property. The inhabitants could neither ſow, nor reap, nor work, but for him. The fine cities and ſeats, of which Sir *Thomas Rowe*, who was then in *India*, ſaw many ſtupendous remains, were demoliſhed; as likewiſe the houſes of the common people; who, after the reduction

Miſerable ſtate of the *Indians*.

reduction of their lords, were obliged to live in tents, under the open air, or in mud huts. Even his great men dare not build, for they inherit nothing they can call their own; and Sir *Thomas*, who could not be miſtaken in the matter, ſays that they lived either in tents, or houſes worſe than cottages. In *Surat*, indeed, he owns there were ſome ſtone buildings, the reſt being all of mud, and but one ſtory high: and he heard, that, at *Agra*, there were ſome handſome ſtone buildings, and that the king's palaces were very large and magnificent.

From this view of the *Mogul*'s policy and government in *India*, the moſt fertile in gold, diamonds, and precious ſtones, of any in the world, the reader will not be ſurprized when he hears, that thoſe *Moguls* poſſeſſed riches equal, at leaſt, to thoſe of any other prince mentioned, either in antient or modern hiſtory. As to his expences, it is true, his attendants and equipages, as repreſented by Sir *Thomas Rowe*, were as magnificent as can well be imagined; as was his own dreſs and thoſe of his family; but, in other reſpects, he was at very little expence; and the meanneſs of his practices, as related by the ſame ambaſſador, would have diſgraced the pooreſt mechanic. He paid his generals and great men by the lands he diſtributed amongſt them; and they, the ſoldiers under them by giving them leave to cultivate thoſe lands for their own and their families ſubſiſtence. But the great men were obliged to pay a certain revenue from thoſe eſtates to the *Mogul*, over and above what was allowed for their own ſervices and the troops they maintained in the field; and, when they died, all they had amaſſed in their life-time, became the property of the *Mogul*; who, if they had been favourites, and had ſerved him well, and had left large eſtates, generally allowed their ſons, for they had no heirs but the emperor, another proportion of land, held in the ſame manner as that of their father had been.

Vaſt riches of the *Mogul*.

His avarice,

oppreſſion,

The above is a ſlight view of the capital ſprings of the *Mogul*'s government in *India*, and the almoſt incredible wealth they poſſeſſed, as they ſtood in the reign we now treat of. *Jehan Ghir* was a compleat maſter of that kind of knowledge which makes a monarch rich; and to policy he joined hypocriſy: for he pretended that luxury was the bane of an empire; and, out of a principle of religion, he hoarded up all the jewels, treaſure, and ready-money, of his kingdom. In other reſpects, his manners were upon a level with the meanneſt of his ſubjects. Under pretext that it was a mark of diſreſpect to his ſovereign authority, to approach him empty handed, he exacted the moſt exorbitant preſents, not only from his own great men, but from all foreign ambaſſadors, merchants, and others, to whom he gave audience; and their reception and ſucceſs was always proportionable to the value and rarity of thoſe preſents. But, notwithſtanding his exceſſive riches, he lived in a ſtate of perpetual turmoil and

and exactions.

ſovereign trouble. By abandoning his inferior ſubjects to the power of his great men, his whole empire was a ſcene of oppreſſion and tyranny. Every remove he made of a miniſter, or governor, who had riches or power enough to get an army into the field, produced a kind of a civil-war between him and his ſucceſſor; which the *Mogul* winked at, as thoſe little differences never could hurt or endanger his authority, becauſe he was always ſure of confiſcations from one party or the other.

Sends an ambaſſador to *Perſia*.

It was about this time that *Jehan Ghir* diſpatched the khan *Arem*, upon a moſt magnificent ambaſſy, into *Perſia*. The value of preſents he carried with him amounted to about ſeven thouſand five hundred pounds of *Engliſh* money; and the expence of the appointments, and the vaſt train of noblemen he carried with him, amounted to about ſix thouſand pounds; which, conſidering that this was the moſt magnificent ambaſſy that ever went from *India*, and, that the *Mogul* gave the ambaſſador the title even of brother, in his credential letters, ſerves to prove that *Jehan Ghir* was far from being laviſh upon the moſt extraordinary occaſions. *Shah Abbas* was then king of *Perſia*, and received *Arem* with extraordinary pomp and civility. When he took his leave, he ſent to the *Mogul* nobler preſents than he received, conſiſting of five hundred *Perſian* horſes, which are eſteemed all over the world for their ſwiftneſs and beauty; twenty male and fifty female mules; one hundred and fifty dromedaries, all of them extremely beautiful; with vaſt quantities of gold and ſilver brocades, beſides noble preſents made to *Arem* himſelf. *Shah Abbas*, however, intimated to *Arem*, upon his departure, that he expected the *Mogul* ſhould reſtore to him *Kanduhar*; which, he ſaid, had been torn from his dominions by treachery; or, that the *Mogul* would give him leave to purchaſe it back.

Suppreſſes rebels.

While *Arem* was upon this ambaſſy, *Jehan Ghir* ſuppreſſed ſeveral rebellions, and one particularly in *Bengal*, upon his appointing a new government. He likewiſe ſuppreſſed the *Mukans*, a ſet of robbers who had rebelled and beſieged the fortreſs of *Kangra*, and would have taken it, had it not been

His policy.

for the death of the general who commanded the ſiege. One of *Jehan Ghir*'s great maxims of policy, and a wiſe one it was, in thoſe countries, was, never to ſuffer a governor, or a general, to command long in one place, or over one army. The removes, therefore, he made of his generals and governors, were ſo frequent, that they form a great part of his hiſtory. But, in fact, the choice of the perſons ſeem to have been commonly directed by *Nur Jehan* and *Aſſof*, who was her brother. Whether that lady's influence, which is not improbable, over her huſband began now to decay, or he began to open his eyes to the virtues of *Koſru*, is uncertain; but it is plain, from the relations of Sir *Thomas Rowe*, and others, that *Jehan Ghir* acted, in regard to *Koſru*, with vaſt

policy

policy and circumſpection; in which he gives an inſtance, too curious, and too exemplary, to be omitted here.

Koſru was a prince of great virtue and ſentiment. He loved the *Chriſtians*; was a favourer of learning; humane and brave in his perſon; and he made no ſecret that he deſpiſed and abhorred the mean practices of his father and anceſtors in beggaring his ſubjects, by obliging them to make preſents. *Kurm*, his brother, was the reverſe of his character, as afterwards appeared. *Nur Jehan* was hated and deſpiſed by the ladies of the royal family and by many of the great men; and ſhe was obliged to call in *Kurm* to ſupport her and her relations. *Kurm*'s bloody ambition made his brother's life the price of his alliance with her. They knew that *Jehan Ghir* loved and eſteemed *Koſru*; and, that he only kept him in confinement from a principle of caution. *Nur Jehan* made the firſt attack, and, with tears, began to expoſtulate with the king upon the danger he was in from his eldeſt ſon's intrigues; and the danger which ſhe, and all her relations, whom he hated, muſt be in, ſhould he ſucceed to the crown. Tho' *Jehan Ghir* ſeemed to agree with what ſhe ſaid, yet ſhe eaſily knew, by his manner, that it would not be ſafe for her to preſs the matter farther; and the faction therefore changed their battery. Character of his eldeſt ſon *Koſru*.

Amongſt the other vices of *Tamerlan*'s deſcendants, which *Jehan Ghir* poſſeſſed, a brutal drukenneſs was one. One day the treaſurer and *Aſoph* made him drunk, and plied him with many arguments to ſend an order for *Kan Jehan*, who had the cuſtody of *Koſru*, to deliver him up to his dear brother *Kurm*, in whoſe cuſtody he would be much ſafer than where he was. The *Mogul* granted, or they pretended he granted, their requeſt; and, after his uſual cuſtom, he fell faſt aſleep in the company. *Jehan Ghir*'s brutal drunkenneſs.

This *Kan Jehan* was a rajapute, or *Indian* prince, and an idolator; but a man of ſuch ſtrict honour, that the *Mogul* had put his ſon into his hands, fearing the practices of his enemies; and the khan had already defeated ſeveral attempts to poiſon him. No ſooner did the *Mogul* drop aſleep, than *Aſoph*, at the head of a party of guards, repaired to *Jehan*'s apartment, and demanded his charge. But *Jehan* flatly refuſed to deliver him into any hands but thoſe of the king, from whom he received him; and ſaid, that he would know his majeſty's pleaſure in the morning. *Aſoph*, and his party, little expecting to meet with ſuch a repulſe, were forced to return without their prize: and, next morning, the khan *Jehan* acquainted the *Mogul* with all that had paſſed. The *Mogul* applauded his honeſty and reſolution, commanded him to perſevere, and to take no notice of orders; but not to mention what had been done. "I," ſaid he, "will not "ſeem to know this, nor do you ſtir further in it: preſerve "your fidelity, and let us ſee how far they will carry it." Fidelity of *Kan Jehan*.

A prince

Kurm made commander in chief of his father's army.

A prince, ſubject to the power of a woman and wine, is not maſter of himſelf; but the khan remained ſtill unſubdued: and thoſe about the *Mogul* plied him ſo inceſſantly with the praiſes of *Kurm*, that his father reſolved to make him the commander in chief of all his forces againſt *Malec Amber*, who had made himſelf maſter of all the provinces of *Kandiſh* and *Barar*, and the kings of *Viziapur* and *Golkonda*. This could not be done without ſtripping the ſultan *Parweis* of his command; and a great lord remonſtrated to *Jehan Ghir* how dangerous that might be. The anſwer he gave ſhews his true character: "I wiſh," ſaid he, "they would fight "it out between themſelves, and I would give the proſecu- "tion of the war to the beſt general." According to Sir *Thomas Rowe*, who was upon the ſpot at this time, the ſultan *Parweis* was ſent to *Bengal*, and *Kurm* was ſo generally hated, that all the great men were diſguſted at his advancement.

During the abſence of *Parweis*, the command of the army fell upon the khan *Kanna*. He was one of the greateſt and moſt independent ſubjects, as well as generals, of the empire; and, when he was ordered to reſign his command to *Kurm*, he adviſed the *Mogul* to give it to another of his ſons, not above fifteen years of age, and abſolutely refuſed to come to court. This refuſal being repreſented to the *Mogul*, as indeed it was, little leſs than an act of rebellion, threw *Jehan Ghir* into great perplexity; and he would gladly have continued *Kanna* in his command, had he not thought that he would employ his army againſt himſelf. He therefore came to a reſolution to put *Kurm* at the head of ſuch an army, and to ſupport him ſo effectually in perſon, as, that he ſhould have nothing to apprehend from *Kanna*.

His brother *Koſru* put into his power.

Kurm was now ſo great, that it was almoſt dangerous to refuſe him any thing. His party renewed their attacks upon *Jehan Ghir*, for taking *Koſru* out of the hands of the khan *Jehan*; and, at laſt, the *Mogul* conſented he ſhould be committed to the cuſtody of *Aſoph*, by way of deputy to *Kurm*. Accordingly, the khan *Jehan*'s guards were removed, and thoſe of *Aſoph* and *Kurm* ſucceeded them. This appeared to the people in no other light than a prelude to the death of their beloved *Koſru*; and his ſiſter exclaimed moſt bitterly againſt her father, as did many other ladies in the ſeraglio. In ſhort, little leſs than a civil-war was expected. *Jehan Ghir* himſelf was apprehenſive of the conſequences. He employed *Nur Jehan* to appeaſe the ladies of the ſeraglio; but, far from liſtening to her, they would not ſee her. *Jehan Ghir*, upon this occaſion, thought proper to give ſome ſatisfaction to the public; and Sir *Thomas Rowe* relates a remarkable inſtance of this. He tells us, that *Aſoph*, who, it ſeems, was of a brutal nature, had been guilty of ſome inſult to the prince, and had approached him without paying him the common marks of reſpect, in hopes that he might thereby

by provoke him to commit ſome act of violence and ſo find cauſe to ruin him entirely with his father. He, however, was diſappointed; for all the reſentment the prince ſhewed, was to prevail on a friend to inform the *Mogul* of the treatment he had received. *Jehan Ghir*, who, according to Sir *Thomas*, had political, as well as natural, reaſons for what he did, reſolved to give the prince a public mark of his diſapproving *Aſoph*'s conduct. He therefore aſked him, in full court, whether he had received admittance into his ſon's apartment; and, whether he had ſhewn him thoſe outward marks of reſpect that were due to a prince of his blood. *Aſoph*, at firſt, wanted to evade the queſtion; but the *Mogul* ſternly repeating it, *Aſoph* acknowledged he had not, and diſcovered great marks of confuſion. "Whereupon," ſays Sir *Thomas*, "the king told him, He would make his proud "heart know he was his eldeſt ſon and beloved heir, his "prince and lord; and, if he once heard of any, the leaſt "want of duty or reſpect towards him, he would command "his ſon to ſet his feet on his neck, and trample on him."

Inſtance of the *Mogul*'s regard for *Koſru*.

From this relation, it appears, that *Jehan Ghir* would not ſuffer a violation of reſpect due to his blood from the greateſt of his ſubjects, even to his ſon, though he was a ſtate-priſoner; and, that this ſubtle tyrant knew well how to ballance the parties, had they been ever ſo powerful, about his court; for Sir *Thomas* adds, That he ſaid, He loved his ſon *Kurm* well, but would make the world know, he did not intruſt his ſon with them for his ruin. But *Jehan Ghir*, by this time, was neither his own maſter, nor maſter of his ſubjects. Women and wine had rendered him ridiculous and weak. *Kurm* was at the head of forty thouſand horſe, and diſpoſed of all places at his pleaſure. He took particular care to have the beſt generals, particularly *Abdol*, in his intereſt; and he aſſumed the name of *Shah Jehan*, which is a title of royalty. The rajah *Ranna* died about this time. He boaſted the moſt antient deſcent of any prince in *India*, or, perhaps, in the world; for he could trace his anceſtors from the time of *Alexander the Great*. This is the leſs incredible, when it is conſidered that his country lay in the moſt inacceſſible place of all *India*; and, that, from the time of *Alexander the Great*, till the invaſions of the ſultans of *Gazna*, we know of no bloody wars the people of *India* were involved in. He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Karen* in the government of his dominions, which nominally depended upon *Jehan Ghir*.

Death of the rajah *Ranna*.

When *Kurm* advanced to *Brampur*, he reviewed his army, and began the operations againſt *Amber*, and the kings of *Golkonda* and *Viziapur*. *Abdol* was the general he moſt depended upon. Sir *Thomas Rowe* calls him *Abdollah*, and gives him a great character, when he ſays, That he was the only nobleman about the *Mogul* who refuſed a preſent from him. *Abdol* was victorious, he took *Kirki*, *Amber*'s capital, and

Character of *Abdol*.

and deſtroyed his palace, and, after that, reduced the whole provinces of *Kandiſh* and *Barar*. Thoſe ſucceſſes encouraged *Kurm* to commit a moſt execrable fratricide. *Koſru* was now entirely in his cuſtody, but not properly a cloſe priſoner; for Sir *Thomas Rowe* ſaw him riding about, attended indeed by a guard, but without any other reſtriction. He ſeemed to be ignorant of every thing that paſſed in public, his beard ſpread to his girdle, and his appearance was comely. The grand treaſurer, the father of the favourite empreſs, was by this time dead. It does not appear that he ever entered into the bloody views of *Kurm*; and his death, perhaps, accelerated the fate of the unhappy *Koſru*.

Koſru murdered.

His murder was committed to the care of one *Reza*, a noble ſlave, depending upon *Kurm*; and ſeveral other omras, whom *Kurm* had gained, were privy to the deſign of murdering him. *Kurm* pretended a hunting-match, and was abſent at the time of the murder of *Koſru*. *Reza*, according to directions, in the night-time, knocked at the door of *Koſru*'s apartment, pretending that he had an order from his father for his deliverance. *Koſru*, and his friends, had, for ſome time, foreſeen that he muſt fall a victim to his brother's ambition, and he refuſed to admit *Reza*: upon which the ſlave forced open the door, threw the unhappy prince upon the ground, and ſtrangled him. After that he laid him on a bed, and it was given out that he died a natural death. But the fact was too notorious to be ſtifled, and the truth came at laſt to the ears of *Jehan Ghir*. All he could do was to bewail the death of his ſon; to give his body an honourable burial; and to reproach the great men about *Kurm* for concealing from him the truth. He then ſent for the khan *Arem*, who was father-in-law to *Koſru*, and committed to him the education of his grandſon *Sultan Bolaki*.

Rebellions.

The murder of *Koſru*, for ſome time, ſuſpended the operations of war. The *Indian* court, barbarous and inhuman as it was, could not reflect upon it without horror; and *Abdol* haſtily departed to his government of *Kalpi*; but was obliged to return to the army under *Shak Jehan*. This confuſion and diſcontent encouraged *Shah Abbas*, the monarch of *Perſia*, to execute what he had been long meditating, and had indeed threatened, the reduction of *Kandahar*. The khan *Jehan*, the ſame nobleman who had approved himſelf ſo faithful to *Koſru*, was then governor of *Multan*, as *Aſoph* was of *Kandahar*. The khan *Jehan* paid little or no regard to the *Mogul*'s order, when he was commanded to make head againſt the *Perſians*, who had now formally beſieged *Kandahar*. *Abdol* was the only general who could be depended upon; and he gave a ſignal inſtance of his loyalty, by immediately marching againſt the *Perſians* with five thouſand horſe and one hundred elephants: for which he was rewarded by *Jehan Ghir*'s giving him in marriage his grand-daughter, the daughter of *Sultan*

Sultan *Daniel*. *Shah Abbas* beſieged *Kandahar* for ſix months. *Jehan Ghir* would willingly have made him his friend, by giving it up; but *Aſoph*, the governor, held it out till it was taken by force.

This *Aſoph Kan* was brother to the firſt empreſs, and had entered into a deep conſpiracy with *Shak Jehan*, who aſpired to his father's throne; and, to make the union more compleat, *Shak Jehan* had married *Aſoph*'s daughter. *Jehan Ghir*, at this time, was at *Lahor*, and he ſent *Aſoph* to *Agra* with orders to transfer the imperial treaſure from that city to *Lahor*. *Shak Jehan*, having already laid the plan of his rebellion, was deſirous of becoming maſter of thoſe treaſures. He poſſeſſed, by his father's ill-judged indulgence, a vaſt empire, which he pretended to rule in his own right; and, by his power in money, he governed every thing at his father's council-board.

Ethabar Kan, and *Ethamat Kan*, the former the governor of *Agra*, and the latter the keeper of the treaſure, raiſed great objections againſt the delivering of it to *Aſoph*, whom they ſuſpected, and who, in fact, had privately engaged his ſon-in-law, *Shak Jehan*, to rob him upon the road. This delay of the governor and the treaſurer precipitated *Shak Jeran* into open rebellion; for he took the field with ſeventy thouſand horſe. *Ethabar* was willing to have delivered up the treaſure to *Aſoph*, but perceiving *Shak Jehan*'s deſign, he with-held it, and fortified *Agra* againſt him.

Shak Jehan's treaſon was now too palpable to be any longer doubted of; and *Jehan Ghir* ſet out in perſon from *Lahor* to *Agra*, the caſtle of which was cloſely beſieged by *Shak Jehan*, and made a noble defence, though the city was in his hands. His chief miniſter and general was a rajah called *Bikkermanſid*, who pretended to the gift of prophecy. But *Ethabar* made ſo good a defence, that, tho' they plundered the city, they could not take the caſtle nor the treaſures. *Shak Jehan* therefore retired to *Tretipur*, where he muſtered his army, and prepared to give battle to his father. But, notwithſtanding all his power and practices, he found his ſtrength far inferior to that of *Jehan Ghir*. The latter was faithfully ſerved by his ſon *Parweis*, notwithſtanding the provocations he had received. The khan *Jehan*, governor of *Multan*, continued to be *Shak Jehan*'s enemy; and *Mohabet Kan*, the governor of *Kabul*, the braveſt general in *India*, was upon the father's ſide. Thoſe noblemen were ſincere in their attachment to their ſovereign, but many others were not, and, upon the eve of the battle, they went over to *Shak Jehan*.

Shebriar, one of *Jehan Ghir*'s ſons, had the nominal command of his army, but every thing was done by the direction of *Mahobet*, and he made the diſpoſitions for the engagement. *Bikkermanſid* commanded the rebel army; and, upon the day of battle, gave ſo furious a charge, that he broke through

through *Jehan Ghir*'s troops into his camp, and took him priſoner. But he was killed in the attempt, and the *Mogul*'s troops proved victorious. The khan *Kannah*, after this, prevailed with *Shak Jehan* to ſubmit to his father; but the agreement was of ſhort ſtanding; the prince pretended to govern *Guzerat*, and all the other provinces given him by his father, independently. However, *Arem Kan*, and his grandſon, *Sultan Bolaki*, took from him *Ahanedabad*, the chief city of that province. *Abdol* endeavoured to retake it, but could not, and was defeated.

This defeat ſeemed to portend a total ruin to the affairs of *Shak Jehan*, who, at the ſame time, was defeated by his brother *Parweis*, and obliged to fly to *Brampur*. During this ſtate of humiliation, by the khan *Kannah*'s councils, a freſh negotiation was ſet on foot between *Shak Jehan* and his father. But it proved abortive by the perſuaſion of *Abdol*, who infuſed ſuſpicions into *Shak Jehan*'s head of the khan *Kannah*'s fidelity. After this, *Shak Jehan* fled to *Kirk*, and threw himſelf upon *Amber*, who gave him ſhelter. In the mean time, the ſultan *Parweis* was every where victorious againſt his father's rebels; and *Zaed*, the ſon of *Mohabet*, defeated an army of *Uſbeck Tartars*, who, taking advantage of the diſtractions of the empire, had invaded it.

Shak Jehan flies to *Amber*.

The indolence of *Jehan Ghir* gave his ſon an opportunity of ſubduing part of *Bengal*, and from thence he marched to *Pattan*, where he was joined by five thouſand horſe and twenty thouſand foot. This ſucceſs gave a great turn in favour of *Shak Jehan*: but certain variances ariſing amongſt his generals, he was again defeated by his brother *Parweis* and *Mohabet*, in a bloody engagement, in which both the royal brothers were wounded. *Shak Jehan* fled from the field of battle with the utmoſt precipitation, and left his camp, his treaſures, and all his equipages, in the hands of the conquerors, and, quitting *Bengal*, he went to *Decan*; but being purſued, he was obliged to retire to *Golkonda*, where he was ſupported by *Amber*, and furniſhed with troops ſufficient to beſiege *Brampur*. He could have taken the city had it not been that *Fakir*, the ſon of a merchant, muſt have had the credit of taking it; ſo that his other generals did not ſupport him; and the ſultan *Parweis* arrived time enough to oblige *Shak Jehan* to raiſe the ſiege.

Brampur beſieged.

In the mean while, *Jehan Ghir* had, by the advice of the brave *Mohabet*, confined the khan *Kannah*, whoſe part *Parweis* took, and prevailed with the *Mogul* to order *Mohabet* to come to court, and give an account of his conduct. *Mohabet* knowing that the favourite empreſs, as well as *Parweis*, was his enemy, not complying with theſe orders, he retired to one of his old caſtles, about one hundred miles from *Agra*, and he was turned out of all his employments. As he was greatly dreaded by all parties, his diſgrace procured a kind of reconciliation between *Shak Jehan* and his father.

Mohabet retires.

Shak

Shak Jehan had ſtill great hopes of ſucceeding to the empire: but not only *Balaki*, *Koſru*'s ſon, but the two ſons of his brother *Daniel*, ſtood in his way. To make them unfit for ſucceſſion, he craftily put them into the hands of one *Corſi*, a *Portugueſe* Jeſuit, who baptized them, and thereby rendered them incapable of ſucceeding to the empire. But, as they were, in a manner, forced to profeſs *Chriſtianity*, they ſoon returned to *Mahometaniſm*, and were entirely reconciled to their grandfather. The *Mogul*'s grandchildren baptized.

Shak Jehan, notwithſtanding this ſeeming reconciliation with his father, ſtill retained his ambitious views; but he was, about this time, deſerted by *Abdol*, who was the chief prop of his party. The *Mogul* and the favourite empreſs thus carrying every thing before them, they thought it would be eaſy for them to cruſh *Mohabet*, who ſtill remained at his caſtle of *Rantipur* with his ſmall army of *Raſputs*, or native *Indians*. He was, by the *Mogul*, commanded to deliver up his caſtle and province. *Mohabet* was ſenſible that this order was only a prelude to his ruin; and he ſet out at the head of fifty thouſand *Raſputs*, all of them devoted to his ſervice, for *Lahor*, where he intended to clear himſelf of the charges againſt him. *Mohabet* oppoſes the *Mogul*,

His enemies took advantage of the force he brought along with him, and *Jehan Ghir* ſent him a peremptory order to diſmiſs it and repair to court only with his domeſtics. *Mohabet*, on the contrary, remonſtrated to his majeſty, that it was hard his old ſlave, as he called himſelf, ſhould be ſacrificed to a court faction, and ſent his ſon-in-law to the *Mogul* to make his peace, offering to give his wife and children as hoſtages for his loyalty. The ſon-in-law was treated as a criminal and baſtinadoed in the moſt ignominious manner; and, at the ſame time, *Mohabet*'s enemies at court, perceiving he ſtill kept his *Raſputs* about him, adviſed the *Mogul* to reduce him by force.

Authors are divided with regard to the number of *Mohabet*'s troops. *Herbert*, who was then in *India*, ſays they conſiſted of twenty thouſand *Raſputs*, which is moſt probable. Thoſe of the *Mogul* were fifty thouſand horſe, but they were defeated through the excellent diſpoſition made by *Mohabet*, who purſued his blow ſo critically, that he penetrated to the very tent of the *Mogul*, made him a priſoner while he was aſleep, and carried him upon an elephant to his own camp. Had not *Mohabet* been a man of the moſt exalted ſentiments, he would have made uſe of his advantage to the ruin of his maſter and his family. His provocations had been great; and, in reality, he had been condemned to death without being heard. This injuſtice was thought to be owing to the favourite empreſs, as ſhe ſuffered for it: for a guard was placed upon her tent, and ſhe herſelf was ſtripped of all that pomp and power which, but a few days before, all *India* had worſhipped. and takes him priſoner. Fall of the empreſs.

It

It was not eaſy for *Mohabet*, moderate as he was, to keep matters from running to extremes; after being ſo bold as to put his maſter under confinement, it was neceſſary for him to ſupport himſelf and his friends againſt all who were his enemies. He was therefore, in a manner, obliged to throw a great many of the latter into irons; and he reſtored *Kaſſem Kan*, who was huſband to *Nur Jehan*'s ſiſter, to his government of *Agra*. He likewiſe obliged *Mozaffer*, who had ſucceeded to that government, to put into his hands the two ſons of *Shak Jehan*, and the ſultan *Bolaki*.

Conduct of *Mohabet*,

Mohabet, like other ſucceſsful rebels, acted every thing now under his maſter's authority. He had little to dread but from *Nur Jehan*. He knew her to be immenſely rich, and that ſhe paid the troops which had been raiſed to deſtroy him; and, that, otherwiſe, ſhe was active, ſubtile, and implacable. To humble her the more effectually, ſhe was tried for her life, and condemned to be beheaded; but was ſpared at the earneſt interceſſion of her huſband. In the mean while, *Shak Jehan* raiſed ſome troops in *Dekan*, and pointed his march towards *Agra*, but ſtopped ſhort to beſiege *Tatta*: upon which his army mouldered away; and, being defeated by the *Mogul*'s governor, he was obliged to retreat to *Bakker*. At the ſame time, the ſultan *Parweis*, who remained at *Brampur*, and continued unſhaken in duty to his father, was ſtrengthening himſelf by raiſing troops and money. The efforts made by *Shak Jehan* and *Parweis* ſeem to have ſaved the *Mogul*; for, though we know little of the particulars, yet we find that, by means of *Nur Jehan*'s vaſt riches, an army was raiſed againſt *Mohabet*.

who is reduced.

This turned the face of affairs: the ſultan *Shehriyer* took poſſeſſion of *Lahor*, and delivered *Sultan Bolaki*, with the two ſons of *Sultan Daniel*, out of the hands of *Mohabet*'s *Raſputs*, who were now every where cut in pieces. The *Mogul* himſelf, under pretence of hunting, wreſted himſelf out of *Mohabet*'s hands, and ſoon ſaw himſelf at the head of thirty thouſand men. *Mohabet* continued ſtill undaunted; and, obnoxious as he knew himſelf to be, he had the boldneſs to come into the *Mogul*'s preſence. But he was ſoon ſenſible that he was there no welcome gueſt, and made a quick retreat. His dependance was chiefly on the known bravery of his *Raſputs*; but he had likewiſe a great advantage in having in his cuſtody *Aſoph*, the king's firſt miniſter, and favourite brother to the empreſs, *Shak Jehan*'s two ſons, and other princes and lords of the higheſt quality in the empire. Departing from the king's preſence, he took up a ſeparate camp, and was ſummoned to ſet at liberty the princes and noblemen who were his priſoners. He refuſed to do that; and the empreſs violently inſiſted upon her huſband's falling upon *Mohabet* with his whole army; and even railed at his meanneſs of ſpirit for entering into parley with a rebel.

Mohabet

Mohabet, knowing he was no match for his enemies, of his own accord ſet *Aſoph*, and ſome other of the chief omras, who were his priſoners, at liberty, after taking an oath from them never to act againſt him. When *Aſoph* came to court, he was reproached by his ſiſter for having accepted of his liberty from a rebel, whom ſhe was ready to have cruſhed. But *Aſoph* frankly confeſſed, that he thought himſelf under eternal obligations to *Mohabet*. This acknowledgment was far from appeaſing the empreſs, who every day diſtreſſed *Mohabet* more and more; and, to add to his afflictions, his younger ſon, *Beryner*, abandoned him with part of his army, and attempted, but in vain, to ſeize his treaſures that were lodged in the caſtle of *Ranti Pir*.

Generoſity of *Aſoph*.

The death of *Sultan Parweis*, which happened about this time, gave a new turn to affairs. The ſultan *Shahriyar* was thought diſqualified for government, through want of judgment; and the empreſs perſuaded her huſband once more to forget the provocations that had been given him by *Shak Jehan*, and to call him to the ſucceſſion. Though there was originally no good underſtanding between *Parweis* and *Mohabet*, yet, the moderation and generoſity of the latter had made the former his friend; but, upon his death, *Mohabet* deſpaired of being able any longer to ſtand his ground againſt his enemies; and, having had the good fortune to become maſter of his unnatural ſon's perſon, he retired to the caſtle of *Jermol*, which was held by one of his friends. Mean time the implacable *Nur Jehan* had prevailed with the khan *Kanna*, though now full of age and infirmities, to head an army againſt him; but that khan died as he was ſetting out on his march.

Death of *Parweis*.

Death of the khan *Kanna*.

The famous *Amber*, king of *Dekan*, died about the ſame time; and his ſon not only furniſhed *Shak Jehan* with freſh forces, but engaged in his party *Abdol Kan*. His practices, were, at laſt, diſcovered by the khan *Jehan*, governor of *Brampur*, who invaded *Dekan* with forty thouſand men and forty elephants; and, putting *Abdol Kan* under an arreſt, he confiſcated all his treaſure. The khan *Jehan*, however, penetrated too far into the country of *Dekan*; and involved himſelf ſo, that the *Dekannites* cut off his retreat; and would have deſtroyed both him and his army, had he not made an inglorious peace, and delivered up ſeveral towns and territories for his ſafety.

Notwithſtanding the degeneracy of the *Mogul*'s court, many of the great lords, and *Aſoph* in particular, were touched with gratitude for *Mohabet*; but the empreſs remained inflexible in her hatred, and diſpatched *Nuroddin*, a great commander, with fifteen thouſand horſe, to bring *Mohabet*, if poſſible, either dead or alive, to court. But *Aſoph*, and other great lords, beſides their perſonal motives of gratitude, had particular reaſons for thinking it dangerous to deſtroy the man who was moſt capable to oppoſe the fury and

Extreme reſentment of the empreſs againſt *Mohabet*.

reſentment of *Shak Jehan*, ſhould he come to the throne. They therefore found means to retard *Nuroddin*'s march ſo much, that he eſcaped to the raja *Rana*, who adviſed *Shak Jehan*, by all means, to make him his friend. *Shak Jehan* was then at *Ginir*, and in but very indifferent circumſtances. He ſaw that the aſſiſtance he had received from the *Dekannites*, had been given him only with a view to embroil the affairs of his father's empire, and he had of late been deſerted by many of his chief friends. In ſhort, he took the advice of the rajah *Rana*, who offered to be ſecurity for *Mohabet*'s fidelity, and they joined their intereſt together.

Ambaſſy from *Bukharia*.

In the mean while, *Nur Jehan*, or *Nur Mahal*, continued to govern every thing at court, where two ambaſſadors now arrived from *Bukharia*. They were men of ſuch ſanctity, that they were almoſt worſhipped by their countrymen; and ſo immenſely rich, that they were thought to ſurpaſs their maſter in wealth. The magnificence of their ambaſſy, and their preſents both to the *Mogul* and the empreſs, exceeded every thing of that kind which had ever been ſeen before; nor was *Nur Jehan* backward in her returns. Matters were in this ſituation, when *Jehan Ghir* died of an aſthma, in the year 1627, when he was upon his return to *Lahor* from *Kaſhmir*, aged about fifty-nine, and in the twenty-ſecond year of his reign. This happened on the twenty-ſecond of *October*.

Death and character of *Jehan Ghir*.

It is extremely difficult to deſcribe the character of *Jehan Ghir*, who had a few virtues intermingled with a great number of vices. Sir *Thomas Rowe*, who knew him well, ſaw him eat with, embrace, and careſs, the moſt loathſome beggar that ever eyes beheld; and even eat out of his wallet and made him a preſent of one hundred rupees. But this was meer caprice, for he himſelf was, in his heart, a meer atheiſt, and made profeſſion of no religion, though he is ſaid to have protected the jeſuits. As to *Mohammed*, both he and his father *Akbar* affected ſometimes to imitate him, and to adopt his policy by pretending to inſpiration. But the truth is, *Jehan Ghir* had drowned his natural faculties in drinking; and his beautiful empreſs found her account in encouraging him in that vice. The appearances, therefore, of virtue which he put on, were no other than ſtarts of drunkenneſs; and he was merciful or cruel, but much oftner the latter, as fancy led him. Though brutally inebriated himſelf, he puniſhed that vice with cruelty in others; and, as the humour took him, he inflicted the greateſt torments upon his ſervants for the meereſt trifles. Upon the whole, therefore, *Jehan Ghir* can ſcarcely be ſaid to have had any other character than what liquor gave him: for which reaſon, we ſhall here cloſe his hiſtory without taking notice of the many impoſtures concerning him, that were invented and propagated by the jeſuits, to gain a belief in *Europe*, that they had made great progreſs in *India*, where, in fact, their ſucceſs was next to nothing.

During

During the life-time of *Jehan Ghir*, the ſultan *Shahryar*, whom he had by a concubine, had married the daughter of *Nur Jehan*, by a former huſband. This threw her vaſt intereſt into his ſcale, and no ſooner did her huſband die than ſhe ſent him to *Lahor*, and practiſed with the great officers of the army to raiſe him to the throne. But her brother *Aſoph*, and other great lords, had their reaſons for oppoſing his exaltation, and actually put her under an arreſt. *Shak Jehan* was, at this time, ſix hundred miles diſtant from the court, and there was an abſolute neceſſity for filling the throne. The ſultan *Bolaki*, the ſon of *Koſru*, had the undoubted right of inheritance, but he was no more than thirteen years of age. *Aſoph*, however, and his friends, made him a mock emperor, but diſpatched expreſſes, inviting *Shak Jehan* to take upon him the government. A ſcene of infamous murders then followed. In vain did *Shahryar* ſquander his mother-in-law's treaſures to ſecure to himſelf the army, for it was no ſooner known that *Shak Jehan* was preparing to march for *Lahor*, than all *Shahryar*'s troops deſerted him; and, being taken priſoner, he was deprived of his ſight. The nearer *Shak Jehan* approached to the capital, the leſs regard was paid to the young emperor *Bolaki*; and, at laſt, his power increaſed to ſuch a degree, that he diſpatched a ruffian rajah, one *Bohadr*, to *Lahor*, who, by his orders, put to death *Shahryar*, the emperor *Bolaki*, and the three ſons of his brother *Daniel*. In the mean while, *Shak Jehan* proceeded to *Agra*, and, the lucky minute being fixed by the aſtrologers, he was ſolemnly recognized as emperor by all the great men. Party in favour of *Shahryar* to ſucceed him, who is abandoned and blinded.

Nothing can be, in reality, more deſpicable than the ſtate of the *Mogul* court and dominions during this and the former reign. Though the emperors, in their own perſons, equipages, palaces, women, and attendants, were ſumptuous, beyond all imagination, yet they had nothing about them that was liberal or manly. The great men, though covered with jewels, ſubmitted to the moſt abject acts of ſlavery, even to the ſcrambling with one another for fragments of victuals, that were toſſed to them, in ſcorn, by their emperor. They ſubmitted to be beggars to the *Europeans*, and the inſtances related of their meanneſs by Sir *Thomas Rowe*, are really ſhocking. Reflection on the ſtate of the imperial court

The condition of the country, if poſſible, was ſtill worſe than that of the court. The whole policy of the emperors had been to aboliſh the power of the great rajahs; and to reduce their ſubjects to a ſtate of ſlavery under themſelves. This had aboliſhed all kind of police out of the empire, and had filled the plain country with robbers; inſomuch that a foreign ambaſſador could not travel without being protected by an army; nor was the ſmalleſt care taken to puniſh the moſt flagrant violences. and country.

Shak Jehan succeeds.

It was not long before *Shak Jehan* felt the effects of thoſe diſorders. His authority had been actually acknowledged by *Nur Jehan*. He had received poſſeſſion of the imperial treaſures, and he had continued *Aſoph* in his poſt of firſt miniſter. But the *Uſbek Tartars* infeſted the province of *Kabul*, and two rebels, *Almuk* and *Youk*, were in arms; the former held the kingdom of *Tattan*, and the latter filled the country with his robberies. *Shak Jehan*, however, who wanted neither courage or experience, ſoon ſuppreſſed all thoſe inſurrections; and, the neighbouring kingdoms being in no condition to give him farther diſquiet, towards the end of the year 1628, he reigned as abſolute as any of his predeceſſors had done.

His averſion to the *Chriſtians*.

Shak Jehan had many reaſons for being an utter enemy to the *Chriſtians*, particularly the *Portugueſe*. During his diſtreſs, and diſputes with his father, he had applied to *Rodriguez*, the *Portugueſe* commandant at *Ougli*, for aſſiſtance; but that *Portugueſe* treated him only with taunts and reproaches, and even joined his brother *Parweis* againſt him. His ſultana empreſs was alſo exaſperated on account of two of her daughters, by a former huſband, who had been converted to *Chriſtianity*, and had taken refuge amongſt the *Portugueſe*. In ſhort, *Kaſſem*, one of *Shak Jehan*'s generals, laid ſiege to *Ougli*; and, after extorting from *Rodriguez* a large ſum of money, he perfidiouſly took the town, and ſent all the *Portugueſe* priſoners to *Agra*. There the vindictive empreſs put it in their choice, to ſuffer death or turn *Mahometans*, which moſt of them did; and ſhe would have put to death all who ſtood out, had ſhe not died in the mean while. After her death, which her huſband ſincerely bewailed, two of his favourites, a *Venetian* and an *Armenian*, prevailed with him to ſend the ſurviving *Portugueſe*, who had not abjured their religion, to *Goa*.

He immerſes himſelf in pleaſures.

Shak Jehan had now neither rival nor enemy; and he employed upon his pleaſures, upon women principally, the immenſe treaſures of his empire. He made *Delhi* the place of his reſidence, and expended above ſix hundred and twenty-five thouſand pounds in adorning it. No monarch, perhaps, ever lived in ſuch profuſion and luxury as *Shak Jehan* did at this time. The wives of the greateſt noblemen were not exempted from his luſt; and the preſents he made to his favourite women were inexpreſſibly rich. His palaces, his furniture, his gardens, alcoves, retreats, equipages, and every thing over which he had power, or in which he had property, we are told, were all of them made ſubſervient to his ruling paſſion for women. Having ſome kind of taſte for wit and redicule, he employed poets, whom he honoured with his company, to compoſe little buffoon farces for the entertainment of his ladies; and theſe were always attended with dancing, muſic, and feaſting. If he took pleaſure in any

any thing but women, it was in ſeeing the encounters of prize-fighters, and in hunting. In ſhort, *Shak Jehan*, after coming to the crown, relinquiſhed all his former character for activity and courage.

His great love of juſtice.

This unparallelled propenſity to pleaſure, did not, however, ſtifle certain native virtues, with which *Shak Jehan* was born, and which he exerciſed moſt ſignally. He ſurpaſſed all his predeceſſors in adminiſtering juſtice, which he did in perſon, and with an exactneſs and ſagacity ſeldom known. He likewiſe ſuppreſſed the infamous robberies with which, as we have juſt ſeen, his empire was filled when he came to the crown; and that too by a ſound principle of policy, not unlike that practice now in *England*, with regard to counties; for he ordered the governors, and officers of juſtice, to make good all the loſſes that happened, by thefts or robberies, within their diviſions; and he even carried this principle ſo far, that he obliged his governor of *Surat* to indemnify the *Dutch* for one of their warehouſes which had been robbed in that city. His juſtice was ſo ſcrupulous, upon ſome occaſions, that it made him overlook actions which other princes would have puniſhed. One of his officers preſuming to ſit in his preſence, was puniſhed by being turned out of all his poſts; and, next day, coming to the royal hall, he ſeated himſelf oppoſite to the emperor, and told him, That, being now independent, he had a right to ſit in his preſence. This freedom, ſo extraordinary in an *Indian*, not only went unpuniſhed, but was rewarded, by *Shak Jehan*; who reſtored the nobleman to a greater degree of power and credit than he had ever poſſeſſed before.

Power of the rajahs.

This ſtrictneſs with which *Shak Johan* adminiſtered juſtice and puniſhed corrupted judges, could not ſometimes ſcreen him from inſults, on account of his weak and voluptuous manner of life. His *Mogul* ſubjects were become far more effeminate than the native *Indians*, and the *Rajaputs* were the ſtanding troops of the empire. All the power of the *Moguls* could not ſuppreſs the authority of the rajahs over thoſe troops which ſerved for the body-guard of the emperor; and a rajah, one *Amarſin*, had one day the inſolence to ſtab a ſecretary of ſtate, ſo near to his maſter, as to cover him with his blood. The rajah was inſtantly diſpatched, but his *Rajaputs* revenged his death with impunity, by filling the court and city of *Delhi* with ſlaughter.

We mention this, to ſhew that the vices of a prince, be he ever ſo powerful, or deſpotic, may make him contemptible; and the ſequel of *Shak Jehan*'s hiſtory will prove, that, when a prince becomes contemptible, he is upon the brink of ruin.

Shak Jehan had his family failing, that of ſuperſtition; for he was a ſlave to that jargon which is termed judicial aſtrology; and the wretches who practiſed it impoſed upon his credulity in the following ſignal manner. One *Champet*, a pow-

Shak Jehan's ſuperſtition.

erful rajah, pretended to be independent of the *Mogul*; and the aſtrologers adviſed *Shak Jehan* to take the field againſt the rebel; adding, that the ſtars prognoſticated a violent death to the perſon who was the chief governor of *Delhi* during the approaching month. *Shak Jehan* abandoned his pleaſures ſo far, that he put himſelf at the head of his army, and left his kutwal, or chief judge, to govern his capital. The expedition proved ſhameful to *Shak Jehan*; for the rebel kept the field, while he returned to *Delhi*, where he found his kutwal dead; they having poiſoned him, that they might verify their prognoſtication. His death confirmed the weak emperor in his good opinion of aſtrology.

In this unimportant manner the firſt years of *Shak Jehan*'s reign paſſed: but, as his ſons and daughters grew up, the ſcenes were active, rapid, and, at laſt, diſmal. This makes it neceſſary to touch upon the character of thoſe princes who have been ſo celebrated in hiſtory.

Character of his ſons

His eldeſt ſon was called *Dara*, a proud, haughty, paſſionate prince, but poſſeſſed of a kind of cunning to make a party, eſpecially amongſt the religious, whom he courted with great aſſiduity. His ſecond ſon, *Sujah*, like himſelf, was devoted to pleaſure, eſpecially with women; and, as natural affection is next to extinguiſhed amongſt brothers, in countries where polygamy is practiſed, he turned his head to making a party, amongſt the great lords, who might one day place him upon the throne, and that by the force of money. *Auringzib* was the third ſon of *Shak Jehan*, and was the moſt remarkable character in that age. To a perſon, which was as mean as the perſons of his brothers were noble and majeſtic, he joined the deepeſt ambition and hypocriſy. He pretended to renounce all worldly concerns, and to be a fakir, or an *Indian* monk; and was continually praying or preaching: but his real ſtudy was mankind, in which he was an able proficient; and he laid his ſchemes ſo deep, and ſo well, that, in the end, he ſucceeded, tho' all appearances were againſt him. *Morad*, the fourth ſon of *Shak Jehan*, was the very reverſe of *Auringzib*'s character: he was as open and frank, as the other was dark and reſerved; and, like his two elder brothers, he was handſome, brave, and generous; but was deſtitute of capacity for buſineſs.

and daughters.

Such were the characters of thoſe princes of *India*. The princeſſes, the daughters of *Shak Jehan*, were, *Jehan Ara* and *Royſſan Ray*. The former was ſo beautiful, that her father was ſuſpected of having an inceſtuous correſpondence with her. She was at the ſame time poſſeſſed of great wit and addreſs, but unmeaſurably fond of pleaſure. Her father knew that, and connived at the viſits paid her by a young muſician about court. As ſhe had an abſolute aſcendancy over her father, her appointments and revenue were very great; and ſhe made uſe of them in ſtrengthening the intereſt of her brother *Dara*; who was ſo paſſionately fond of her,

her, that he was ſaid to have promiſed to marry her, if ever he came to the throne. But ſhe was, in every reſpect, a libertine, and admitted the embraces of every man who pleaſed her. One of her lovers, upon a certain day, when her father came to viſit her, jumped into a chaldron, in which ſhe uſed to bathe; and the old man, ſuſpecting where he was concealed, ordered a fire to be made under the chaldron, by which the lover was deſtroyed. *Shak Jehan*, with his own hand, poiſoned another of her lovers, of whom he was jealous. *Royſham Ray*, the other daughter of *Shak Jehan*, was as voluptuous as her ſiſter, but not ſo great a beauty. She was in the intereſt of her brother *Auringzib*, and, though her appointments were not equal to thoſe of her ſiſter, yet ſhe did him great ſervices.

Shak Jehan had too many inſtances, even in his own experience, of the ambition of ſons and brothers, not to be extremely apprehenſive of the practices of his own ſons againſt him. *Dara*, proud and aſpiring, had the advantage of ſeniority; and, in all reſpects, emulated the pomp and grandeur of his father: ſo that he ſeemed ſcarce inferior to him in the ſtate. But, though *Shak Jehan* ſuffered this, yet he ſtill had a ſecret byaſs in favour of *Auringzib*. In imitation of his great anceſtor *Tamerlan*, he beſtowed upon his ſons the chief governments of his empire. *Sujah* was made governor of *Bengal*; *Auringzib* of that part of *Dekan* which had been conquered; *Morad* of *Guzerat*; and *Dara* of the kingdoms of *Kabul* and *Multan*. Their practices againſt him.

A miſunderſtanding, about this time, happened between the king of *Golkonda*, a prince ſo powerful that he had five hundred thouſand troops in his pay, and his chief general, the emir *Jemla*, to whom he owed his crown. *Jemla*, thinking himſelf ill treated, at firſt offered the ſultan *Sujah* his intereſt to raiſe him to the throne of *Golkonda*: but *Sujah*, with a becoming diſdain, rejected the propoſal: upon which *Jemla* applied to *Auringzib*, who embraced it. The king of *Golkonda*'s name was *Abdollah*, and the name of his capital was *Bagnagar*. *Auringzib* and the rebel general joining forces, they ſurprized *Bagnagar*, and rifled it, even ſtripping the palace of the golden plates that covered the apartments. *Abdollah* had neglected to keep up his army, and had then only about ſeventy thouſand on foot. He eſcaped to his ſtrong fortreſs of *Golkonda*, where *Auringzib* and his general beſieged him. Hiſtory of the war with *Golkonda*.

Happening to have in his ſervice an engineer remarkably dextrous, while he was one day upon the baſtions of the fortreſs, the engineer, pointing to *Auringzib*, as he was riding upon his elephant, aſked leave of the king to take off his head with a cannon-ball. But *Abdollah* forbad him, ſaying, That the perſons of princes ought to be ſacred. Upon this the engineer took off the head of *Auringzib*'s general, juſt as they were preparing to ſtorm the caſtle; which threw his troops

into ſuch confuſion, that the general of *Golkonda*, who lay near the city, gave them an entire defeat.

Auringzib, who was as intrepid and reſolute as he was crafty and cunning, would have revenged this defeat in a ſignal manner, had not *Jemla*, who lay under perſonal obligations to *Abdollah*, and felt ſome remains of duty within his breaſt, applied to *Shak Jehan* to mediate a peace between *Auringzib* and *Abdollah*; which was effected upon *Auringzib*'s ſon marrying *Abdollah*'s daughter, and being declared heir of his kingdom, after his deceaſe, in caſe he died without male iſſue. This peace was reckoned, as indeed it was, a maſterpiece of policy; it having been effected by *Dara*, and the queen-mother, who knew *Auringzib*'s aſpiring genius, and diſliked his being maſter of *Golkonda*.

Character of *Jemla*.

Jemla had a great capacity both for war and politics, and tached himſelf entirely to *Auringzib*, by whoſe powerful influence he was made commander in chief of the *Mogul*'s troops. In this *Auringzib* gained a great point. *Dara* had begun to manifeſt his ambition, which made his father extremely uneaſy. His overbearing diſpoſition had led him to maletreat ſome of the moſt powerful princes in *India*, and he poiſoned *Sadollah*, who was his father's firſt miniſter, and eſteemed to be the greateſt ſtateſman in the empire. *Auringzib* therefore ſtrove to ballance *Dara*'s intereſt at court, by that of *Jemla*, who perſuaded *Shak Jehan* to ſend an army towards *Dekan*. *Dara* conſidered this army as ſo many auxiliaries to his brother; and, *Shak Jehan* falling dangerouſly ill in the mean while, *Dara* had even the inſolence to confine him. This ſpread an alarm of his death, and the whole empire was quickly in arms.

Avarice of *Shak Jehan*.

Shak Jehan now felt the effects of his miſtaken policy. His avarice, having increaſed with his age, was now become exceſſive. He had prepared vaſt ſubterraneous apartments, into which he ſtowed the immenſe treaſures he was daily heaping up; and, not chuſing to part with them, he had given his ſons the great governments of his empire to live upon. Thus he, in fact, parted with his power, that he might increaſe his treaſures. *Dara*, by his magnificence, courage, and right of prerogative, but, above all, by the aſcendancy he had over his eldeſt ſiſter, had the greateſt ſway at court. His father feared him, but he loved *Auringzib*, to whom he ſent an account of his ſituation. The ſultan *Sujah* took arms in *Bengal*, as *Auringzib* did in *Dekan*. *Dara* prevailed with the father to order both of them to be quiet; but they perſiſted in their warlike operations, on pretence that their father was either dead or confined by his eldeſt unnatural ſon; and, that they were reſolved, either to revenge his death or free him from his impriſonment.

His ſons take arms againſt him.

Conduct of *Auringzib*.

The ſituation of *Auringzib*, upon this occaſion, was as particular as his policy was profound. Having profeſſed a total abſtinence from worldly riches and pleaſures, he had forborne

forborne to raiſe money, and profeſſed to be a fakir. The father, was a real atheiſt; *Dara*, was an indolater, or a worſhipper of fire; and *Sujah* was what they call an heretic; therefore, as he pretended, neither of them were capable of ſucceeding to the empire; and, he himſelf being diſqualified by his profeſſion, he applied to his brother *Morad*, who was in *Guzerat*, and who, he pretended, was the only ſon of their father who could inherit his dominions. His letter to *Morad* was extremely artful. He aſked no more for himſelf than a quiet retreat in a corner of the empire, after *Morad* ſhould come to the throne; and he invited him to beſiege the fortreſs of *Surat*, which contained a vaſt treaſure, and he accordingly did ſo.

Jemla continued ſtill at the head of the *Mogul*'s troops, and was then beſieging *Kalian*; which he afterwards took: but his wife and children were detained at *Agra* by *Dara*, as hoſtages for his fidelity. *Auringzib* ſaw the neceſſity he was under of keeping *Jemla*'s friendſhip, and propoſed their joining forces. *Jemla* made difficulties, but, at laſt, by a remarkable juggle between them, *Auringzib* put him under a ſham arreſt; and, by vaſt preſents and promiſes, brought his army to declare for him. who joins with *Jemla*.

He gave intelligence of this great event to his brother *Morad*, who, with the help of the *Dutch*, was beſieging *Surat*, which he took after a great reſiſtance. Being a vain, raſh prince, his ſucceſs and *Auringzib*'s letters intoxicated him ſo much, that he immediately proclaimed himſelf the ſovereign of *Indoſtan*, or *India*, and coined money in his own name. *Shak Abbas*, an eunuch, whom he chiefly truſted, put him upon his guard againſt *Auringzib*'s cunning, and adviſed him not to join him with his army. But he was deaf to all council of that kind; the junction was formed, and *Auringzib*, in all reſpects, behaved to him as if he had been his lawful ſovereign.

Shak Jehan, who was ſtill in *Dara*'s power, ordered them to lay down their arms; but his orders were diſregarded, on pretence that they were either forged, or extorted from him. At the ſame time, *Sujah* was advancing with another army. *Soleyman*, the ſon of *Dara*, a brave and handſome young prince, was ſent to oppoſe him; and, though *Shak Jehan* did all he could to compromiſe matters, the two armies met, and *Sujah* was defeated, and might have been taken priſoner, had it not been for a general called *Jeſſeyu*, whom *Shak Jehan* had joined in the command with *Soleyman*, with ſecret inſtructions to do all he could to compromiſe matters among his children. *Sujah* defeated.

When *Sujah* was defeated *Auringzib* and *Morad* were ſtill advancing to *Agra*, and had ſurmounted vaſt difficulties in their march. Arriving at the river *Enjin*, they were oppoſed by *Haſſem* and *Jeſſom*, *Shak Jehan*'s two generals; but the former hated *Dara*, and, though the troops of the confederate brothers *Auringzib* advances to *Agra*.

brothers were expoſed to vaſt diſadvantages, yet *Morad*'s courage, and *Auringzib*'s conduct, gained a compleat victory. *Jeſſom* was the ſon-in-law of the famous *Rana*, whom we have mentioned to have been the deſcendant of *Porus*. The *Rajaputs* he commanded were reckoned the beſt troops in *India*, and almoſt all of them were killed fighting by his ſide; for, out of above eight thouſand, ſcarce ſix hundred were left alive. Upon his return home, his wife was, with difficulty, prevailed upon, by her mother, to ſee him, becauſe he had ſurvived his defeat. *Dara* would have taken a ſignal revenge upon *Jemla*'s wife and family, had he not been prevented by his father.

His ſon *Soleyman* was, at this time, in purſuit of *Sujah* with the flower of his grandfather's troops; and, though *Dara* had about him an army vaſtly ſuperior to that of his two brothers, yet it was not to be truſted, as he was diſliked by the chief officers. *Shak Jehan* was ſenſible of this, and his great knowledge in affairs made him propoſe the beſt expedient that could have been offered; which was, that of mediating peace in perſon amongſt his children. But *Dara* had, by this time, become maſter of all the imperial treaſure and forces. *Sujah* had been defeated; the army of his confederate brothers did not amount to above thirty-five thouſand men, and thoſe harraſſed and fatigued; while he himſelf had one hundred thouſand horſe, with twenty thouſand foot and an immenſe train of artillery. He reſolved not to let the criſis ſlip out of his hand, and he even refuſed to wait till he could be joined by his brave ſon, who was eſteemed and loved by the whole empire, and who was the darling of his grandfather. *Shak Jehan* ſaw *Dara*'s madneſs, but could not prevent it. The old man, however, had ſpirit enough, on his taking leave of him, to charge him, never to appear in his ſight more, unleſs he was victorious.

Dara's ambition and policy.

When *Dara* took the field, he made ſuch diſpoſitions on the banks of the river *Chembel*, that *Auringzib* durſt not venture to paſs it; but he took his meaſures ſo well, that, marching by another road, he advanced within five miles of *Agra*, where he found *Dara* with his army ready to oppoſe him. The diſpoſitions for the battle were admirable on both ſides; but *Dara*, by his haughtineſs, had made himſelf many enemies amongſt the general officers; and *Auringzib* did not fail to give out that he had forty thouſand of *Dara*'s troops in his intereſt.

Dara is defeated.

The battle joining, *Dara*, who was extremely brave in perſon, broke through the lines of the confederate princes with dreadful impetuoſity, and penetrated almoſt to the perſon of *Auringzib*, who was ſurrounded by a few faithful friends. His firmneſs, on this occaſion, has but few parallels in hiſtory; for, though he ſaw himſelf ready to be overpowered by his victorious enemies, he was ſo far from retreating, that he ordered the elephant which he rode to be chained to the

the ſpot where he ſtood. *Morad* behaved with equal intrepidity, and was in equal danger from *Ramſeyn Rowtla*, whom he killed with his own hand; and thereby called the attention of *Dara* from *Auringzib* to the left wing, which was beginning to give way. He accordingly led his victorious troops againſt *Morad*, whom he charged ſo furiouſly, that he muſt have gained a compleat victory, had not *Kalil*, who commanded his right wing, and who had a ſecret enmity to him, perſuaded him to deſcend from his elephant, and to mount a horſe, to purſue his fugitive enemies. The imperial army, no longer beholding their prince upon his ſuperb elephant, thought he had been killed; and, by a moſt unparallelled turn of fortune, *Auringzib*, who had ſcarcely a thouſand troops about his perſon, ſaw himſelf victorious. The imperial troops were fled and diſperſed, and *Kalil* came over to the confederate princes; while *Dara*, ſeeing the day loſt, retreated to *Agra* with the utmoſt dejection of ſpirit.

Shak Jehan was touched with the misfortunes of *Dara*, who had behaved ſo gallantly, and had failed of ſucceſs only through the treachery of his general. He adviſed *Dara* to march to *Delhi*, where he would find means to repair his misfortune, and again to take the field; which he at laſt did, but with the utmoſt conſternation. *Auringzib*, on the other hand, dreaded the fortune and courage of *Soleyman*, but wrote ſuch artful letters to the rajah *Jeſſeyu*, and the khan *Delil*, who commanded under him, that they, believing *Dara* utterly ruined, perſuaded *Soleyman* to repair to the mountains of *Serenaghar*, where he was received with great cordiality by the rajah.

This event was fortunate for *Auringzib*, who purſued his march to *Agra*, and ſent one of his eunuchs to make his apology to his father. The latter ſeemed not diſpleaſed with *Auringzib*'s ſucceſs, and profeſſed ſuch kindneſs for him that he ſent him word he earneſtly deſired to embrace him. But in this *Shak Jehan* diſſembled, and *Auringzib* knew it. The *Mogul* emperors, ſince their acceſſion to the throne of *India*, had always about their perſons, within their palace, a guard of *Tartar* women, in all reſpects armed and diſciplined like men. *Shak Jehan*'s intention was, that, if *Auringzib* had accepted of his invitation, thoſe amazons ſhould have aſſaſſinated him the moment he ſet his foot within the court. *Auringzib*, however, inſtead of viſiting his father, ordered his ſon, the ſultan *Mahmud*, to ſurprize him in his palace; which he did; while he himſelf, by threats and promiſes, made ſure of moſt of the great omras and lords.

Shak Jehan's policy is defeated by *Auringzib* who confines him.

Shak Jehan had ſtill all the appearances of ſovereignty; but he was not conſidered as ſuch by *Auringzib*, who ſtill owned his brother *Morad* for his emperor and maſter; while *Shak Jehan* himſelf was kept a cloſe priſoner. But *Auringzib* was ſo great a maſter of diſſimulation, that he pretended his father's confinement was owing to the practices of *Dara* only;

only; and, that he would ſet him free as ſoon as he could bring *Dara* to reaſon. After this, *Auringzib* put the cuſtody of *Agra* into the hands of his uncle *Heſt Kan*; and, having ſecured all his concerns there, he ſet out with his brother *Morad* in purſuit of *Dara*.

But *Auringzib* had now carried his diſſimulation, perhaps, a little too far. His brother's friend, *Shah Abbas*, knew well that it was not likely a prince, of his courage and penetration, would run ſuch dangers, and bear ſuch fatigues, as he had done, merely from the diſintereſted view of ſerving his brother. He counſelled *Morad* to put him to the teſt, and to ſuffer him to go at the head of a party in purſuit of *Dara*, while he, *Morad*, kept poſſeſſion of *Agra* and *Delhi*. *Morad* rejected this advice, as ſhewing too great a diſtruſt of his brother; and they ſet out together at the head of the army. But it was now time for *Auringzib* to ſtrike the great blow he had ſo long meditated againſt *Morad*. He had not been ſo cautious, but that ſomewhat of his intention perſpired. *Morad*'s friends, on the ſecond or third day of their march, made a final attempt upon him, to diſſuade him from truſting his brother. He was inclined, at firſt, to have taken their council; but he ſoon relapſed into his ordinary credulity; and, though they even entreated him to refrain but a ſingle day from his brother's company, yet he was infatuated enough to accept of an invitation to a banquet given him by *Auringzib*.

After the banquet, wine was ſerved in the utmoſt profuſion, and *Auringzib*'s maſk of religion then obliging him to withdraw from the company, who were in the ſecret, they plied him ſo warmly with the wine, that he got drunk and fell aſleep. This was the ſignal agreed upon; he was diſarmed by the officers and domeſtics of *Auringzib*, who, returning into the room, rudely awakened *Morad* with a kick of his foot, and reproached him, in the moſt bitter terms, with being a drunkard and a violator of *Mahomet*'s law; ordering him, at the ſame time, to be bound and confined, which was accordingly done. *Morad*'s officers, who had long expected ſuch an event, inſtead of revenging his cauſe, entered into *Auringzib*'s ſervice; nor was a ſword drawn upon the occaſion: ſo that *Morad* was quietly conveyed to an old fort called *Selimajel*, in the middle of the river near *Delhi*.

and puts his brother *Morad* in priſon.

Auringzib then reſumed his purſuit of *Dara*, who fled from place to place, and, at laſt, to *Tatta Bakar*, which was reckoned the moſt inacceſſible fortreſs in *India*. *Auringzib*'s ambition was now manifeſt to all the world; and he began to be apprehenſive, what the conſequences might be, if he ſhould be longer abſent from the capital. He therefore ſent a body of ſeven or eight thouſand men in purſuit of *Dara*, and ſet out upon his return.

While

While he was near *Lahor*, he narrowly eſcaped being cut off. It was his cuſtom to march ſome miles before his army with few or no attendants; and, in this ſituation, he was met by the rajah *Jeſſeyu*, at the head of ſome thouſands of *Raſputs*. *Auringzib* had no reſource but in his own intrepidity and preſence of mind. He was not ſure whether *Jeſſeyu* had any deſign upon his perſon, but he had a great deal more reaſon to think ſo than otherwiſe. While *Jeſſeyu* was approaching him, *Auringzib* gave him ſignals with his hand to make haſte; and, before they could meet, he called out to him, That *Dara* was ruined, and that he had expected him, *Jeſſeyu*, impatiently. Then coming up to *Jeſſeyu*'s perſon, he put about his neck a magnificent ſtring of pearls, which he took from his own, and made him governor of *Lahor*. This behaviour, with other expreſſions of endearment, entirely reconciled *Jeſſeyu* to his new maſter, and he marched for his government. We mention this eſcape, becauſe it ſerves to ſhew the true character of this great but wicked prince; who, on many occaſions, appears to have been more fortunate than prudent; though, in prudence, few princes ever excelled him.

The miſeries of *Dara* during his flight.

The unfortunate *Dara* left a ſtrong garriſon at *Tatta Bakar*, and, having engaged ſome *European* engineers and officers in his ſervice, he marched with an army of not above three thouſand men into *Guzerat*; where he made himſelf maſter of the capital of *Ahmed Abad*, though *Nevaz*, the governor of it, was uncle to *Auringzib*. But the latter was not ſo apprehenſive of *Dara*, as he was now of the ſultan *Sujah*, who had an excellent train of artillery, and had made ſo good a diſpoſition, that *Auringzib* was once more in the moſt imminent danger; and muſt have been entirely ruined by his brother's army or by want of water, had not his good fortune again interpoſed. Some ſay that *Dara* in perſon was at this battle; and, if he was not, it is more than probable, from the diſpoſition of his troops and artillery, that ſome of his *European* officers were there. In ſhort, by the treachery of *Sujah* and *Jeſſom Sheyu*, *Auringzib*'s troops were, in fact, at firſt routed; and the elephant on which he rode was ſo galled by the vaſt ſhowers of arrows which fell upon him, that *Auringzib*, fearing he would turn from the enemy, was upon the point of leaping from his back, when the brave *Jemla* ſtepped in to his reſcue. But this could not have prevented the deſtruction of *Auringzib* and his army, had not *Sujah*, like *Dara*, alighted from his elephant, and mounted his horſe to go on the purſuit. The ſame cauſe had the ſame effects: *Sujah*'s army, imagining him to be killed or taken, gave ground; that of *Auringzib* fought with freſh ſpirits, and *Sujah*'s army was diſperſed, he ſaving himſelf with great difficulty.

Sujah is defeated by *Auringzib*.

His perplexities when

Auringzib, who made the poſſeſſion of *Agra*, and of his father's perſon, his great objects, returned to *Agra*, at a time

and policy

when the inhabitants expected to see him appear there in chains; so much had they been prepossessed by the accounts of *Sujah*'s success. He considered it, when he reflected upon all circumstances, as a kind of a miracle, that *Jessom*, who, after betraying him, and had been, for two days, in possession of *Agra*, had not delivered him out of prison; but that nobleman's view was to carry all the plunder he could into his own country. On the other hand, *Sujah*'s troops, recovering their consternation, he was again at the head of a great army; and he fortified *Elabas*, a strong and important pass.

Auringzib, upon this occasion, was greatly perplexed how to behave. He would, indisputably, have marched against *Sujah* in person, had he had about him a person to whom he could trust *Agra*. *Jemla* had, indeed, given him no reason to suspect his fidelity; but his power, his reputation, his riches, and quality, all which were almost equal to that of the *Mogul* himself, together with a certain air of independency which *Auringzib* began to find he assumed, rendered it dangerous to trust him with so important a charge. *Auringzib*'s son, *Mahmud*, had done him services almost equal to those of *Jemla*; and it was principally owing to his courage and conduct, that he was in possession of his father's person and the castle of *Agra*. But he carried about him too many symptoms of ambition for his father to trust him. He therefore resolved to make them checks to each other, by putting them both at the head of the war against *Sujah*. It was not long before the two generals quarrelled; by which all the operations of that campaign upon the *Ganges* were rendered ineffectual, notwithstanding all the abilities of *Jemla*.

Sultan *Mahmud*'s imprudence.

Mahmud, impatient of equality, and far more of controul in command, treated *Jemla* with disrespect, and even reflected upon his father. Understanding that this had come to the ears of the latter, and well knowing the danger he was in of being arrested, he not only separated himself with a few of his followers, but went over to his uncle *Sujah*, to whom he swore fidelity. Happily, perhaps, for *Auringzib*, *Sujah* suspected that this desertion was only an act of his own craft, and did not chuse to trust his nephew in a command. *Mahmud*, nettled at this, returned to *Jemla*; but, by his father's orders, he was secured and carried prisoner to *Gualiyar*, where he afterwards finished his days.

His example, with the severe admonitions of his father, struck his brother, the sultan *Mauzem*, with such terror, that he affected all his father's shew of religion and disregard of power. *Jemla* still remained at *Rajah Mhal*, in *Bengal*; where, by reason of the rainy seasons, he could make no effectual progress against *Sujah*.

Auringzib was, at this time, in possession of the sovereign authority both at *Delhi* and *Agra*, where he still kept his father confined; his brother *Morad* being in prison at *Guliyar* along

along with *Mahmud*. Notwithſtanding all this, *Auringzib* had ſtill difficulties to encounter. *Jeſſom*, who had reached his own country, profeſſed himſelf *Dara*'s friend, and promiſed to join him with all his troops; which promiſe *Dara* truſting to, he marched from *Ahemed Abad*, with a great body of troops he had got together, towards *Agra*. But *Jeſſom* was perſuaded by *Jeſſeyu* to remain quiet: and thus *Dara*, who is ſaid to have been betrayed on all hands, even to the charging his artillery only with powder, in his approach to *Agra*, was irretreivably defeated; and, without being able to ſave even a tent, with no more than two thouſand troops, fled from *Adzmir*, the place of the battle, back towards *Ahmed Abad*, after ſuffering inexpreſſible miſeries from the extreme heat of the climate, the want of water, and the perpetual attacks of the robbing rajahs through whoſe countries he paſſed. In this diſtreſs, *Bernier*, the *French* phyſician and traveller, and author of the beſt account of that reign, met him; and *Dara*, having with him no phyſician of his own, took him along with him in that capacity; but he was obliged to leave him in a night or two, not having credit enough to procure him a carriage or a horſe.

Flight of *Dara*, and his uſeleſs endeavours to eſtabliſh himſelf.

Notwithſtanding *Dara*'s precipitate flight from *Adzmir*, he found means to carry along with him his wives and ladies. He ſtill made no doubt of being readmitted in *Ahmed Abad*; but *Auringzib* had prevailed on the governor to refuſe him admittance. This unexpected diſappointment threw *Dara* and his family into the utmoſt conſternation; and he wandered from place to place, and, at laſt, took the route of *Tatta Bakar*, which was then ſtreightly beſieged by *Mir Bababa*, *Auringzib*'s general. Upon this news, *Dara* left the brave governor of *Tatta Bakar* to make the beſt terms he could for himſelf, and, inſtead of retiring into *Perſia*, which he might have done, though not without difficulty, threw himſelf upon a *Patan* robber, one *Jon Kan*, noted for crimes, rebellion, and ingratitude, *Dara* having twice ſaved his life after his father had ordered him to be trodden to death under the feet of elephants. But the villain was proof againſt the remembrance of theſe obligations; and, allured by the ſight of *Dara*'s treaſure, and *Auringzib*'s promiſes, he ſeized both him and his grandſon, with all their treaſures; and, ignominiouſly mounting him in chains upon an elephant, with an executioner ſitting before him, holding a drawn ſabre to cut off his head in caſe of reſiſtance, he was carried, in a coarſe linen habit and turban, which he wore by way of mourning for his favourite wife, who died of thirſt in the deſerts, through the principal cities of the empire, with his grandſon ſitting by him, while his infamous betrayer rode by his ſide.

He is taken,

The miſerable equipage in which *Dara* appeared, drew tears from the people, and the moſt bitter reproaches againſt his

his enemies; but no attempt was made to reſcue him. The ſentiments the people diſcovered, made *Auringzib* cautious how far he ſhould proceed againſt him; and he ſummoned a council to deliberate whether he ſhould put him to death or ſend him priſoner to *Guliyar*. *Dara*'s enemies carried it for the former propoſition, but pretended that it was for his being a kaffer, or idolater.

and put to death.

The ſentence of death was immediately awarded, and the execution of it was committed to a ſlave, one *Nazar*, a profeſſed enemy to *Dara*. He had no ſooner entered the apartment, where the princes were confined, when *Dara*, who was then dreſſing ſome pulſe for his own ſupper, knew his errand, and attempted to defend himſelf, but was inſtantly thrown to the ground by the aſſiſtants of *Nazar*, who, ſiting upon him, cut his throat, and carried his head directly to *Auringzib*. The hypocrite had it cleaned, that he might not be impoſed upon, and then affecting to ſhed tears, he ordered it to be buried in the tomb of his anceſtors. As to *Sepe Shekewh*, *Dara*'s grandſon, he was ſent priſoner to *Gauliyar*.

His ſon *Soleyman* holds out,

Soleyman Shekewh, that prince's father, and *Dara*'s eldeſt ſon, continued ſtill in arms amongſt the rajahs in the mountains, within eight days journey of *Agra*, to *Auringzib*'s great diſquiet. Having failed in his attempts to perſuade the chief of thoſe rajahs to abandon the prince, he raiſed an army, and attempted to paſs the forts of the mountains, but

but is taken

without effect. Notwithſtanding this, after *Dara*'s death, the rajah of *Serenaghar* was prevailed upon to give him up; and the unhappy prince was ſent, with chains upon his hands and feet, a priſoner to *Delhi*. His perſon and mein being anſwerable to his quality, had a great effect in his favour.

Auringzib, to perſuade the people that he was no impoſtor, ordered him to appear publicly in his own preſence and that of all the court. Upon his coming into the hall, with gilt fetters upon his hands, the others having been taken off, the ladies and the omras preſent could not refrain from tears, even in preſence of the tyrant, who ſeemed himſelf to be touched, and promiſed him life and good treatment. *Soleyman* returned him thanks, but deſired to be put to immediate death rather than drink the powſt, which is a ſlow poiſon extracted from poppies, and deſtroys not only the underſtanding but the life of thoſe who drink it. *Auringzib*, who had no other motives for his ſhew of clemency, but the ſentiments the aſſembly expreſſed, ſtill gave him aſſurances of ſafety, but ſent him priſoner to *Gauliyar*, where he and his ſon were ſoon after diſpatched by the powſt.

and poiſoned.

The ſultan *Morad* was in the ſame priſon; but *Auringzib* not chuſing, for political reaſons, to diſpatch him by the powſt, had him publicly tried, for extortions and murders committed

committed by him while he was preparing for war at *Ahmed Morad* is *Abad*, of which he was really guilty; and, being doomed to death by the court, his head was cut off. executed.

Jemla was ſtill carrying on the war againſt *Sujah* in *Bengal*, and, at laſt, obliged him to fly to *Rakan*, where the king of that country promiſed to protect him, and to furniſh him with a ſhip that ſhould carry him to ſome port of *Turky* or *Perſia*. But *Sujah*, like his brother *Dara*, was ruined by the vaſt treaſure he carried along with him, and which he took no care to conceal. Finding that the king of *Rakan* was in no diſpoſition to furniſh the ſhip he had promiſed, and that he had even the inſolence to deſire him to appear at his court, and to demand his daughter in marriage; *Sujah*, who thought his quality highly ſuperior to that of the king, was mad enough to attempt to dethrone him. For this purpoſe, he ſecretly engaged in his ſervice a number of foreigners who were trading in that kingdom; his deſign, however, was truſted to ſo many, that it took air, and *Sujah* was obliged to fly; but being purſued, he was overtaken and killed by the *Rakans*; though it never was certainly known what became of his body. His eldeſt ſon, the ſultan *Banka*, with two younger ones, his two daughters, and his mother, were all of them made priſoners. The king of *Rakan* married the eldeſt and favourite daughter; but perceiving that the *Mahometans*, and the other ſtrangers in his dominions, were renewing their practices againſt his government, he put the whole family of *Sujah* to death, excepting the princeſs he himſelf had married. Theſe events happened about the year 1661. The war continues in *Bengal*, Sultan *Sujah*'s death and his family murdered.

Auringzib was now the ſole poſſeſſor of the *Mogul* empire in *India*, without any other diſquietude than what he had from a report that was ſpread, as if *Sujah* was ſtill alive and had eſcaped to *Perſia*, where he was preparing to renew the war. But thoſe reports ſoon vaniſhed, and *Auringzib* received acknowledgments of his authority from all quarters, particularly from *Bukharia*, by way of attonement for the indignity he ſuffered while he commanded his father's troops in that country.

But a deſperate ſickneſs he fell into, through his immoderate abſtinence, which would be incredible in the meaneſt *European* monk, and which threatened mortal conſequences, threw every thing into confuſion. The ſultan *Mazrim* entered into ſecret cabals with the great lords, to be recognized as ſucceſſor to the empire; but *Auringzib* deſigned to leave that honour to his ſon, the ſultan *Akbar*, on account of the high dignity of his mother, who was deſcended from the antient monarchs of *India*, and his intention was ſeconded by ſeveral of the greateſt omras. *Auringzib* falls ill by his immoderate abſtinence.

In the mean time, it was eaſy to be foreſeen, that, if *Auringzib* died, his father muſt again regain his authority; and there-

therefore all the great lords prepared to make a merit, to be the firſt to effect his reſcue upon *Auringzib*'s deceaſe. But, though that prince was ſo ill of a fever attended by a paralitic diſeaſe as to be given over by his phyſicians, yet he recovered the uſe of his tongue ſo well, as to order himſelf to be removed into the great hall, where his nobility were aſſembled, that he might quaſh all the reports which had been given out of his death. In the mean while, he was perpetually writing to *Akbar*, who had the care of his father, to look ſtrictly to his charge while he was alive; but with orders, that he ſhould be ſet at liberty if he, *Auringzib*, ſhould die. He repeated thoſe viſits to the aſſemblies of his omras, till he ſwooned away; but, when he recovered, he ſent for the chief of them into his own apartment, that they might again ſee he was alive; and he ordered his favourite ſiſter to redeliver into his own hands the imperial ſignet with which he had entruſted her. But, at laſt, he recovered.

His vaſt craft and addreſs.

His behaviour to his father during his confinement was of a piece with the reſt of his art. *Shak Jehan* was under a ſtrict, but not a cruel, reſtraint. He was indulged in every pleaſure but that of reigning, for which his age had now almoſt diſqualified him. His women, his table, entertainments, diverſions, and all the enjoyments he loved, were ſtill preſerved to him; and, what was yet more extraordinary, he was left in poſſeſſion of his jewels and treaſures. *Auringzib* had obvious reaſons for all this lenity; and he did nothing, even in matters of government, without conſulting him in the moſt reſpectful manner. In ſhort, the whole of his behaviour to the old monarch, was ſo captivating, that *Shak Jehan* ſeemed to forget that he had been an emperor, or that he was a priſoner. He even, on many occaſions, acted in the moſt imperious manner to *Auringzib* himſelf, particularly on the following occaſion.

Remarkable inſtance of his father's haughtineſs.

Auringzib's health being re-eſtabliſhed, he bethought himſelf how he could beſt ſecure the ſucceſſion to the ſultan *Akbar*; and found no method ſo proper as to marry him to *Begum Saheb*, the daughter of his eldeſt brother *Dara*. This lady was under the tuition of her grandfather *Shak Jehan*, who approved of her indignation, when ſhe fiercely anſwered, That ſhe was reſolved to ſtab herſelf rather than become a wife to the ſon of her father's murderer.

About the ſame time, *Auringzib* had given orders for conſtructing that ſuperb throne which has been ſo celebrated by *European* travellers and all who have ſeen it. But he found he could not carry the work on, without being ſupplied with ſome of the imperial jewels and diamonds that were in his father's poſſeſſion. He ſent *Shak Jehan* a reſpectful meſſage for that purpoſe; but the latter anſwered, That, rather than comply, he would beat the jewels to powder with his own hands. Even this diſobliging anſwer did not ſeem to ruffle

Auringzib;

Auringzib; and he behaved towards his father, if poſſible, with greater reſpect than ever; and thereby ſo mollified him that he conſented to both his requeſts.

Though *Auringzib* had thus come to the throne of *India* through the blood of his brothers and their families; and though it muſt be owned he was a moſt wicked hypocrite, yet we are to remember, that, had any one of them ſucceeded, he would have proceeded in the ſame manner. Such is the fate of an unſettled ſucceſſion in an arbitrary barbarous country. Though, as we have already ſeen, he was abſtemious, even to the ruin of his health; though he was ſuperſtitious to the moſt abject weakneſs; and ſo deep a hypocrite, that what he had feigned at firſt he believed at laſt, yet, when he arrived at the ſummit of his ambition, he behaved himſelf as the mildeſt, as well as the greateſt, prince in the world; which, with regard to power and riches, he certainly was. Tho' he was ſo parſimonious upon his own perſon, that his food was entirely vegetable, living ſometimes only upon very coarſe bread; and, tho' he drank no liquor but water, and lay on the ground with nothing but a tyger's ſkin between him and the boards, yet he was generous, even to profuſion, to all who approached his perſon. Alteration of *Auringzib*'s character.

His court was now the rendezvous of ambaſſadors from all parts of *Europe* and *Aſia*; and, though he both deſpiſed and hated ſome of their principles, yet he did not ſuffer an ambaſſador, from the meaneſt among them, to depart from his court without making him the moſt magnificent preſents. Though the ſovereignty of the *Dutch* had been but very lately acknowledged in *Europe*, and *Auringzib* could have no very high idea of a republic, yet he received their ambaſſador with the greateſt civility, and diſmiſſed him with a noble preſent to the governor of *Batavia*. He did the like by other ambaſſadors of leſs conſideration; but he made a proper diſtinction, tho' he took no notice of it, but by his contempt, between princes who treated by their ambaſſadors as ſuch, and thoſe who, from a mean principle of avarice, gave the title of ambaſſadors to traders and merchants, with a view of making profits in his dominions, which often was the caſe. His magnificent reception of ambaſſadors.

The great rival to *Auringzib*, upon the continent of *Aſia*, was *Shah Abbas* II. of *Perſia*. This prince had high notions of the regal virtues, and could not bear the pompous titles which *Auringzib* aſſumed in his coins and letters, particularly that of *Alem Ghir*, or *Conqueror of the World*; neither could he endure the thoughts of *Auringzib*'s having confined his father in priſon and murdered his brothers. *Shah Abbas* was vaſtly addicted to drinking, which often made him cruel and indecent. *Auringzib*, ſome time before his father's death, ſent an ambaſſador to the *Perſian* court, with the uſual preſents; which *Shah Abbas* diſtributed amongſt his great lords, His differences with *Perſia*.

all but one diamond. Underſtanding this ambaſſador had been raiſed by *Shak Jehan*, he ordered his beard to be cut off, the greateſt indignity that could be done him, for his ingratitude to his benefactor, in ſerving under the author of his misfortunes, and the murderer of his ſons. Soon after, by a ſtrange caprice, he diſmiſſed the *Mogul*'s ambaſſador, and ſent one along with him from himſelf, who was loaded with the richeſt preſents, beſides one hundred and fifty horſes to *Auringzib*. The *Mogul* received the *Perſian* ambaſſador with the moſt diſtinguiſhed politeneſs and favour; but, when he was informed of the treatment *Shah Abbas* had given to his own ambaſſador, he ordered all the horſes to be killed, and the preſents to be burned. Notwithſtanding this, he ſhewed no reſentment againſt the *Perſian* ambaſſador, farther than that he obliged him to return a great number of his ſubjects, whom the ambaſſador had purchaſed, and was carrying as ſlaves into *Perſia*.

Caſe of *Kandahar*.

But political, as well as perſonal, reaſons operated in this miſunderſtanding. *Kandahar* had been betrayed to *Shak Jehan* by *Murdan*, its *Perſian* governor. It was afterwards recovered by the ſophi of *Perſia*, and, though twice beſieged, once by *Shak Jehan*, and another time by *Auringzib*, that important city ſtill remained in the hands of the *Perſians*. *Auringzib* had been long making preparations for beſieging it afreſh, notwithſtanding the intercourſe between the two courts; and this being known to *Shah Abbas*, to whoſe predeceſſors *Kandahar* had originally belonged, encreaſed the miſunderſtanding.

Auringzib's jealouſy of *Jemla*.

When *Auringzib* had ſcarcely any thing to fear, he began to be afraid of his greateſt friend, as well as ſubject, *Amir Jemla*. After the death of the ſultan *Sujah*, the government of *Bengal* devolved upon that nobleman; and he reigned there in a manner independently. *Auringzib* at once feared and careſſed him; and the emir, to make proof of his ſincerity, requeſted *Auringzib* to ſend him his wife and family, whom he had dexterouſly detained as hoſtages for the emir's fidelity. *Auringzib* durſt not either refuſe or comply with this requeſt; but, acting up to his own character, he made the emir's eldeſt ſon the maſter of his horſe, or a poſt reſembling it; but ſuch as obliges the profeſſor of it to be always near the *Mogul*'s perſon. He then ſent to *Jemla* his wife and his other children, and he created *Jemla* himſelf the head of his lords; a dignity which anſwers to the emir al omra of the khalifs. Each thus underſtanding the other's meaning, both remained quiet for ſome time; but *Auringzib*, knowing that the emir was at the head of a great army entirely devoted to him, propoſed to him the conqueſt of *Azem*, a great and a powerful kingdom, north of *Dekan*, upon the gulph of *Bengal*.

War in *Azem*.

This country was governed by a prince whom hiſtorians call only a rajah, but he was, in fact, a king. It is very little known

known, being, by ſituation, ſo much ſequeſtered from the reſt of the world, that the people had lived in a profound tranquility amongſt themſelves till they were diſturbed by the ambition of the *Mogul* and his emir. This ſilent climate was rich beyond expreſſion, and the ſubjects enjoyed the whole, as their own property, without paying taxes to their king, who found an immenſe revenue in the mines of gold, ſilver, and other metals, which he reſerved to himſelf. The emir *Jemla*, with exceſſive labour, penetrated into this happy country, took ſeveral of its chief towns, and particularly *Gargon*, their capital, and obliged the king, or rajah, to fly to the mountains.

Notwithſtanding thoſe pompous accounts, there is reaſon to believe that they ought to be believed with great caution; for, after *Jemla* had advanced into the country, he found the rajah had taken ſuch precautions, that his army was in danger to periſh for want of food; and that, the roads being broken up by the rajah's orders, he could advance no farther.

This, perhaps, was what *Auringzib* had foreſeen. *Jemla*'s army was entirely ruined by fatigue and famine, and his own health ſo much impaired, that he died in returning from the expedition. *Auringzib*, though inwardly rejoiced at this event, behaved to the ſon with all the gratitude and reſpect due to his father's ſervices; and not only gave him all his father's perſonal eſtate, which was immenſe, but augmented his appointments. He could not, however, help telling him, He had loſt the trueſt, but the moſt dangerous, friend he ever had, in the perſon of his father. Death of *Jemla*.

As to the government of *Bengal*, *Auringzib* gave it to his own uncle, *Shah Heſt*, who had well deſerved it by his ſervices; and it was obſerved, that the firſt reflection that fell from the public, upon hearing of *Jemla*'s death, was, That *Auringzib* is maſter of *Bengal*.

The firſt thing *Shah Heſt* undertook in his new government, was, to attack a port, called *Chategon*, inhabited by *European*, particularly *Portugueſe*, pirates; but belonging, in property, to the king of *Rakan*, the ſame who put the ſultan *Sujah* to death. It is impoſſible to relate the robberies, murders, and devaſtations, committed by thoſe pirates, who were the very off-ſcowerings of *Europe* and ſome parts of *Aſia*, but all of them pretending to be *Chriſtians*. Their general practice was, to make all their priſoners ſlaves, or to ſell them as ſuch; and their barbarities are ſaid to have given riſe to that averſion which *Shak Jehan* had always expreſſed for the *Chriſtian* religion, even to the pulling down churches which his family had ſuffered to be built. They grew, at laſt, to ſuch a height of power and inſolence, that they ſent one *Gonſalvo*, who was the arch-pirate amongſt them, and who had even married the king of *Rakan*'s daughter, to the Account of the *European* pirates.

vice-roy of *Goa*, offering to put the king of *Portugal* in poſſeſſion of that kingom upon certain terms, which the vice-roy diſdained to comply with. Their power at ſea was greatly ſuperior to that of the *Mogul*; and therefore *Shah Heſt* reſolved, if poſſible, to make them his friends, or exterminate them.

Auringzib either reſented, or pretended to reſent, very highly, the murder of his brother, and family, againſt the king of *Rakan*; and the true deſign which *Shah Heſt* had in his eye, in attacking the pirates, was, to open his way into *Rakan*. He knew there was a deep hatred between the *Dutch* and the *Portugueſe* in *India*, and he eaſily prevailed upon the former to lend him their aſſiſtance; but, in the mean time, he wiſely opened his mind to the pirates themſelves, by telling them, that his real deſign was upon *Rakan*, and that, if they would ſerve under him, he would double their pay, and give them ſettlements in *Bengal*. This propoſal was backed by vaſt armaments both by ſea and land; and the pirates, embracing his offer, came over, like one man, to *Bengal*, and aſſiſted *Heſt* in taking the iſland of *Sundiva*; which, by its ſituation, commands the mouth of the *Ganges*, and where a friar had for ſome time reigned as king.

They join *Auringzib*'s general.

Heſt's next attempt was upon *Chategon*, which was in poſſeſſion of the king of *Rakan*, and which he took by the aſſiſtance of the pirates.

Heſt having thus gained his chief ends, and conquered the king of *Rakan*, neglected his *European* allies, both *Dutch* and pirates. The former came to his aſſiſtance with two ſhips, though not till after he had been joined by the pirates; but they had no other reward than civility and fair words. As to the pirates, being now in poſſeſſion of their neſts, he left them to miſery and contempt.

Barbariſm of *Auringzib*.

Whatever compliments *European* writers may have paid to *Auringzib*'s abilities and greatneſs, it appears that he was a barbarian in one ſenſe; for, whether it proceeded from jealouſy of the *Europeans*, or of the neighbouring princes, it is certain, that, about the year 1671, he commanded that no perſon in his dominions ſhould commit any part of his hiſtory to writing. This was an edict more barbarous than any of his anceſtors ever had iſſued; and to that it is owing, we know little of the remaining part of his reign, but from the lame informations we have from *European* travellers in *India*. It is owing to this, that we are uncertain what became of his eldeſt ſon *Mahmud*, whom he ſeveral times impriſoned; though it is probable that he died by the powſt. His other ſon, *Mawzm*, notwithſtanding all his diſſimulation, was ſuſpected by his father. He had heard of the intrigues he had ſet on foot during his ſickneſs; and, under pretence that he would try his courage, he one day took an opportunity, in full court,

His conduct to his ſon *Mawzm*.

court, to order him to kill a lion, that had laid waſte the neighbouring country; and to do it without making uſe of ropes and nets. The reader, however, is not to imagine, that *Mawzm* went ſingly out to encounter the lion. He was attended with a numerous train of horſemen, and mounted upon an elephant; and, after the loſs of ſome men and horſes, the lion was killed. This was eſteemed ſo wonderful a proof of courage in an *Indian* prince, that *Auringzib* is ſaid to have loved *Mazwm* ever after, and to have given him a government, but with very little power.

History of *Seva Ji*.

The perſon who made the greateſt figure in *India* at this time, was a prince, or rajah, called *Seva Ji*. This rajah was in the ſervice of *Viziapur*, and had been guilty of all manner of crimes, cruelties, and treaſons; but had raiſed himſelf, by his courage, to great power, and was maſter of many important cities and fortreſſes; and, at laſt, he even attacked the dominions of *Auringzib*, who ſent his uncle *Heſt* againſt him with an army vaſtly ſuperior to that of *Seva*. The latter was obliged to retire to the woods, from whence *Heſt* found it impoſſible to diſlodge him; and therefore was obliged to withdraw his troops, for fear of loſing them all.

After this, *Seva*, in the habit of a fakir, travelled by himſelf to *Surat*, then one of the greateſt emporiums in all *India*; where he obſerved the ſituation and fortifications ſo exactly, that he ſoon after ſurprized and plundered it at the head of four thouſand men. The governor, however, ſaved himſelf and the caſtle, which *Seva* did not attempt to take, with the richeſt effects of the place: neither did that robber moleſt either the *Engliſh* or *Dutch* ſettlements, becauſe he ſaw them well fortified with cannon. He exerciſed the moſt ſhocking cruelties upon all the other inhabitants who fell into his hands, and the booty he made amounted to about one million five hundred thouſand pounds ſterling.

He joins *Auringzib*.

Upon his return, *Auringzib* ſent *Jeſſeyu* and his ſon *Mawzm* to chaſtiſe him; but *Jeſſeyu*, whoſe talent lay in negotiating, managed matters ſo, that he drew *Seva* over to the party of *Auringzib*, who made him a rajah with diſtinguiſhed marks of his eſteem; and employed him in his wars againſt the king of *Viziapur*. But *Seva* had a ſtrong party againſt him at court, eſpecially amongſt the ladies, at the head of whom was *Heſt*'s wife, whoſe ſon *Seva* had killed, and wounded her huſband, in an unexpected attack during the former war. *Auringzib* required but few ſollicitations to take off a dangerous or a ſuſpected ſubject; and, though *Seva* was provided with the imperial paſſport and protection at court, yet the *Mogul* would certainly have deſtroyed him, had it not been for *Seva*'s own vigilance and reſolution; and *Auringzib*'s apprehenſion of an inſurrection amongſt the rajahs who were under the like circumſtances with *Seva*. It is more than pro-

bable, however, that the *Mogul* would, at laſt, have perfected his intention, had not *Seva* diſſembled even more than *Auringzib*; and, eſcaping with his ſon from court in diſguiſe, he reached a river, over which he was ferry'd; and, at his landing, he deſired the boat-man to report to the *Mogul*, that he had ferry'd over the rajah *Seva Ji*.

Having had the precaution to provide relays of horſes all along the road he was to travel, he rode night and day, and, though his ſon was killed with the fatigue, yet he arrived ſafe in his own dominions; and, in revenge for the *Mogul*'s perfidy, he plundered *Surat* a ſecond time; and rendered himſelf, by enlarging his territories to a vaſt extent, next to the *Mogul*, one of the moſt powerful princes in *India*. But all the while he lived like a public robber, though his ſituation amidſt the mountains was ſuch as bade defiance to *Auringzib*'s beſt generals and all his troops. Upon his death, which did not happen till the year 1660, *Auringzib* continued his ſon in all his poſts and penſions; which gave ſome colour to a ſuſpicion, that he had not been diſpleaſed with the father's eſcape; or, for being able to employ his ambitious ſons and rajahs againſt ſo powerful an enemy.

Death of *Shak Jehan*.

In the year 1666, *Shak Jehan* died, in the ſeventy-fifth year of his age; and was buried in a monument he had erected over his favourite wife, ſo ſumptuous, that it is ſaid to have coſt him ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand pounds. As to his character, we have little to ſay in his recommendation, excepting his ſtrict adminiſtration of juſtice. In other reſpects, he had all the vices and weakneſſes of *Tamerlan* and his deſcendants. *Auringzib* put on the greateſt appearance of grief when he heard of his death; and, as if he had changed his nature, he took into his favour and confidence *Begum Saheb*, for ſo *Europeans* call his ſiſter, who ſo often, and ſo invariably, had oppoſed his intereſt. This indulgence, however, might have been no other than the effect of his uſual diſſimulation, for it was thought that ſhe died with poiſon ſoon after.

Chaſm in *Auringzib*'s hiſtory,

There is now a chaſm, for the cauſe related, in the hiſtory of this mighty emperor; but the truth is, the reader can be at no great loſs on that account. All the virtues of the *Mogul* line were now extinct; and *Auringzib*'s own character, policy, and perſonal conduct, are the objects that alone engage the attention of an intelligent reader during his reign. His troops, when in the field, lived by rapine, and were more cowardly, and worſe diſciplined, than the worſt militia in *Europe*. His court was filled with a ſet of lawleſs oppreſſors, under the titles of nabobs, omras, rajahs, and the like, who flattered him as meanly as they plundered their inferiors unmercifully. His own life was one continued round of faſting, praying, and taſtleſs magnificence; when he was not employed in giving audiences to foreign ambaſſadors, in regulating

gulating the affairs of his revenue, and in ballancing parties amongſt his great men. Notwithſtanding his auſtere mortifications, he was far from being unſuſceptible of love. As a proof of this, the hiſtory of *Jeſſom Sayu*'s widow is now to be related.

His war with *Jeſſom Sayu*'s widow.

Jeſſom Sayu, who has been ſo often mentioned, was one of thoſe lawleſs rajahs who tyrannized in their almoſt inacceſſible governments, and were dependent upon the *Mogul* only for the poſts and penſions he gave them. Upon his death, *Auringzib* demanded of the widow, who, it ſeems, was one of the fineſt women in *India*, a ſurrender of all her late huſband's effects and territories. She and her people were *Hindows*, or idol worſhippers; and her anſwer was, That ſhe had no money, but a great many ſwords. This reſolute anſwer raiſed a ſtorm which had almoſt overſet *Auringzib*'s government. The widow's birth, quality, and alliances, were the nobleſt in all *India*; and a confederacy was ſoon formed amongſt the *Hindows* and *Rajaputs* in her favour. This ſerved as a kind of ſignal for *Auringzib*'s ſons, the ſultans *Manzem* and *Azem*, to put their ambitious ſchemes in execution. Their father had foreſeen this, and had ordered them to leave their goverments and repair to court; but they knew their father's diſpoſition too well to obey him.

Rebellion of his ſons.

In the mean while, *Auringzib*'s real, or ſeeming, zeal for *Mahometaniſm*, plunged him into difficulties from which it required all his genius to extricate himſelf. He double taxed all the *Hindows* in his dominions, and, by demoliſhing their images, and places of worſhip, he forced them to aſſociate in remote parts, which ſtrengthened the confederacies againſt his government. *Mohammed*, the governor of *Guzerat*, who was himſelf a *Hindow*, and, in his heart, a friend to *Jeſſom Sayu*'s widow, who was ſtiled the rana, or princeſs, remonſtrated to *Auringzib* upon the bad policy of his conduct: but he could not prevail, till, by the moſt undoubted proofs, he convinced him, that ſome noblemen, about his own perſon, who were immediately executed, were betraying him, and held a correſpondence with his rebellious ſons.

It ſeems to have been on this occaſion, that the rana was introduced, by *Mohammed*, to the preſence of *Auringzib*: As he had carried on the war againſt her in perſon, her territorities had ſuffered greatly; and the mercenary *Mogul* generals, who had promiſed to defend her, but did not, had drawn from her exceſſive ſums. *Auringzib* was ſtruck with her beauty, his zeal gave way to his love, and, though he had made a vaſt progreſs in her dominions, he inſtantly gave orders for his troops to evacuate them, and that all hoſtilities ſhould ceaſe; and commiſſioners met on both ſides for a friendly accommodation.

It is uncertain how the two ſultans, *Mauzem* and *Azem*, demeaned themſelves on this occaſion: but the ſultan *Akbar*, who

Rebellion of *Akbar*.

who was younger than either of them, ſtill continued to be his father's favourite, and was looked upon as the heir of his empire. This young prince's ambition, however, led him greater lengths againſt his father than his two brothers had gone. He had been at the head of thirty thouſand men, and had always kept a ſecret correſpondence with his father's enemies, particularly with *Seva Ji*. His deſtination with his army was againſt a rajah in the neighbourhood of *Azmir*. The rajah joined him, and their troops together making up ſeventy thouſand horſe, and an anſwerable body of foot, they immediately marched againſt *Auringzib*, who was, at that time, at *Azmir*.

ſuppreſſed by *Auringzib*'s craft.

He muſt have been ruined, had it not been for his own incomparable addreſs. He choſe an eunuch of capacity and fidelity, and he entruſted him with letters, directed to his ſon *Akbar*, which imported a ſecret correſpondence between them, and, as if *Akbar* had, by his direction and knowledge, drawn the *Hindows* into *Azmir* on purpoſe to give the father and ſon an opportunity of cutting him off. The fellow acted with ſo much art, that he was ſeized upon by the *Hindows* as a ſpy; they read the letters, and the manner of his anſwers confirmed a ſuſpicion that they were to be ſacrificed. It was in vain for *Akbar* to ſwear, as he did, upon the *Koran*, as to his ignorance of the contents of the letters, or to put the *Hindows* in mind of his father's art and cunning. They could not ſhake off their diſtruſt, and, by their diviſions, they gave *Auringzib* time to bring up reinforcements, which gave a total defeat to his ſon and the *Hindows*.

Akbar had himſelf the good fortune to eſcape out of the battle, and retired into the dominions of the rajah *Somba* with four thouſand men. *Auringzib* purſued him, but he eſcaped to *Maſkat* in *Arabia*, where two *Engliſh* gentlemen, of the names of *Bendel* and *Stevens*, provided him a veſſel that carried him to *Perſia*; where he was nobly received by the monarch; and, according to captain *Hamilton*'s account, who was a man of credit, and had long reſided in *India*, that prince gave *Akbar* his daughter in marriage.

Death of the rajah *Somba*.

As to the rajah *Somba*, he periſhed through his unaccountable brutality. *Auringzib* advanced to his dominions, and was but a few miles from his camp, when the alarm was given that the *Mogul* army was at hand. *Somba* was then carouſing in his tent, and, inſtead of profiting by the intelligence, he ordered the ſlaves who brought the news to be beheaded, for preſuming to ſay, that *Auringzib* dared to come where he was. This barbarity ſcarcely was committed, when he was taken priſoner by the *Mogul* troops; and he was beheaded in his turn, by *Auringzib*'s command.

It appears, from the beſt authorities, that the death of *Somba* did not put an end to *Auringzib*'s wars in that country; for we ſoon after find them beſieging his capital, *Jenji*; which

which was ſo ſtrongly ſituated, amidſt ſeven fortified mountains, when *Jemelli*, the traveller, left *India*, the place had held out for ſeven years againſt an army of ſixty thouſand men, and the ſiege ſtill continued.

We have little or nothing more to add to this account of *Auringzib*, but what regards the concerns of the *Engliſh Eaſt India* company, with him. Upon the reſtoration of *Charles* the ſecond, he applied himſelf to encourage that company, which he did, by granting them a new charter, and by extending their privileges; particularly, by impowering them, as a company, to make peace or war with the natives of *India*. Upon his marriage with the infanta of *Portugal*, he prevailed with that king, to ſend orders to the vice-roy of *Bombay*, to put that iſland into the hands of the earl of *Marlborough*, and ſir *John Shipman*, who was appointed governor of it, and they accordingly ſailed thither, with a ſquadron of five men of war. At firſt, the clergy practiſed with the vice-roy to refuſe obedience to his maſter's orders; and the governor of *Surat* backed them. At laſt however, the *Engliſh*, after lying ſome months in thoſe ſeas, got poſſeſſion of that iſland, which has proved ſince of ſo much importance; and there they carried on a vaſt commerce. This ſtirred up the jealouſy of the *Dutch*, who made war upon all the natives, who did not act hoſtilely againſt the *Engliſh*, and indeed againſt all *Europeans* but themſelves. The mogul, or rather his governors, were equally jealous of the *Engliſh*; of whoſe power they had conceived the higheſt ideas, in which they were confirmed by the vigorous reſiſtance which the company's garriſon at *Bombay*, (which by this time had been ceded by the crown to them) made againſt the ſtrongeſt efforts, of both the *Mogul* and the *Dutch* arms. Great confuſion however happened in the affairs of the company, which are foreign to this hiſtory. At laſt, about the year 1687, *Child*, who was the *Eaſt India* company's governor there, pretending great diſſatisfaction with the behaviour of the *Mogul* governors; actually entered into war with *Auringzib*, and ſeized the veſſels of his ſubjects, wherever he met with them.

Hiſtory of the *Engliſh Eaſt India* company's differences with *Auringzib*.

This was a proceeding as unjuſt and impolitic, as it was inſolent, and unprecedented. It never had been heard of, that an *Engliſh* merchant had ventured to carry on war, with perhaps the greateſt emperor in the world; and that too within his own dominions. The truth is, *Child* ſacrificed the honour and intereſt of his maſters to his own inſatiable avarice. At firſt, *Child* pretended to make war only againſt the traders of *Surat*; where he ſeized all the *Mogul* ſhipping, and attempted, with a ſmall ſquadron of *Engliſh* ſhips, to force the *Mogul* general there, into his terms. But failing of ſucceſs in that, he ſeized a fleet of the *Mogul* ſhips laden with corn for his army; and by his raſh rapacious, injudicious

Injuſtice and avarice of *Child*, the *Engliſh* governor and general.

injudicious conduct, he rendered himself as obnoxious to the *English*, as to the natives, and thereby the company's affairs in *India* were threatened with total ruin. *Yacub*, *Auringzib*'s chief general in those parts, either dreading the *English*, whose power and riches were at that time at a very high pitch, in *India*, or from a principle of moderation, at first requested, in the most polite terms, the releasement of the corn fleet, which was his master's property; and upon *Child*'s returning a brutal, unsatisfactory, answer, he landed twenty thousand men upon the island of *Bombay*, and laid siege to the company's forts there. *Child*'s conduct, on this occasion, was as cowardly as it had been insolent before. *Yacub* made himself master of the fortress of *Magazan*, with all the artillery and treasure that was in it, and cut in pieces a detachment of fifty *English*, sent under a captain and a lieutenant to dislodge him. *Yacub* then laid siege to the castle, and *Child* was obliged to take into his pay three thousand *Sauyajees*. Provisions thereby growing scarce, the *English* vessels found means to supply the garrison, by cruzing upon the mogul's ships. But *Yacub*'s army being now encreased to forty thousand men, *Child* thought of delivering himself, by other means than those of arms. For this purpose, two *English* merchants, and a *Surat* merchant, were sent, loaden with treasure and presents, to implore forgiveness from *Auringzib*, whose court was then at *Jehan-abad*. Their presents and money procured them access to the mogul's person; and the most abject submissions when they were admitted, by having their hands bound, and prostrating themselves on the ground, procured them his pardon: but on condition, that *Child* should leave *India* in nine months: he likewise promised to grant them a new phirmand, or licence to trade.

Submission of the *English*, and moderation of the emperor,

This wonderful moderation in a great monarch, so justly provoked, with all the means of revenge in his hands, is incompatible with the conduct, even of the mildest princes. *Auringzib* indeed stipulated, that reparation should be made to his subjects for their damages and just debts; but *Child* dying, affairs were put upon the former footing, and the *English* became greater favourites at the mogul's court than ever. This was owing to the vast sagacity of *Auringzib*, who had made himself master of the history of *Europe*. As a proof of this, we are told, that *Baroon*, the *Dutch* ambassador at this time, endeavoured to impose upon the mogul's understanding, by representing the *English* as a worthless people, and so inconsiderable, that they had received their king from *Holland*: adding, that if the mogul would drive them out of his country, it would be greatly for the benefit of him and his subjects. *Auringzib* suffered him to finish all he had to say, and then told him, that he expected his masters, who were so powerful, would be at the trouble and expence of clearing *India* of their rivals. *Baroon* giving an evasive answer, *Auringzib*

Instance of his penetration.

ringzib aſtoniſhed him, by acquainting him, that he knew the *Engliſh* kept the ballance of power in *Europe*; and that, had it not been for *England*, *Holland* muſt have been deſtroyed, when it was attacked by the *French* king. Upon this *Baroon* withdrew with ſhame and ſurprize. *Auringzib* is ſaid to have been the conqueror of *Viziapur*. But it cannot be ſaid that he added the whole of that kingdom to the reſt of his dominions; or if he did, either he or his deſcendants ſoon loſt it.

Conquers *Viziapur* and *Golconda*.

Little more remains now of *Auringzib*'s hiſtory, but his conqueſt of *Golkonda*. We have already ſeen the hiſtory of the emir *Jemla*, and upon what footing matters ſtood between *Auringzib* and that king. The latter had aſſiſted the kingdom of *Viziapur* with two hundred thouſand men; but *Auringzib* obliged him to recall them. After this, the mogul formed ſuch intrigues among his omras, that his authority was but little reſpected; and he had not power even to protect an *Engliſh* ſhip, which had been ſeized by the *Dutch*, and to which he promiſed his protection. *Abul Haſſan*, however, was a prince of abilities; and as the hiſtory of his life has a connection with our ſubject, and is in itſelf extremely curious, the reader, we doubt not, will be pleaſed, with a ſmall ſketch of it in this place.

Remarkable hiſtory of the marriages of the princeſſes of *Golconda*.

India about the middle of the laſt century, began to be much better known than it had been before; and moſt of it's chief princes being *Mahometans*, the *Perſians* and *Arabs* made great figures in their courts and armies. *Kothb*, the old king of *Golkonda*, had three daughters. The eldeſt was married to *Mahmud*, ſon to *Auringzib*, with a promiſe of the ſucceſſion to *Golkonda*. The ſecond daughter's marriage was concluded in a very extraordinary manner. An *Arab* nobleman, in the habit of a fakir, or mendicant, came to the gates of the palace of *Golkonda*, where he took up his lodging for about two months, but without deigning to return any anſwer to the numerous enquiries made by the courtiers concerning his perſon and buſineſs.

Such an uncommon appearance, excited the curioſity of the king; who ſent his phyſician to enquire into the phœnomenon. The phyſician ſoon perceiving the pretended fakir to be of no vulgar condition, as to wit and abilities, introduced him to the king; who, pleaſed with his converſation, at laſt demanded to know the buſineſs that had brought him to *Golkonda*; but was greatly aſtoniſhed when the fakir bluntly anſwered, That he had no other but to marry the princeſs his ſecond daughter. The king and the court at firſt thought the fakir to be in jeſt; but perceiving that he was ſerious, they very reaſonably concluded him to be mad, and put him on board a ſhip which carried him to his own country.

The fakir, however, was not to be put off in that manner; he returned two years after to *Golkonda*, and renewed his

his attacks with such vigour and assurance, that he carried his point; he not only married the princess, but, by his behaviour, proved himself worthy of that high distinction: for, when his father-in-law, the king, was about to have delivered the keys of *Golkonda* to *Aurinzib*, while he was besieging it, *Mohammed*, for so the *Arab* was called, snatched them out of his hand; and not only prevented so inglorious a surrender, but obliged *Auringzib* to raise the siege. After this, he became first minister to his father-in-law.

One marries a pretended fakir,

and another a soldier of fortune.

The marriage of *Kothb*'s third daughter, was attended with circumstances still more extraordinary. She was the favourite of her father, and *Mahmud*, the son of *Auringzib*, had, by this time, forfeited all pretensions to succeed either his father or father-in-law. The king therefore intended to leave his crown to her and her posterity, provided he could find her a husband deserving so exalted an honour. He unbosomed himself to *Mushuk*, his minister, his son-in-law *Mohammed* not being then in favour; and *Mushuk* advised him, in chusing a husband for his daughter, to have less regard to high birth and riches, which would only increase the factions that were then tearing his court, than to merit and abilities. The king relished this advice, and commissioned the minister to find out the object, but communicated his intention to *Zaffer*, another of his principal officers of state.

Romantic manner in which the latter marriage was brought about.

An *Arab* of rank had lately died, and was held in great esteem; but all his estate being seized, as usual, by the king, his son was reduced to enter the army in a very low station. The two ministers cast their eyes upon this young nobleman, spoke of him to the king; and it was determined, at last, that his majesty should see him incognito in *Zaffer*'s house. This was no hard matter to bring about; but the king complained that the *Arab*'s mein and air was not answerable to the report that had been made of him. In answer to this, *Zaffer* urged the *Arab*'s dejected circumstances and want of a proper dress. Upon this, it was concluded, that he should be secretly furnished with money sufficient for making a better appearance. *Zaffer* sends for some bankers, and orders them to furnish *Abdollah*, for that was the *Arab*'s name, with whatever money he should call for; but enjoined them, as they valued their lives, to conceal from him, that they were to be repaid by the minister.

The bankers soon found an opportunity of introducing themselves to *Abdollah*, and, under pretence of wanting his assistance in solliciting some affairs at court, they, with some difficulty, prevailed upon him to accept of a sum to the amount of some thousands of pounds. This enabled *Abdollah* to enter upon high life; in which he made a most splendid figure, and seemed to be quite a different kind of a man from what he had appeared to be before. The king sees him again, wonders at the change, and, after seeing him

him ſeveral times more, he fixes upon him to be his ſon-in-law.

That no time might be loſt, he ordered two of his principal officers, civil and military, inſtantly to conduct *Abdollah* to court under a noble guard. *Abdollah* lived pleaſurably as well as magnificently, and was revelling with ſome female dancers, when this honourable deputation came to his door. Upon ſeeing the two perſons who were at the head of it, he gave himſelf up for ruined; and the royal veſt with which they preſented him, confirmed him in his belief, ſo that he made no doubt of its being poiſoned: a kind of death which all the *Indian* kings were extremely dextrous in adminiſtering.

After ſome gentle reflections upon his majeſty's ſeverity, and making profeſſions of his innocence, they ſecretly aſſured him, that the apparatus he ſaw, was only intended to introduce him into the higheſt degree of honour that could be beſtowed upon a ſubject. The remaining fears of *Abdollah* were diſſipated, when, at the door of his own houſe, he mounted ſudden a horſe ſuperbly capariſoned; and he led the proceſſion, with riſe. a general, riding on the one ſide, and the ſecretary on the other, to the palace; where he was inſtantly married to the princeſs, without even *Mahmud*, her brother-in-law, knowing any thing of the matter. *Abdollah's*

Mahmud reſented the indignity, which he thought was offered him, ſo much, that be put himſelf under the protection of *Auringzib*, who gave him noble appointments; and received him at *Delhi*. The father-in-law *Kothb*, the more he advanced in years, the more jealous and ſuſpicious he grew; nor would he ſuffer even his favourite ſon-in-law, to be his own maſter. He would not ſo much as truſt him with money, ſufficient even for defraying the expences of his houſhold, nor approach the council table, but kept him guarded in a moſt magnificient thraldom, by eunuchs and miniſters.

Abdollah found he had exchanged happineſs for grandeur, and could not help expreſſing great ſymptoms of diſſatisfaction; upon which the old king ſtill drew his chains the cloſer, and made him be obſerved more ſtrictly. At laſt, after *Abdollah* had lived for about eleven years in this ſplendid ſlavery, *Kothb* died, and bequeathed to him his kingdom. The acceſſion of *Abdollah* was the more tranquil, becauſe the miniſters and generals of the former reign, knowing him to be an utter ſtranger to the affairs of government, hoped ſtill to retain all their power and influence under him. It was with this view, that they took his part in an attempt made by the ſecond princeſs, the wife of *Mahmud*, to ſettle her ſon upon the throne. Her attempt was defeated, and *Abdollah* was proclaimed emperor: but he found himſelf in the leading-ſtrings of thoſe who had raiſed him to ſovereignty; and, His conduct.

He is proclaimed though emperor.

His wiſe policy.

though he was an indolent prince, he had good ſenſe enough to know how to humble their pride. He hated *Moſo Kan* and *Zaffer*, who had principally contributed to his greatneſs, and therefore ſtudied to ruin him. He placed the former at the head of his army, and made the latter his firſt miniſter, or duan.

The rivalſhip between them ſoon produced the effect that *Abdollah* foreſaw and deſired. Without appearing to have any hand in the matter, he created an enmity between them, which, at laſt, broke out into profeſſed acts of hoſtility. The general defrauded his troops of their pay, and the duan accuſed him of corruption. Each recriminated upon the other, and thus the king was left the moderator of their differences. He acted with ſo much art, that he decoyed the general to court, where he was made priſoner and put in chains. A charge was then drawn up againſt him of the moſt atrocious nature, accuſing him of bribery, and of having violated the privileges of the king's palace; and, at laſt, all his ready-money, which amounted to about two hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, was ſeized, together with an immenſe quantity of diamonds, which he had amaſſed by being governor of the chief diamond mine in *Golkonda*. Upon his fall, the king ingratiated himſelf with the army, by whoſe aſſiſtance he propoſed to humble the duan, who now thought himſelf more than monarch.

Abdollah, all this while, winked at the abuſes which the duan committed in his office; and ſuffered him to proceed till the whole kingdom was in a fermentation; and then, being ſure that the popular clamour was againſt him, he ſent him into baniſhment; and thereby became his own miniſter as well as general. All this happened about the year 1670; at which time, we are told, *Abdollah* applied himſelf very aſſiduouſly to the affairs of government. But a ſtorm, which he little foreſaw, was now about to break upon him. *Auringzib*, from the beginning of his reign, had an eye upon the kingdom of *Golkonda*; and, at laſt, reſolved to conquer it. He had a plauſible pretext from the breach of the family ſettlement of the crown upon his ſon *Mahmud*. All rebellions and family diviſions were now cruſhed, and *Mazm* had returned to his duty, and was, by his father, put at the head of the army deſtined to act againſt *Golkonda*. *Mazin*, who, by that time, had aſſumed the title of *Shah Alam*, had never dropt his ambitious views; and, inſtead of acting againſt *Abdollah*, he ſtudied to make him his friend, that he might ſecure his intereſt in caſe of his father's death. In ſhort, he concluded a temporary peace with *Abdollah*, and even got his father's aſſent to it. But *Auringzib*'s ambition reviving, *Shah Alam* was ordered by him to renew the war. *Shah Alam*, upon this, aſſumed the maſque of ſanctity, by pretending that his conſcience did not ſuffer him to make war againſt a *Moſlem*

Makes peace with the *Mogul*.

Moſlem prince; and he therefore laid his ſword at his father's feet. But *Auringzib* had himſelf worn the ſame maſque too long to be impoſed upon; and, having taken into his pay a conſiderable body of *European* engineers and officers, he firſt made himſelf maſter of *Bagnagar*, and then he beſieged *Abdollah* in *Golkonda* itſelf. *Auringzib* beſieges

This happened about the year 1687; and, late as that date is, we have no preciſe account of thoſe wars, and thoſe we have are next to fabulous. We are told that the fortreſs of *Golkonda* itſelf was ſo immenſely ſtrong, that it held out a ſiege of nine months, though battered by cannon, each of which required five hundred elephants and two hundred men to draw it. Upon the whole, however, it ſeems to be pretty certain, that the fortreſs was amazingly ſtrong, and that *Abdollah* might have defied all *Auringzib*'s power, had not the latter found means to corrupt the governor of the place, who treacherouſly gave it up.

Abdollah, we are told, offered to pay *Auringzib* a tribute of about a million ſterling; but his offer was rejected; and *Auringzib*, with his ſon *Azem*, who had been likewiſe reſtored to favour, entered the place in triumph. The unhappy *Abdollah* ſought to mitigate the ſeverity of his fate by taking from his own neck a rich collar and putting it round *Azem*'s. This preſent was ſo far from having the deſired effect, that *Auringzib* reproached his ſon for not ordering the unfortunate prince's hands to be bound: but *Azem* interceded in the cauſe of diſtreſſed royalty. *Abdollah*, at laſt, was ſhut up in a priſon, and confined to the wretched allowance of about forty ſhillings a day. This appointment, was afterwards enlarged, upon *Abdollah*'s having a ſon born to him in priſon. and takes him priſoner.

As to the conqueſt of *Golkonda*, it ſeems to have been far from complete; for, ſome years after it was made, we find one of *Abdollah*'s ſons ſitting upon his father's throne, though obliged to pay tribute to the *Great Mogul*. This happened about the year 1695, and was amongſt the laſt of *Auringzib*'s conqueſts.

He lived to the year 1707, and he was above ninety years of age, of which he reigned fifty, when he died at a place called *Ahmednagar*. He was, perhaps, one of the moſt remarkable inſtances, next to the firſt khalifs we have given an account of, of the force of ambition. He had no enjoyment of life incompatible with the ſtricteſt abſtinence, in eating, drinking, and lodging; tho' he is ſaid to have been far from being inſenſible to the power of beauty. The deſtination which he made of his great empire was unaccountable; for he parted it amongſt his ſons, without naming the particular prince aſſigned to each territory. By his will, however, he recommended unanimity amongſt them; and was, to the laſt, ſo ſelf-denied, as to order himſelf to be buried like a dervis, Death of *Auringzib*. His will.

or poor religious, without pomp or ceremony, or any other diſtinction than that only of diſtributing about one hundred and twenty-five pounds in alms at the place of his interment.

His character,

But, however *Auringzib*, as a man, denied himſelf many worldly enjoyments, yet no prince ever exceeded him in ſplendour upon days of ceremony. Even his virtues were the effects of craft and deſign; for the mildneſs and clemency with which he exerciſed his power over his ſubjects, after he had ſubdued all oppoſition, rendered his great lords unwilling to change his government for that of any of his ſons. He is ſaid to have carried his gentleneſs even into a degree of weakneſs; and that, when the inſolence of his great men and their oppreſſions were repreſented to him, he uſed to ſay, That Heaven would puniſh them. This forbearance was productive of many bad conſequences, by the lower ſort of his ſubjects being oppreſſed by the higher. Yet *Auringzib* carried his tenderneſs for the meaneſt of his people farther, perhaps, than any prince was ever known to do: for he profeſſed, That, rather than to eat food earned by the ſweat of the brows of his ſubjects, he would work with his own hands for his living. He accordingly uſed to work, or knit caps, which he affected to ſend in preſents to his great lords, who, we are told, remitted him, in return, money.

His annual revenues amounted to about forty millions ſterling; but he made a diſtinction between his public and private treaſury; for, when he died, he had, in the latter, not much above ſeven thouſand pounds. This private treaſury appears to have ariſen from the exchange of his own manufactures; for, when he was ſo old that he could not work with his own hands, he ſet apart the revenues of four cities for his maintainance.

His appearance and perſon were as mean as his living was moderate. His ſtature was low, his perſon ſlender, his noſe high, and, when he became old, he ſtooped, and was commonly ſupported by a plain ſtick forked at the end; but he made uſe of no ſpectacles when he either wrote or read. The

courſe of living,

cloaths he commonly wore did not, in the whole, coſt him forty ſhillings. The diviſion of his time was regular, and all his occupations painful. Before ſun-riſe he bathed, and next prayed; and, after breakfaſting, he diſpatched buſineſs with his miniſters for two hours, and then gave audiences: but, before dinner, he again performed his devotions. After dinner he applied himſelf to private affairs, and went through two other ſets of prayers. But the moſt extraordinary part of his manner of living, was, that he is ſaid never to have ſlept above two hours, and, after he awaked, he read the *Koran* till day-break. This courſe of life was looked upon, by his ſubjects, as ſomewhat ſupernatural, eſpecially as he lived only on plain vegetables; which, in fact, might be the reaſon of his arriving to ſo advanced an age.

But *Auringzib*, with all this ſelf-denial and abſtemiouſneſs, was one of the proudeſt princes ever known. He arrogated to himſelf the title of Conqueror of the World, and Reviver of Religion; and he believed, or affected to believe, that he poſſeſſed three parts in four of the earth. This ridiculous belief he expreſſed by tearing off a corner of every piece of paper upon which he wrote, as an emblem, that he did not poſſeſs above three fourths of the globe. and pride.

The effects of *Auringzib*'s unaccountable partition of his empire ſoon appeared after his death. By his will he ſeems to have given his third ſon, *Azem*, a ſuperiority over his other children; and that prince, accordingly, advanced at the head of his father's troops to take poſſeſſion of *Agra*. He was oppoſed by his elder brother *Mazim*, at the head of one hundred and fifty thouſand horſe and one hundred and ſeventy-eight thouſand foot, beſides great numbers of auxiliaries; ſo that the numbers upon both ſides were pretty near equal. A battle enſued near *Agra*, in which *Azem* was defeated and ſlain; and *Mazim*, or *Shah Alam*, which ſignifies *the king of the world*, obtained the empire. His ill-judged will. Succeeded by *Mazin*,

He is ſaid to have been, at that time, upwards of ſeventy years of age; and, amongſt other ſuperb titles, he is known by that of *Kothboddin*, or *the axle-tree of religion*. After he had ſettled his government, he marched againſt his brother *Kambuſh*, who was in arms in *Golkonda*, and whom he likewiſe defeated and killed. After that, we find him ſuppreſſing ſome inſurrections that happened on account of religion, and he died when he had reigned about ſix years. who dies.

Kothboddin left four ſons, *Azem al Shan*, *Jehandar Shah*, *Rafiya Shah*, and *Jehan Shah*. The three latter united againſt the former, who was defeated and killed; and *Jehandar* afterwards found means to mount the throne, and to put his two remaining brothers to death. His weakneſs, however, for a favourite dancer, produced a conſpiracy againſt him in favour of *Mohammed*, the ſon of *Azem al Shan*, who defeated *Jehandar*, and was proclaimed emperor: but falling into the errors of his predeceſſors, in being ruled by oppreſſive miniſters, he was, in his turn, dethroned, and put to death after loſing his eyes, about the year 1719. *Mohammed* made emperor,

We muſt not, forget that this emperor granted to the *Engliſh Eaſt-India* company a firman, or patent, exempting them from the payment of duties within his dominions. He was ſucceeded by his nephew *Rafiya*, who, after reigning about three months, was murdered; and his brother, called *Rafiya al Dowlat*, was made emperor in his room, and had the good fortune to die a natural death. favours the *Engliſh*. Succeeded by *Rafiya*, who is murdered

He was ſucceeded by *Mohammed*, the ſon of *Jehan Shah* and grandſon of *Kothboddin*, in the year 1720. This prince, like his predeceſſors, was under the dominion of miniſters, particularly one *Haſſan Ali Kan*, and his relations, eſpecially Diſputes about the ſucceſſion.

his brother *Seyd Abdollah Kan*. He found means to cut off the former, and he advanced to *Delhi* againſt the latter, who declared *Ibrahim*, the ſon of *Rafiya*, emperor.

This *Abdollah* and his brother had been the principal means of dethroning and murdering the emperor *Mohammed*; and had, in fact, engroſſed the imperial power to themſelves.

Mogul's crown ſold.

Being at a loſs for money, he ſold the materials of the famous throne at *Delhi*, which had coſt *Auringzib* and his father the incredible ſum of near twelve millions ſterling, and raiſed an army of fifty thouſand horſe. With this army, *Ibrahim* and he encountered that of *Mohammed*, but they were defeated and taken priſoners.

Abdollah defeated.

Moderation of the *Mogul*.

Mohammed's moderation upon this occaſion was wonderful. He contented himſelf with remanding *Ibrahim* to priſon, from whence he had been taken to remount the throne; and, after reproaching *Abdollah*, for the ills which his ambition had occaſioned, he ordered him into confinement; which *Abdollah* bore with the moſt undaunted courage. This procured him *Mohammed*'s eſteem ſo much, that he refuſed to deliver him up, though *Kothboddin*'s mother demanded him to be ſurrendered to her as the murderer of her ſon; and he ordered him magnificent appointments, with one hundred ſervants to attend him, and proviſions from his own palace.

Death of *Abdollah*, and barbarity at his funeral.

But *Abdollah*, having been mortally wounded in the battle, ſoon died; and forty-five of his wives, concubines, or relations, burned themſelves alive to attend him in the next world.

This ridiculous and impious ſuperſtition took its riſe from the practice of the wives of the *Bramans*, who formerly were all powerful in *India*; and, even after *Mahometaniſm* became the religion of the court, ſome old *Indian* families claimed the inhuman privilege of being attended by their wives in the next world. The government, however, does not award the unhappy victims to the flames; and it is entirely optional to themſelves. But, ſuch is the infatuation of thoſe female enthuſiaſts, that (though, as *Mahometans*, they are prohibited from that kind of voluntary death) they are extravagant enough to procure their apartment to be ſet on fire, which was the caſe with *Abdollah*'s women, that they may have the honour of expiring in the flames.

Degeneracy and indolence of the *Mogul*.

This happened in the beginning of the year 1722; and, ſoon after, *Mohammed*'s government became deſpicable from the cauſes that had ruined ſo many of his predeceſſors, the giving himſelf up into the hands of women and worthleſs favourites. The *Maharattas*, or *Ganims*, the inhabitants of *Viziapur*, ever ſince the death of *Seva Ji*, had become the moſt warlike people in *India*; and, notwithſtanding all the power of *Auringzib*, they had, even in his life-time, maintained a kind of independency under a prince of *Seva Ji*'s blood, who, we are told, could bring two hundred thouſand horſe into

Hiſtory and progreſs of the *Maharattas*.

into the field. Their incurſions, at laſt, grew ſo intolerable, that *Mohammed* was obliged to employ one *Nezam*, the governor of *Dekan*, againſt them.

This *Nezam* had been bred up under *Auringzib*, was a man of addreſs and courage, but paid very little regard to the emperor's authority. He was always afraid of being ſtripped of his power and otherwiſe called to an account. For which reaſon he had rather encouraged than checked the *Maharattas* in their exceſſes, till, at laſt, they invaded *Guzerat* and the beſt provinces of the empire, and had almoſt made themſelves maſters of *Agra* and *Delhi*; when they were defeated by *Nezam*, who, however, ſuffered them to retire unmoleſted to *Dekan*. Character and great power of *Nezam*,

Mohammed had a favourite called *Kandoran*. He, with the other omras, or great lords, entered into a confederacy againſt *Nezam*, whoſe abilities were become neceſſary to *Mohammed*. *Nezam*, finding himſelf inſulted, and his life in danger, refuſed, at laſt, to come to court, or even to have any connections with it. The emperor continued to devote himſelf to all the ſhameful pleaſures of a court; and *Nezam* was ſo much exaſperated by the treatment he met with, that he, and ſome of his friends, who were likewiſe diſobliged at the court, invited the famous *Nadir Shah* into *Perſia*. who invites *Nadir Shah* into *India*.

That prince had, by his ſtrong natural parts and courage, raiſed himſelf to the throne of *Perſia*; and had, of late, made himſelf maſter of *Kandahar*. The *Mogul*'s government, at this time, was ſunk to the loweſt contempt, and his ſubjects were buried in effeminacy. The experience of hiſtory tells us, that the maſter of *Perſia* may be maſter of *India*. *Nadir Shah*, at firſt, ſtarted ſome objections with regard to the difficulties attending the expedition: but, at laſt, he undertook it with one hundred and twenty-five thouſand horſe, all of them excellent troops. Character and progreſs of *Nadir Shah*.

Nezam and *Saadit Kan*, who were at the head of the conſpiracy againſt their ſovereign and country, did not fail to repreſent the weakneſs and infamy of the *Mogul*'s government, in ſuch terms, that ſeveral of his chief governors ſided with the invader, who made himſelf maſter of *Gazin*, and advanced againſt *Kabul*, which he took by ſtorm, and put the governor and his ſon to death.

At length *Mohammed* took the field, and he gave *Nezam*, who had hitherto concealed his treaſon, the command of the army. At this time *Nadir Shah* had advanced to within two hundred and fifty-three miles of *Delhi*, and ninety-ſeven from *Lahor*; but, being oppoſed by the *Indian* army, he would have found his farther progreſs impracticable, had not the ſowbadars, or *Indian* governors, whom the emperor had neglected, been brought off by the *Perſian*, and inliſted under his banners. *Nadir Shah* then advanced to *Peyſhur*, which he took, and defeated and made priſoner *Nazir*, one

of *Mohammed*'s moſt faithful general officers. The defeat of *Nazir* threw the *Mogul*'s court into the utmoſt conſternation; which was improved by the arts of *Nezam* and his confederates, who were now in the field with a numerous army and ſeven hundred pieces of artillery.

His artful behaviour.

In the mean while, *Nadir Shah* behaved with great art and diſſimulation. He pretended that he was come into *India* with no other intention but to protect his good ally *Mohammed* from the inſults of the idolatrous *Maharattas*; and even ſwore, by the head of *Ali*, that he had no other intention; but, at the ſame time, he made a demand on *Mohammed* of a ſum equal to five millions ſterling. The emperor's conſternation daily encreaſed. His troops remained inactive under *Nezam*; and *Nadir Shah*, about the end of *Auguſt*, croſſed the *Attock*, and made himſelf maſter of the important city of *Lahor*, where he ſtaid eight days. After that, he advanced towards *Karnal*, where the *Mogul*'s army was encamped with five thouſand carriage-guns in front, its numbers amounting to about two hundred thouſand men. But they were *Indians*, that is, the moſt deſpicable of all cowards. *Nadir Shah*, on the contrary, was at the head of about one hundred and ſixty thouſand excellent troops. But the ſituation of *Mohammed*'s army was ſo advantageous, that he propoſed an accommodation.

This was what *Nezam*, of all things, wanted moſt to avoid; and hoſtilities went forward, but ſtill to the diſadvantage of the *Indians*, who loſt ſeventeen thouſand men and ſome of their beſt officers. *Nezam*, however, far from appearing to be diſcouraged by the advantages gained by the enemy, encouraged his maſter to fight the *Perſians*, that he might the more ſecurely betray him; which he did ſo effectually, that the *Mogul* found himſelf abandoned by the greateſt part of his army.

This, at laſt, brought on an accommodation; and *Nezam*, with another great officer of ſtate called *Azem*, went to the camp of *Nadir Shah*, who did particular honours to *Nezam*. The preliminaries being ſettled, and twenty-five millions ſterling agreed to be paid, the *Mogul*, next day, being the eighteenth of *February*, had an interview with *Nadir Shah*'s ſon, and afterwards with the father himſelf, attended only by three of his great lords.

Their interview.

It was a mortifying circumſtance for the *Great Mogul* of *India* to be introduced, in the manner of a ſupplicant, into the tent of an upſtart prince, or uſurper, as *Nadir Shah* was. He did *Mohammed* the honour to deſire he would be ſeated upon the ſame bench of ſtate with himſelf; and then he began to reproach him for his being wanting in point of prudence and decency, by rejecting all terms of accommodation, and by never ſending a bare compliment to him even after he had advanced to *Lahor*. He then mentioned *Mohammed*'s miſmanagements

miſmanagements in government; his indolence, and his being obliged to pay tribute, as he called it, to infidels; meaning the *Maharattas*, who had over-run his empire. *Shah Nadir* then complained that one of his ambaſſadors had been killed in the *Mogul*'s dominions; which had happened to be done by ſome rebellious *Rajaputs*. He next reproached him for his obſtinacy and indolence, though, in conſideration that his houſe had nothing to complain of from that of *Tamerlan*, he told him that he would not deprive him of his crown, but that he was obliged to march his army to *Delhi*, to give it ſome repoſe, and there receive the twenty-five millions ſterling (twenty khors of rupis) and he would then march back to *Perſia*.

Humiliation of the *Mogul*.

Mohammed heard this ſchooling with that confuſion which a man never uſed to reflection, and who never knew a ſuperior or equal, muſt experience in being thus reduced to receive law. It is probable that *Nadir Shah* did not chuſe to exaſperate him too far at that time, for he ſuffered him to return to his camp. He likewiſe made preſents of veſts to ſome of the chief *Mogul* omras, but continued to diſtinguiſh *Nezam* over all the reſt, by giving him a *Perſian* horſe. All this, however, was only to gain time, and to preſerve the effeminate *Indians* from ſeeking ſafety in deſpair.

The *Perſians* ſlaughter and plunder the *Hindows*.

The *Mogul*'s army continued to be encamped and very numerous; but the *Perſian* troops, particularly that part of them which are called *Kuzlbaſh*, took every opportunity to cut them off; which they did to the number of fourteen or fifteen thouſand, beſides thoſe who fell in the battle. The *Hindows*, or *Indians*, in and about the chief cities of *India*, of which *Mohammed*'s army was chiefly compoſed, were, perhaps, the moſt cowardly and undiſciplined troops in the world. The very looks of the *Perſians* put them to flight; and the œconomy of *Mohammed*'s camp was ſo bad, that, notwithſtanding the natural plenty of the country, his troops began to ſtand in need of proviſions; ſo that he was obliged to remove it; which gave the *Perſians* an opportunity of carrying off twenty-four of his elephants, of plundering the country, and of maſſacring the inhabitants.

Conſultation in the *Mogul*'s camp,

The army of *Mohammed* ſtill continuing in a body, gave ſuch offence to *Nadir Shah*, that *Nezam* was put under a kind of an arreſt in the *Perſian* camp; and *Mohammed*, himſelf, with *Surbilind Kan*, and two other of his chief omras, were ordered to attend *Nadir Shah* the next day in his tent, being the twenty-third of *February*. As they did not know the meaning of this imperious command, *Mohammed*, that night, called a grand council of his chief omras to deliberate how to proceed. It was propoſed to make one deſperate effort, and to fight the enemy next day. The emperor ſaid he had no other courſe to follow, unleſs he ſhould diſpatch himſelf by a doſe of poiſon, or ſubmit; which laſt reſolution

he had, in fact, determined on before the former was propoſed. The *Mogul* was aſhamed of owning his reſolution; and, though *Sirbulind*, and the other generals, next day offered to lead on all their troops againſt the enemy, yet the *Mogul* found means to evade an engagement, for which *Nadir Shah* did not appear to be very forward.

As the latter had intelligence of all that paſſed in the emperor's council, he invited *Surbulind*, in very courteous terms, to repair immediately to his camp; which *Sirbulind*, aſhamed, perhaps, of his maſter's puſillanimity, accordingly did.

who ſubmits and is impriſoned.

The emperor made this defection, and that of many other of his chief officers, a pretext for putting himſelf immediately into the hands of *Nadir Shah*; where he was directly impriſoned in a tent, erected for that purpoſe in the front of the *Perſian* camp, and guarded by one thouſand horſe, but ſtill with ſome appearance of reſpect, becauſe he was waited upon by his own domeſtics, and he had permiſſion to viſit *Nadir Shah*, with whom he conferred three hours. Towards midnight he returned to his priſon-tent, where he underſtood that none of his great men were to have acceſs to him. To ſoften this diſgrace, that favour was granted to his ſon and his empreſs; and ſuch of the omras and others as were his old domeſtics, were continued in their places about his perſon. But all his ordnance, with the money and rich effects of his omras, were ſeized by the rapacious *Perſian*.

Rapaciouſneſs of *Nadir Shah*, who advances to *Delhi*,

Nadir Shah's way being now ſmooth to *Delhi*, he ſent two parties of horſe, which took poſſeſſion of a caſtle and the gates of the city, with the rich plunder of the omras who were there; and, on the ſecond of *March*, *Nadir Shah* himſelf began his march at the head of twenty thouſand horſe, being preceded by four thouſand, who had the charge of the imperial mahl, or the ladies of the palace. At the diſtance of a mile, *Mohammed* himſelf followed, guarded by twelve thouſand horſe, and after him his chief omras with their diviſions, each of which was interſected by bodies of *Perſian* horſe, that they might be kept ſeparate. Thus the proceſſion, which marched very ſlow, formed, on the whole, a column of about ſix miles in length, and about three in breadth.

The *Perſians* plundered and murdered all the inhabitants who fell in their way; and it was the ſeventh of *March* before *Nadir Shah* reached the ſuburbs of *Delhi*. There his firſt care was to lodge *Mohammed* in the caſtle, under an eſcort of four thouſand men, and this too by night. Next morning, affecting great circumſpection, for fear of the treachery and inconſtancy of the inhabitants, he entered the city at the head of twenty thouſand horſe, ordering the reſt of his troops to hold themſelves in readineſs in their camp without the gates. He alighted at the caſtle, where he had

which he enters.

an

an interview with *Mohammed*, with the greateſt appearance of friendſhip, and promiſed to puniſh even ſuch of the *Perſians* as ſhould plunder his ſubjects. Upon their parting, *Nadir Shah* ordered *Saadit*, one of *Mohammed*'s chief officers of ſtate, to attend him; and ſternly told him, That he expected the immediate payment of the five and twenty millions ſterling; but either fear or poiſon killed *Saadit* before the morning.

Severity of the *Perſians*.

His fate obliged *Sirbilind*, *Nezam*, and the other great *Mogul* officers, to deliberate, in good earneſt, about raiſing the money. But, notwithſtanding *Nadir Shah*'s real, or ſeeming, tenderneſs for the *Mogul* ſubjects, *Thamaſp*, one of the *Mogul*'s generals, in endeavouring to fix the price of corn, inflaming the proprietors of it (for all the *Hindows*, or *Indians*, are exceſſively covetous) raiſed a tumult; which was fomented, as is uſual in thoſe caſes, on both ſides, by numbers of terrifying, yet groundleſs, reports; and, among others, that of *Nadir Shah*'s death, who immediately ſhewed himſelf on horſeback to his army. By this time, the *Indians*, in prodigious numbers, had attacked the caſtle, and cut in pieces ſome of *Nadir Shah*'s men. He would have been willing, at firſt, to have quelled the tumult by gentle means, and he gave his troops orders accordingly: but this ſerved only to render the inſurgents more furious and intractable; and, at laſt, a muſquet-ball, diſcharged at *Nadir Shah*, killed one of his generals by his ſide.

Mutiny at *Delhi*.

It is quelled by a moſt horrible ſlaughter.

Upon this he loſt all temper; and ordered the *Hindows*, without exception, to be maſſacred, and all their effects plundered. This order was executed with a ſeverity ſurpaſſing any thing of that kind which has happened for ſome centuries paſt. Every quarter of that great city, in an inſtant, was filled with flames, blood, and rapine; the *Hindows*, men, women, and children, were put to the ſword; nor can we expreſs the cruelty of the execution better than by informing the reader, that, according to the account of the *Europeans* then at *Delhi*, many of whom are now living, no fewer than one hundred and ten thouſand *Hindows* were put to the ſword, though ſome make the number of the ſlain amount to one hundred and fifty thouſand. But, beſides thoſe who fell by the ſwords of the *Perſians*, vaſt numbers of the *Hindows* fell by their own hands. Ten thouſand women are ſaid to have precipitated themſelves into draw-wells; and numbers of men, from a miſtaken point of honour, ſhut their women up in their harans, and burned them alive. In ſhort, the ſlaughter did not fall upon the idle rabble, who had begun the riot, but amongſt the harmleſs induſtrious *Hindows* who kept houſes and ſhops.

During the ſlaughter, *Nadir Shah* retired into the caſtle, where he was prevailed upon, by the interceſſion and repreſentations of *Mohammed* and *Nezam*, to order a ſtop to be put

be put, by beat of drum, to the maſſacres and rapine; which was done about three o'clock in the morning; and the priſoners which the ſword had not had time to diſpatch, were ſent home; but with orders, which extended to all the inhabitants in general, that they ſhould continue to exerciſe their ſeveral callings; though none were to leave the city without permiſſion. This occaſioned a new kind of maſſacre upon vaſt numbers of fakirs, or begging *Mahometan* friars, who ſubſiſt by going about for alms; and who, attempting to go out of the city, were driven back with the loſs of their noſes and ears.

Though the *Perſians* had ſpilt ſo much blood, yet that was far from being *Nadir Shah*'s principal object, which was treaſure. In this he was unremitting, and nothing but the greatneſs of the ſpoils of that court and city could have given the world an adequate idea of its richneſs: for, notwithſtanding the prodigious plunder which had been already made by the *Perſians*, and the vaſt devaſtation of rich commodities by fire, *Nadir Shah* inſiſted that none of the treaſure and booty he had already made, tho' the value of diamonds, jewels, and gold plate, that was in it, was ineſtimable, ſhould be accounted as part of the twenty-five millions ſterling: and, though he had ſeized effects and money, belonging to the great omras, amounting to above ten millions more, he ordered they ſhould likewiſe be excluded from the account.

At laſt, commiſſioners, at the head of whom was *Sirbilind* (who, though one of the greateſt officers in the empire, was ſo poor that he was excuſed from contributing to the general tax) were appointed to conſider of ways and means to raiſe it. The money in the imperial treaſury did not amount to above ten millions; and *Nezam*'s own proportion, which he contributed, came to above eighteen hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. Other omras paid as much, as if their treaſures had been inexhauſtible by the moſt cruel rapine.

Farther cruelties of the *Perſians*.

The proportions of the ſum to be raiſed being fixed, it was collected with ſuch ſeverity, from the third of *April*, that many, who were unable to pay, killed themſelves rather than to undergo the puniſhments inflicted upon the deficient; while others, leaving the whole of their effects, made their eſcape out of the city, becauſe they were inſufficient for the demands upon them. It is remarkable, that ſome others of the great officers of ſtate, beſides *Sirbilind*, had the virtue to be poor; but neither that, nor the greatneſs of their quality, exempted them from feeling the moſt cruel indignities from *Thamaſp*, the *Perſian* general; and ſeveral of them murdered not only themſelves but their families.

A marriage between the two royal families.

The politic *Nadir Shah* having thus left all the diſagreeable *Tartar* diſorders to the execution of his officers and ſoldiers, affected, in other reſpects, wonderful moderation, and even a kind of an intimacy, with *Mohammed*. His ſon *Nezir* married

married a princeſs of *Mohammed*'s blood, being the granddaughter of *Auringzib*; on which occaſion great rejoicings were made at court; and the princeſs received magnificent preſents both from *Mohammed* and *Nadir Shah*.

In the mean while, *Sirbilind*, who continued at the head of the commiſſion for collecting the money, though he wiſhed well to his country, was extremely aſſiduous in obliging all parties to pay their contributions, as being the only way to deliver her from her oppreſſions. The proportions aſſeſſed appeared, however, to be ſo unequally calculated, that *Sirbilind*, with all the aſſiſtance of *Perſian* cruelty, which every day increaſed, found it almoſt impracticable to make up the ſum, according to the rates by which it was to be paid. This being repreſented to *Nadir Shah*, he remitted to the indigent claſs of great men about two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds of the ſum they were to furniſh. The unhappy *Hindows*, beſides all other mercileſs exactions, were cheated by the very collectors, who appropriated great ſums to themſelves, which the *Hindows* were obliged to make good to *Nadir Shah*; and, to compleat their misfortunes, the *Perſians* put what value they pleaſed upon all their commodities they bought from them. *Nadir Shah* could not be inſenſible of thoſe oppreſſions, but we know of none of his *Perſians* who were puniſhed for them; though we are told the *Kuzelbaſhes* plundered all the country of *Delhi*, and maſſacred twenty-five thouſand of the inhabitants.

Nadir Shah takes leave of the *Mogul*.

The whole ſum, at laſt, demanded by *Nadir Shah* was raiſed by the indefatigable *Sirbilind*; and *Nadir Shah* ordered preparations to be made for his departure. It is aſtoniſhing how vanity is oftentimes connected with avarice. The latter undoubtedly was the motive of *Nadir Shah*'s invaſion: but, before he departed, he was reſolved to gratify his vanity to the utmoſt. *Mohammed*, on the firſt of *May*, 1739, according to an order he had received from *Nadir Shah*, aſſembled his great omras in his own apartment, where forty-two of them received veſts of ſtate ſent them by *Nadir Shah*. They then ſet out in proceſſion, with *Mohammed* at their head, to *Nadir Shah*'s court, or divan, where the two emperors breakfaſted together, with great appearance of friendſhip. Preſently after, *Nadir Shah* ordered a magnificent crown, a turban band, two ſwords, and a dagger, all of them richly ſet with diamonds, to be brought him; and he himſelf put the crown upon *Mohammed*'s head, as if he wore one by his grace only. Upon taking leave of *Mohammed*, he gave him excellent advice, particularly, that he ſhould always keep ſixty thouſand horſe on foot; never ſuffer one man to be too long at the head of one province, or one army; to reſume the grants of all royal lands, and to be aware of *Nezam*.

His advice to him.

Mohammed ſeemed penetrated with what his conqueror had ſaid, and entreated him to name the chief officers and ſervants

ſervants he ſhould employ. But *Nadir Shah*, with wonderful moderation and wiſdom, told him, That, ſhould he do that, thoſe officers and ſervants would look upon him, and not *Mohammed*, as their maſter; and, when once he withdrew his army, would pay no regard to his perſon or authority. He gave *Mohammed*, however, his royal word, that, during his abſence, if any of his great men ſhould treat him ill, he would ſend troops, nay come himſelf in perſon, to puniſh them. He made this declaration to *Nezam* and *Sirbilind*; and was ſo zealous in the cauſe of ſovereignty, that he gave them, and all the other omras, lectures upon their duty and obedience to their maſter. In ſhort, he himſelf, upon reflection, thought he overacted his part; and that he ought not to have beſtowed the crown of *India* upon ſo mean-ſpirited a prince as *Mohammed*; or given life and liberty to ſo dangerous a miniſter as *Nezam*. But, in excuſe, he pleaded the obligation of his own royal word, which he had paſſed.

Leaves *Delhi*.

In all other reſpects, *Nadir Shah* behaved with equal juſtice and magnanimity; for, on the fourth of *May*, he ſignified to his troops his intention to leave *India*; and ordered that none of them ſhould carry along with them any *Hindows*, but their wives, and the ſlaves they paid for; and not even them, contrary to their inclinations; and all this upon pain of death. This order was afterwards rigorouſly executed.

Having muſtered his army, in order to begin his march, and miſſing four hundred deſerters of his men, he charged the magiſtrates of *Delhi* to ſearch for and apprehend them. Sixty were found, and he ordered their heads to be ſtruck off. Upon his march, the *Indians*, equally faithleſs as fooliſh, attacked his detached parties; upon which he put twelve thouſand of them to the ſword.

Amount of his booty.

The riches and acquiſitions he made in *India*, during this expedition, are almoſt incredible. He obtained, or rather extorted, from *Mohammed*, a ſurrender of all the lands to the weſt of the rivers *Attock* and *Synd*, comprehending the provinces of *Peyſhor*, *Kabul*, and *Gazna*, with many other rich and populous principalities. The whole of them almoſt equal in value to the crown of *Perſia* itſelf. Upon a moderate computation, it was judged that he himſelf carried out of *India* eighty-five millions, five hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, without reckoning the loſs of twenty-five millions more, which the inhabitants ſuſtained by fires, devaſtations, and contributions for the ſupport of the *Perſian* army. The money that came to the army's ſhare was twelve millions, five hundred thouſand pounds.

After his departure, the affairs of government returned to their former channel; but, ſo ſtupidly inſenſible was the *Mogul* and his miniſters, that, inſtead of entering upon any meaſures for the reformation of the ſtate, or for preventing the like calamities they had ſuffered, they ſeemed to forget them all.

As

As to *Nadir Shah*, it has been averred that his troops were so much harraſſed in their march, by the *Mountain Rajaputs*, a people who ſeem never to have been reduced under any regular government, that he ſometimes had thoughts of returning to *Delhi*: but the ſtate of affairs in *Perſia* required his preſence there. He is harraſſed in his march.

Beſides all the riches we have mentioned, he carried away with him one thouſand elephants, ſeven thouſand horſes, and ten thouſand camels. The number of *Gentoos* who periſhed by the ſword of the *Perſians*, are computed at two hundred thouſand; while the loſs of *Nadir Shah*'s army was ſo ſmall as not to be worth mentioning; ſome ſay not above eight hundred men beſides thoſe who died natural deaths.

Thus ended an expedition, the moſt rapid, and one of the moſt important, of any that appears in hiſtory; and the ſums which it brought in to the coffers of the conquerors, are greater than any, well vouched, that hiſtory mentions to have been acquired by one man. But, after all, the difficulty of the conqueſt lay entirely in the march, which was bold and well executed; for, when that was accompliſhed, *Nadir Shah* may be ſaid to have fallen upon his prey rather than his enemy. Concluſion.

END OF THE SEVENTH VOLUME.